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CORRESPONDENCE
OF
ANDREW JACKSON

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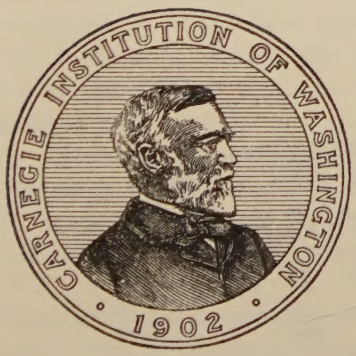

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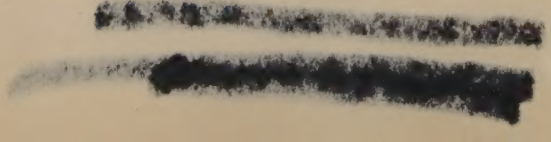

PREFACE.

The years 1820 to 1828 in Jackson's career were those in which he dropped the character of military man and became a dominating figure in national politics. The story of this change is like the story of a similar transition in many another man who has risen to the presidency in the United States. A group of his friends came to the conclusion that he was available as a candidate, put him forward in a carefully prepared manner suitable to the political practices of the day, met a favorable public response to their suggestions, overcame his announced reluctance to run for office, and in the end discovered that he was as eager as they for the success of their scheme. In the development of this phase of his life Jackson's nature underwent an unexpected evolution. From a rash, outspoken, and unrestrained leader of the army he changed into a cautious and able political strategist.

His retirement from the army, it seems, was not due to any political aspirations. He began to talk about it soon after he had completed his Seminole campaign in 1818, but his intention was postponed because of the attack made on him by Clay and his friends for his conduct in that campaign, and it was not like him to retire while under fire. When that affair had been disposed of he returned to his announced purpose, but again he deferred action because Spain hesitated to complete the Florida treaty. For a time it was feared that her reluctance to sign this treaty might lead to armed intervention in Florida, and if such a course had been adopted by the government it would have been necessary to have some such active leader as Jackson to conduct the intervention. Fortunately all these fears proved groundless. Early in 1821 the treaty was ratified and nothing remained but to raise the American flag over the newly acquired territory. President Monroe decided that Jackson was the man to inaugurate the new government in Florida and urged him to become governor of that territory, a request to which Jackson yielded with apparent reluctance, resigning his military office as he took the new position.

Did he then have a political career in view? No words of his have been preserved indicating any such purpose, although their absence is not clear evidence that he had not such object in mind. It was quite in keeping with the ideals of the time for a citizen soldier, once his military tasks were done, to seek the quiet of his farm and live the remainder of life in dignified comfort. Such had been the idea of Washington after the War of the Revolution; and Jackson and his political supporters of this period, if political ends had been in view, could well have reflected that he would have a better opportunity to win the presidency if he approached

it from private than from military life. Designed or not as a political move, it was a step wisely taken.

Jackson's political popularity, like Washington's, rested on his military renown, which had the initial advantage of placing him in a clear light before the people. He was known from one end of the country to the other, not only for having beaten Pakenham, but for having given the Spaniards in Florida the kind of treatment that the average man thought eminently proper for the occasion. When his active military life began with the Creek campaign in 1813 Jackson was politically unpopular in Tennessee. His early career in Congress had not been distinguished, and the quarrels he had had with prominent Tennesseeans had arrayed against him powerful factions in the dominant party. Even he recognized that his political availability was reduced, if not destroyed. Out of this status he was rescued by his great victory at New Orleans. He suddenly found himself a hero in his own home and in other parts of the country.

At the same time reports of his sturdy character had gone throughout the nation. He was known as a man of direct action, who did not hesitate to cut the meshes of red tape, who had no patience with the tricks of the politicians, and who was too honest and candid to deceive the people. He was esteemed a man of the people, and in a country which had fallen into the hands of crusty and somewhat aristocratic office-holders it was thought by many that he, of all who were spoken of as candidates, was most likely to bring political life back to the democratic simplicity of the days of Jefferson. To the quality of military hero he added that of democratic hero. Men who did not ask for much in the way of political experience were satisfied with these qualifications.

Jackson's experience as governor of Florida did not furnish grounds for the hope that he would make a good President of the United States. His rash conduct in that office might have made the thoughtful shake their heads. Callava, the Spanish governor of the province, did not give up his authority gracefully. His conduct was no doubt provoking; but Jackson had not done well to allow himself to be provoked. He had scolded where he might well have used patience. At the last he had thrown the Spaniard into the common jail and finally hustled him off to Havana in a state which Spain considered as an insult to her dignity. To the American people at large his action did not seem so bad, and even John Quincy Adams, Monroe's Secretary of State, had defended it in his letters to the Spanish government as justified by the conduct of the Spanish governor. But it was questionable action in a United States officer, and it gave Jackson's opponents ground for pronouncing him unfit for the high office of the presidency. Talk as these opponents might, his friends stood by him; and it was on their solid approval that his candidacy in the election of 1824 was made to rest.

In this contest Jackson had for opponents John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, and John C. Calhoun. All of them were men of political experience, and any one of them might have been regarded as better qualified for office than Jackson, whom the party leaders looked upon as a mere backwoodsman. The strength of each of these recognized aspirants for the presidency was derived, in the first place, from the friends he had made in Washington, representatives and senators, who in turn used their influence in gathering supporters for him in their respective states. This condition of affairs could not have existed if politics at that time had not been so decidedly a thing of personal friendships. The voters as a mass were not deeply aroused on public matters and permitted the leaders to do as they chose about setting up the candidates upon whom the voters should pass judgment at the polls.

Jackson's candidacy was, at bottom, an attack on this state of popular indifference. Supported at first because he had captured the popular imagination by his military achievements, he became in the course of the twelve years between 1824 and 1836 a cause in himself. That is, his success came to be regarded as the embodiment of principles, which his successors were expected to represent. In thus shifting the party basis from personal liking to accepted principles the political party attained vastly more organic life than it had known since the campaign of 1800.

The hold of the politicians on the party had been exercised by means of the caucus in which all the Republicans in the two houses of Congress were entitled to sit. In 1824 Crawford had the largest strength in this body, and all the other candidates began to talk against a choice by caucus as too aristocratic and as giving members of Congress too much power in the choice of the Executive. Thus they succeeded in killing the caucus, which was, in fact, an outworn institution. The Jackson men took their part in this process. To gain support for their candidate they used whatever other means seemed advisable. In some states they relied on resolutions by the legislature, in others they appealed to prominent men in the party, in North Carolina they took advantage of that state's revolt against following longer in the wake of Virginia, and in Pennsylvania they seized upon Jackson's great popular strength and appealed to the people over the heads of the politicians, action so characteristic of the Jackson movement then beginning that it deserves special consideration.

The Pennsylvania leaders were in general for Calhoun, who had won their favor by advocating liberal federal aid to roads and canals, known as the policy of internal improvements. Pennsylvania was for this policy, partly because the network of proposed canals and roads concentrated in Philadelphia with resulting benefits to her trade, and partly because an influential group of contractors and bankers in that city expected to derive profits from constructing such enterprises. When the campaign was about to open, Calhoun, proceeding under the old plan, felt sure of Penn-

sylvania. Then the Jackson group attacked the situation there. They called mass-meetings, made speeches, and asked for popular votes on the various candidacies. These votes were overwhelmingly in favor of the candidate from Tennessee. This process is well described in a letter from Edward Patchell, of Pittsburgh, to Jackson, dated August 7, 1824, and reproduced in this volume.[1] What happened in Pittsburgh happened with some variations in other Pennsylvania towns. From that time to the end of his life Jackson wielded a strong influence on Pennsylvania voters. The loss of this important state showed Calhoun how futile were his hopes in 1824, and he was content to give up his aspiration for the presidency at that time, taking a surer chance at the vice-presidency with the support of the Jackson men.

Unfortunately for Jackson, in a considerable number of other states he could not repeat this process. In most of them the old process held good: that is, the influence of the leaders, the members of Congress at the centre, was too well established in political practice to be overthrown. Jackson was not the man to win support in the group of leaders that he met in Washington. Besides, these leaders were already pledged to one of the other candidates; and in the states where these leaders controlled he had to struggle for such votes as he got, and in such cases his success was only moderate. All but the Crawford men were against the caucus, for the simple reason that Crawford had the majority in it. By refusing to attend its meeting they made its vote for Crawford appear as a mere thing of faction, whose influence on public opinion was without weight or significance in the contest.

In the existing Tennessee politics party lines were not well defined in 1824. The most pronounced line of cleavage was between those who favored and those who opposed certain plans for state relief of debtors, a practice that had grown up out of the confusions following the panic of 1819. It existed in several of the Southwestern states, and in Tennessee it took the form of a loan office established by the state. Jackson opposed the scheme and united with his neighbor Colonel Edward Ward in a futile petition to the legislature against it. Next year, 1821, Ward ran for governor against General William Carroll and Jackson supported him. Both candidates had opposed the loan bill. Ward was a rich man and proposed to cure economic ills by creating state banks, while Carroll, a military hero, was poor and proposed that the people should meet their problems by economy and the state its difficulties by retrenchment. The campaign was vehement. Carroll, proclaimed as a democrat opposed by an aristocrat, won the prize and began a period of predominance in state politics which lasted until 1835. During that period he was governor continuously except for one term, when he was out of office only by reason of a clause in the state constitution.[2]

[1] *Infra*, pp. 262-265.

[2] See Thomas P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of the Southwestern Democracy", *American Historical Review*, XXXIII. 64 (Oct., 1927).

In this long contest Jackson supported Carroll's opponents. He was then in a violent quarrel with Carroll, although the two men had been warm friends before 1816. Despite this state of affairs Jackson lost nothing in Tennessee with respect to his pretension to the presidency. Personality played the leading part in state as well as national politics. It would be a mistake to speak of a Jackson faction in Tennessee at that time, if by faction one means a body of voters held together more or less permanently, with directors other than the candidates themselves. It is evident, also, that many of the voters were Jackson men nationally and Carroll men locally, which shows how little parties had become fixed groups at this time.

December 6, 1821, just as he was retiring from the governorship of Florida, Jackson, undecided about his own candidacy, expressed himself in private letters as favoring Calhoun, whom he considered the only man who could unite the South and the West. If Calhoun, he added, were not brought out, Adams was the man to be supported. As to Crawford, with whom he was at violent feud, he said: "You know my opinion. I would support the Devil first." After six months among his friends in Tennessee, his own indifference to becoming a candidate gave way and he acquiesced in their plans for bringing him forth. He declared, however, that he would take no steps to seek office, nor would he decline it if called on to assume it. July 20, 1822, the Tennessee legislature, in an informal sitting, unanimously passed resolutions reciting Jackson's qualifications for office and commending him to the favorable consideration of the other states. Newspapers in various parts of the country took up the suggestion and the response was encouraging. With the other candidates in the field it was not expected that any one of them would carry the electoral college. He did, however, lead the other candidates, having 99 electoral votes to Adams's 84, Crawford's 41, and Clay's 37. Calhoun had withdrawn from the race after losing Pennsylvania, and was elected Vice-President. On the strength of his lead over the other candidates Jackson's friends declared him the people's choice.

How much of his campaign was Jackson's and how much his friends' is a debatable question. He was a man whose strong nature made it probable that he would become the leader in whatever enterprise he took part. Could he, then, have played a supine rôle in the campaign? Yet the skill with which it was conducted, and the tact displayed in a complex situation, would seem to show that he did not manage it. Certainly there was in it a spirit that is found in none of his former encounters with serious problems, civil or military. If all his affairs had been conducted with equal adroitness he would not have quarrelled with Judge Hall and the Louisiana legislature while in New Orleans, nor with General Adair about the part taken by the Kentucky militia at the famous battle of January 8, 1815. The same spirit would have kept him out of violent

personal disputes with Sevier, Dinsmore, Dickinson, Benton, Colonel John Williams, and William H. Crawford. How did it happen that a man who ran amuck in so many of his other affairs was carried through this most complicated of all without a flaw in his conduct of it?

Perhaps we could answer the question satisfactorily if we had all his correspondence for the period. Three men besides Jackson knew a great deal about the matter. One was John Overton, long a Tennessee judge, said to have been the richest man in the state, a close friend of Jackson from early life, and a man of great wisdom in counsel. In late life he destroyed his correspondence, and in doing so he seems to have got and destroyed his letters to Jackson; for very few letters from him are found in the Jackson Manuscripts in the Library of Congress. Another was Senator John H. Eaton, whose correspondence is not known to be in existence. Still another was Major William B. Lewis, Jackson's near neighbor, who gave himself willingly to the promotion of the general's cause. Lewis left a full correspondence and it is, for the most part, in the possession of the New York Public Library. But it is singularly wanting in information on this subject, as though it had been purged with the purpose of destroying evidence on the point in question.

In the Jackson Manuscripts themselves are a few stray allusions to Jackson's personal attitude toward the campaign, and they go to show that his associates were alarmed lest he burst out in anger at some of the tactics of his opponents and in so doing destroy the work so carefully done. They probably did much to show him, using such tact as they could lest they offend him, that he would damage his own cause if he gave way to some outburst of feeling. His letters show that he was keenly aware that his opponents said that his temper made him unfit for the presidency. He thought the charge absurd, and malicious to boot; and having established this idea in his mind, it was not likely that he would rashly give his opponents confirmation of their charges by an outburst under their very eyes.

In fact, he did the opposite. He made up some of his longstanding quarrels. "It will afford you great pleasure I know", wrote Senator Eaton to Mrs. Jackson, "to be informed that all his old quarrels have been settled. The General is at peace and friendship with genl Scott, Genl Cocke, Mr Clay and what you would never have expected Col. Benton: he is in harmony and good understanding with every body, a thing I know you will be happy to hear."[3] To this letter from Eaton Jackson added a postscript in which he said: "It is a pleasing subject to me that I am now at peace with all the world." When asked, however, to become reconciled to Colonel John Williams, he said he was a man of peace but he could not become his friend until Williams took steps asking for reconciliation.

[3] *Infra*, p. 217.

It was at this time that Jackson's disagreement with Williams made Jackson United States senator much against his will. Williams, who was a senator, had made himself conspicuous in Washington by opposing Jackson. In October, 1823, he was up for re-election, two candidates being out against him. Neither of the two was strong, and it seemed that Williams would prevail. Jackson's followers were in dismay at prospect of success by the leader of the anti-Jackson group. It would tend to support Williams's repeated declaration that Tennessee was not for Jackson. In their alarm they turned to Jackson himself, bringing him out over his protest four days before the legislature came to vote on the matter. Jackson was elected by a vote of 35 to 25. He seems to have relished the defeat of Williams, on personal grounds and because Williams was out for Crawford.

In Jackson's letters at this time are found evidences that he sincerely believed that politics had fallen into the hands of demagogues, that there was a crying need of reform, and that the safety of the republic was threatened by corrupt men. It is evident that he took seriously the cant of the stump speakers; for he filled his letters to his intimate friends, his relatives, and even to his wife, with dire forebodings. He believed his own prophecies, perhaps an unusual thing in a politician. Jackson's letters at this time also abounded in what were apparently sincere expressions of his preference for private life. They must have been genuine, for they were uttered to his most intimate friends, persons whom he could have no reason for deceiving.

So far as these letters go they do not show that Jackson had a grasp on the situation with respect to his own campaign. Later on he showed more ability in this respect, but at that time his party was well organized and he commanded it as he had commanded his army at New Orleans, by issuing orders, by assaulting the enemy, and by displaying an unwavering courage. In 1824 there was no political party worthy the name, but only groups following striking personalities. Jackson's group was essentially composed of the masses, to whom he was a hero, straightforward and incorruptible. In the process of marshalling these supporters most of the work was done by a few friends. It was not in keeping with his ideals nor according to the standard of the times for him to promote his own canvass. His rôle was to sit still, do nothing undignified, and await the issue at the hands of the people.

In the House of Representatives, where the election of a President went after the failure of the electoral college to show a majority for any one man, Clay had deciding influence. The three candidates before the House were Jackson, Adams, and Crawford, who were the three highest in the electoral college. Of these three men Crawford was admittedly incapacitated by illness, so the choice was, in reality, narrowed to Jackson and Adams. As between the two men the decision should not have been

difficult. Adams was born to public life, a man of good education, and the possessor of years of satisfactory experience in office. Of Jackson none of these things could have been said. If Clay had openly expressed his opinion as soon as it was evident that the electoral college had failed to agree, he would have saved himself much trouble. He chose rather to embark on a course of balancing, in order, it would seem, to display himself as a president-maker, keeping each side in doubt until the time for actual decision. But the result of this course was that he was bound to disappoint one side after raising its hopes, and in doing this he was sure to draw down on himself the wrath of the disappointed ones.

Perhaps, also, Clay's action was planned with his own advantage in view. So often had the position of Secretary of State led to the presidency that it was an accepted notion that the process might be repeated. Clay may well have thought that the first position in Adams's Cabinet would lead to the executive office in a succeeding administration. It is not to be doubted that he wanted the place. Through his friends he sought to know, as Adams's *Diary* shows, what Adams's intentions were in regard to the Cabinet. He himself made two calls on Adams to talk with him about the matter. His friends also talked with Jackson's friends on the same point. It is hardly to be believed that Clay seriously thought of making Jackson President; for he could hardly have worked in harness with the impetuous Tennesseean. Besides, it was more logical for him to make an alliance with the business interest of New England and the trading cities of the Middle States than to have formed such an alliance with the agricultural West and the Old Jeffersonian South. His advances to Jackson's friends can better be explained on the ground that he might use any offer they would make as a trading point in dealing with Adams. In playing this game of political manipulation, instead of taking the straightforward course that would have left him in a position unassailable in future dealings with the public, he but ran true to form. His whole career shows that he relied on setting the stage for expected results rather than trusting to proceedings that were obviously simple and candid.

Clay's strategy worked as he wished and he got the office of Secretary of State. He probably foresaw the disappointment of Jackson and the Jackson men and thought it would soon blow over. What he could hardly have foreseen was the violent charges of corrupt bargaining that were made and the way in which they were received by the mass of people. To Jackson the actual appointment of Clay was evidence that the bargain was made and carried out. He even believed that offers had been made by Clay to Jackson's friends and declined on his own part. He relied on Buchanan to substantiate the charge, but Buchanan failed him in the pinch. For all this he did not change his opinion and went about repeating the charges in public. Clay made a public statement in denial but Jackson flouted it.

From Adams's *Diary* we know something about the actual occurrences which Jackson never knew. Putting what we know in a nutshell we see that: (*a*) Clay, through his control of certain votes in the House, had the power to make either Jackson or Adams President and decided for Adams, whom he had a right to consider the best man for the post; (*b*) Adams made Clay his Secretary of State, which was a very good choice, as respects both ability and political availability; (*c*) Clay's friend Letcher called on Adams and talked about Clay for "a prominent share in the administration" and Adams did not repulse him; (*d*) Clay himself called on Adams by appointment and for two hours, as the *Diary* says, discussed "all the prospects and probabilities of the Presidential election"; (*e*) Adams in no case says what he told either Letcher or Clay; and (*f*) if Adams had said "No" to these advances he would have put it down in his *Diary*.

It was like the impetuous Jackson to construe the understanding which was evidently reached between Clay and Adams as an exemplification of bad politics. Nothing like it had happened before in our political history. Our system was dedicated to the principle of government by the people; if two men could agree between themselves and one of them take the presidency and the other the first place in the Cabinet, what became of this sacred principle? That the thing had happened in a thoroughly constitutional manner and that it was in no sense a worse thing than the generally accepted bargain by which Monroe got the presidency in 1816 with the understanding that Crawford was to have it in 1824, never came into his mind. Thirty-six years later Lincoln brought into his Cabinet the leaders of the factions that had combined to nominate him over Seward and nobody thought it wrong. Public opinion, which rallied to Jackson's vehement protest in 1825, had materially changed by 1861.

Jackson's denunciations of Clay's conduct were made in letters to his friends. When asked if he was willing to have them published he readily assented. "Mr Clay", he said, "has used no delicacy toward me, and as I have never written any thing whether private or public which my heart and judgement did not sanction, I am not afraid of the publication of those remarks, or any other which I may have made." Clay, who welcomed the opportunity to place his own side of the case before the public, came out in a long review of the charges made against him. Jackson construed it as a confession of guilt. His first impulse was to reply at length and crush his opponent beneath a load of personalities. But reflection, coupled with the advice of his friends, caused him to decide to take no notice of it. To one of his correspondents he said: "I think with you that he has fallen below anything but contempt, he never can rise again except by noticing him in such a manner, that he and his friends, can cry out persecution."[4]

[4] *Infra*, pp. 281, 285.

On October 12, 1825, Jackson resigned his seat in the Senate, giving as his reason the action of the Tennessee legislature a few days earlier in renominating him for the presidency in the campaign of 1828. This step was wisely taken. For the next three years the Jackson party in Congress, reinforced by the old Crawford faction, gave itself to efforts to break down the political character of John Quincy Adams, and it was advisable that the head of the faction keep himself as clear from them as possible.

One incident occurred in this period that was true to the old Jackson form. In a private conversation in Fredericksburg, Virginia, in 1826, Southard, Adams's Secretary of the Navy, said that the defense of New Orleans in 1814-1815 had been defective and that Monroe, then acting as Secretary of War, had in reality saved the situation. When gossip carried this tale to Jackson, with some exaggeration, as is the custom in such matters, he wrote a fiery letter to Southard and sent it by the hand of Sam Houston, then a member of Congress from Tennessee and as quick by nature as Jackson himself. The secretary replied in a calm letter in which he assured Jackson that he had not intended to reflect on him in a personal way. Jackson might well have let the matter rest here, but such was not his way. He wrote Southard a blustering letter full of recriminations which the recipient had the good sense to ignore. Jackson's friends were alarmed at this outburst of feeling and did what they could to smooth out the controversy. It seems to have had little effect on the political situation. Probably the anti-Jackson men were not willing to start a broad popular attack on the New Orleans defense, which was the basis of Jackson's glory and a thing which the public at large was not disposed to see made the basis of attack on him.

By the end of 1826 the campaign of 1828 may be said to have fairly got under way. It consisted in a series of bitter and vindictive assaults on Jackson's character. One incident after another in his past life was brought up with the purpose of showing that he was not fit for the position to which he aspired. His friends feared that this line of attack might lead him to make some unbecoming counter-attacks which would damage him before the public. They pointed out to him that these attacks were undoubtedly made to provoke replies which could be said to confirm the general assertion that he was irresponsible, and such may have been the purpose of some who made the attacks. Jackson was persuaded by these arguments. He held his peace for the time but vowed that when the right time came he would speak and place his enemies before the public in such a light as would overwhelm them with shame. To meet this line of assault a committee of Jackson men was created with headquarters in Nashville.

The most striking of these attacks was that which was made on his marriage, an accusation which was made public late in 1826. He was

charged with contracting an irregular union without regard to the proprieties of decent society, and the story was so framed as to reflect as much on Mrs. Jackson as on him. It was such an accusation as might have produced the highest resentment in any person not schooled in the art of self-restraint, and those who knew him looked for a vehement outburst in reply. Friends persuaded him, however, to leave the answer to the Nashville committee, with the result that the committee prepared a full and frank account of what had occurred, with statements from some of the most respectable women in and near Nashville going to show that those who had known him best had never held him nor Mrs. Jackson guilty of any impropriety in the matter. With characteristic heat Jackson held Clay responsible for this charge and vowed that the day of retribution should come. There was no outward explosion, but he gave vent to his feelings in private and pronounced Clay "the bases[t], meanest, scoundrel that ever disgraced the image of his god", adding, "but *anough, you know me,* I will curb my feelings until it becomes proper to act, when retributive *Justice will vissit him and his panders heads*".[5]

About this time rumors were spread that he was to be called on for his views on internal improvements and other issues then engaging public interest. The prospect alarmed those who were steering the campaign on his side of the contest. Hugh L. White, who was one of them, said that the reply should be that Jackson's public utterances were enough to show where he stood. James K. Polk observed that such an inquiry should be considered as a move of the enemy, to which no hasty answer was to be made. Senator Eaton wrote that "to forbear all political letters, enquiries and discussions is the true policy. Be still—Be at home is the great and open path to tread, heedless of whatever may be said or done by any of the *'corrupt crew'*".[6] Robert Y. Hayne, of South Carolina, now actively enlisted in the Jackson cause, wrote to him in the same strain. To these, and other similar appeals, Jackson gave complaisant ear, and so it happened that he passed through the campaign without giving his opponents the satisfaction of saying that his conduct confirmed the charge that he was not the kind of man who should be President.

The multiplied charges of his adversaries did not diminish as the day of the election approached. Jesse Benton came out with a nasty account of Jackson's duels, which the Adams men referred to as Jackson's "youthful indiscretions", employing a term which had been used in the first place by apologists. The affair of the execution of the six militiamen in 1814, illustrated by the coffins of the victims, was brought out in handbills to show that he was a tyrant and that faithful soldiers were his victims. Many other similar charges were made, and the whole mass of accusations was kept alive until the election was decided. The nerves of

[5] *Infra,* p. 325.
[6] *Infra,* p. 342.

the candidate must have been near the breaking point under this anvil chorus of vituperation. Quivering with excitement he held his peace, awaiting the verdict of the ballots.

It was one of the several unexpected features of this campaign that Adams was severely accused of abusing the patronage to keep himself in office. Of no President that we have had could such a charge have been made with less appearance of truth. Adams was crusty, remote from the will of the people, and his views of the high office he held were unpractical; but he was rigidly upright and he repulsed the demand of his supporters that offices should go with party loyalty until it had become too well fixed in the consciousness of politicians to be ignored with practical safety.

Jackson accepted the prevailing view of Adams in its extreme form, apparently with entire sincerity. " The patronage of the government for the last three years ", he wrote to Coffee, " has been wielded to corrupt every thing that comes within its influence, and was capable of being corrupted, and it would seem, that virtue and truth, has fled from its embrace. The administrators of the Govt has stained our national character, and it rests with the people to work it out, by a full expression of their disapprobation. The present is a contest between the virtue of the people, and the influence of patronage, should patronage prevail, over virtue, then indeed ' the safe precedent ', will be established, that the President, appoints his successor in the person of the sec of state. Then the people may prepare themselves to become ' hewers of wood and drawers of water ', to those in power, who with the Treasury at command, will wield by its corrupting influence a majority to support it. The present is an important struggle, for the perpetuity of our republican government, and I hope the virtue of the people may prevail, and all may be well. From the signs of the times, it appears, that the influence of the administration is on the wane, and the cause of the people will prevail." [7] These sentiments were characteristic of the writer's mentality; they showed how little intellectual poise he had and how little he grasped the nature of politics at the time.

By the side of this letter we may place an extract from another written by an Adams man about three months later in which the attitude of Adams toward appointments was characterized by the men of his own side. The writer was Edward Everett. He showed his disappointment because Adams would not do exactly the thing the Jackson men charged him with doing. " For an Administration ", said Everett, " then to bestow its patronage, without distinction of party, is to court its own destruction. . . . . Our present chief magistrate made the experiment of the higher principle, of exclusive regard to merit; and what has been the reward? A most furious opposition, rallied on the charge of the most

[7] *Infra*, p. 402.

corrupt distribution of office, and the open or secret hostility of three-fourths of the office-holders in the Union." [8] Everett was right. The "Era of Good Feeling", in which Monroe had undertaken to appoint officials without regard to party, was past. In various states a spirit of strict partizanship in apportioning the patronage was established, and it was now showing itself in federal politics. No President who withstood it could hope to keep his party together. Jackson soon recognized the fact, as his appointments well showed. But it is probable that he never realized how completely he reversed, when in office, the principles of his immediate predecessor.

The election of 1828 came on in due time, with the result that Jackson received 178 electoral votes to Adams's 83. The victory was hailed as a victory of the people over an aristocracy that had held power so long that it had become indifferent to the popular will. The victor was then popular with the mass of the people. The large audience that gathered before the east front of the Capitol to hear Jackson's inaugural address uttered words of admiration and approval as the tall old man, his white head bared, came out to address them on the course his administration would follow, all of which shows that the violent onslaughts of the preceding three years had not done great damage to his reputation.

The historian, whose view of a public man is likely to be more impersonal than the views of those who actually saw him in the flesh, will, however, ask what kind of a man he was and in what respect he was qualified for the office to which he had been chosen? By early education he was poorly equipped, nor had he acquired in his professional life that mental development that has come in that way to many of our public leaders who began life in the humblest circumstances. Of all our Presidents not one, perhaps, read fewer books and learned less from those he did read. The military life, the one calling in which he showed himself superior to most other men, was not a life to teach the lessons that qualify a man for the presidency.

This third volume of his *Correspondence* contains ample evidence as to his intellectual equipment. His letters show us a man whose judgments of men are entirely personal. Whether favorable or unfavorable, they are warped by his feeling and are lacking in the sense of fairness. In their expression they are unrestrained and if unfavorable they are apt to be violent. His views upon events display the same qualities, with the difference that they are formed on the basis of their bearing on his own interests or on the side he has taken. He sometimes spoke of his principles, but the term is very uncertain on his lips. To him "principles" were little more than expressions of his strong egoism. They were not the results of logical debate in his own mind. He was nearly incapable of seeing any side of a question but that on which he had ranged himself.

[8] Cited in Bassett, *Life of Jackson*, p. 442.

These qualities had their redemption, if such qualities can be redeemed at all, in his moral courage, of which few men had a greater stock. He feared no man. He was candid and bold in speaking his mind. He was, as much as any public man I have ever read about, indifferent to his own interest with respect of his conduct in office. He never profitted out of the offices he held, and he retired from the presidency as poor as when he entered it. He was, also, a man possessed of the soul of courtesy for those whom he had not come to hate. His manners were very dignified on occasions of ceremony, although in periods of relaxation they were as informal as in the backwoods in which he spent his early life. He was most gallant with women, treating them with a chivalry which even in his day was considered " old-fashioned courtesy ".

In his public life he had at heart what he considered the welfare of the nation, supporting its authority, defending its honor, and guarding its interests. He was a man of the people and saw the good qualities of men of lowly station. He did not believe that only those of the higher circles of society were fit for appointment to office. He was sensitive to jobbery and flouted even the suspicion of it. Although possessed of the will of an autocrat, he was a true democrat. Some of his bold measures, as the veto of the Maysville Road bill, filled his assistants with terror, but he told them to consult their constituents and they would see that his action was approved, a judgment which events amply justified. More than all, he had a dominating personality. This quality enabled him to command his army in the field; it enabled him to command the political group at whose head he rode into power. His good sense enabled him to appreciate the temperate urging of his friends in the campaign resulting in his election, and it made his further conduct of the party a great success.

This period of his life broke off with the sudden death of his wife on December 23, 1828. His marriage had begun in turbulent conditions; but no divorce was ever better justified by the events that followed it. For Rachel Donelson, his wife, he had the deepest affection. His letters to her reveal warm sentiments and the greatest solicitude for her welfare, and such was his feeling for her throughout their thirty years of married life. The attacks on her in the campaign gave him the sharpest pain, and when she yielded to a brief illness six weeks after the election he believed that the fatal end was in some part due to her depression over the attacks. He buried her with chastened affection in the garden at the " Hermitage " and turned at once to the tasks connected with his departure for the seat of government. It was with this shadow over his spirit that he entered office, lonely and clouded with grief, his mind constantly recurring to the single grave he had left behind him. Perhaps this event, stupefying in its weight, softened his spirit, so that he took up the work before him in a quieter manner than he would have had if he had entered office in his

normal frame of mind. It was as a man of sorrow, rather than as a man of resentment, that he became President, and the larger problems that faced him were taken up in their natural semblances, and not under the influence of the spirit of jealousy and suspicion with which he had too frequently considered the actions of men and the treatment of perplexing situations.

JOHN SPENCER BASSETT.

JANUARY 1, 1928.

[The lamented death of Professor Bassett, on January 27, prevented his reading proof of the preceding preface. All the text and annotations for the three remaining volumes had, however, been completed by him some time ago.—J. F. J.]

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President Monroe to Jackson. Washington, May 23, 1820. Giving his reasons for not insisting on obtaining Texas in order to get Florida. *Niles' Register,* LXVII. 343.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson. War Department, May 25, 1820. Announcing Jackson's appointment as commissioner to treat with the Indians. Heiskell's *Jackson,* III. 567.

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To William B. Lewis. July 16, 1820. Arguments against the loan office. *Ibid.,* p. 189.

Chief Clerk of the War Department (C. Vandeventer) to Jackson. War Department, Aug. 21, 1820. Reporting that a draft for $20,000 has been sent to defray the expenses of the Indian negotiations. *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* II. 223.

To Samuel R. Overton. Nashville, Aug. 24, 1820. Appointing him secretary to the commission for treating with the Indians. *Ibid.,* p. 233.

Memorandum of Jackson, Thomas Hinds, and William Eastin. Nashville, Aug. 31, 1820. Eastin's agreement to furnish all supplies for the Indian negotiations. *Ibid.,* p. 234.

To the Choctaw Nation. Choctaw Treaty Ground, Oct. 3, 1820. Announcing the President's desire to furnish lands beyond the Mississippi to all the Choctaws wishing to move there. *Ibid.,* p. 235.

To the Choctaw Nation. Choctaw Treaty Ground, Oct. 10, 1820. Urging the advantages of treating with the commissioners. *Ibid.,* p. 237.

To the Choctaw Nation. Choctaw Treaty Ground, Oct. 13, 1820. Telling them the approximate boundaries of the reservation. *Ibid.,* p. 238.

To the Choctaw Nation. Choctaw Treaty Ground, Oct. 17, 1820. Urging them to accept the land beyond the Mississippi. *Ibid.,* p. 240.

Treaty with the Choctaws. Oct. 18, 1820. Exchange of eastern lands for others beyond the Mississippi. *Ibid.,* p. 224.

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To Colonel Robert Butler and Dr. James C. Bronaugh. Pensacola, Aug. 22, 1821. Order to arrest Callava should he refuse to deliver the papers. *Ibid., Misc.*, II. 805.

Colonel Robert Butler and Dr. James C. Bronaugh to Jackson. Pensacola, Aug. 22, 1821. Reporting the arrest of Callava. *Ibid.*, p. 806.

George Walton, John Miller, D. Shannon, and T. Brownjohn to Jackson. Pensacola, Aug. 23, 1821. Delivery of papers and documents found in Callava's dwelling. *Ibid.*, p. 808.

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Order. Pensacola, Aug. 23, 1821. Discharge of Colonel Callava, Domingo Sousa, and Antoine Fullarat from arrest. *Ibid.*, p. 809.

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H. Johnson (governor of Louisiana) to Jackson. New Orleans, Mar. 31, 1827. Invitation to celebration of the victory of New Orleans. *United States Telegraph,* May 24, 1827; *National Intelligencer,* May 25, 1827.

To Governor H. Johnson. Nashville, Apr. 13, 1827. Accepting invitation to celebration of victory of New Orleans. *Ibid.*; *United States Telegraph,* May 24, 1827.

To Dr. Ely. Hermitage, July 12, 1827. On true religion. Heiskell's *Jackson,* II. 406.

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To a committee of citizens of Frankfort. Hermitage, Sept. 4, 1827. Acceptance of invitation to dinner. *Ibid.,* p. 580.

To the mayor of New York. No place, no date. Appreciation of the honor of being admitted to the freedom of the city. *United States Telegraph,* Nov. 7, 1827.

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To James B. Ray (governor of Indiana). Hermitage, Feb. 28, 1828. Expressing his views on the tariff and on internal improvements. *National Intelligencer,* Apr. 29, 1828.

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Hall and Fitzgerald (editors of the Nashville *Republican*) to Jackson. Nashville, Oct. 29, 1828. Asking for information on an alleged conversation between Jackson and Col. Leslie Combs. *United States Telegraph,* Nov. 24, 1828.

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Colonel Leslie Combs to Jackson. Nov. 15, 1828. Controverting the preceding, *National Journal,* Nov. 29, 1828.

To Edward Livingston.[1]

Nashville, January 7, 1820.

Dr Sir, I have this moment rec'd yours of the 23rd ult. and by this days mail forward to the Sec. of the Navy a letter on the subject of our young friend Gaston Davazac.[2] I hope it may be of service to him.

What congress may do on the subject of our affairs with Spain is quite uncertain—our national charector as well as to obtain Justice from Spain requires energetic and prompt measures— but whether there are a majority in congress who are operated upon by motives of public good is doubtfull—self agrandizement and popularity appears to have the sway and may predominate. For myself I have long been wearied with public life, and wished to see the moment arive when I could retire without censure. I have lately rec'd a request that I should suspend my determination to resign for the present—this is made with a view and expectation that congress will adopt a course honourable to the nation. The Executive is firm—but the fear of a combination of the great continental powers in urope, and the injury that might result to our commerce from Vessells crusing under the Spanish flag appear to paralize us, for my part if we are to be in a state of disguised Vasalage and I would as leave have it open and direct, and support our national independence as long as the power remained. I would be free and independent or the acknowledged slave. I have only to remark on the subject of the report of a majority of the committee of the Senate,[3] that I have forwarded my answer thereto with ample documents to shew its falshood and wickedness, and that of its authors. This question as it appears to me has become a national one, the Mover of this thing does not want it stirred, investigation would bring the falshoods the report contains out before the public. They want therefore not to stir it—but as long as it remains in its present state, it may be called up, when I am not prepared to meet it. Therefore as I fear not investigation have urged my friends to present my answer with the documents and urge a decision.

I feel gratefull to my friends in Orleans for there remembrance of me, and celebrating the day that really gave safety to their city—remember me affectionately to them.

I have felt some anxiety on the subject of the pair of horses, sent by Gilmore—he promised to write me—he has not—have the reached Neworleans in good order.

[1] From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kind permission of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

[2] A relative of Mrs. Livingston. He was appointed midshipman in the navy Feb. 17, 1820, and resigned Jan. 10, 1821.

[3] The report of Lacock's committee, Feb. 24, 1819; see vol. II., p. 416, note.

Present me affectionately to your lady and family, say to your son Lewis, I have wrote to the President for a commission for him to enable me if actively employed to have him near me and if possible one of my family. If I should take the field, it will afford me pleasure to have you with me. I am Sir with due reguard and respect yr mo. ob. serv.

To the Secretary of War (John C. Calhoun).[1]

Nashville, January 10, 1820.

Sir, Yours of the 24th Ult. reached me by yesterdays Mail and with the promptness required I hasten to answer it. On the receipt of the confidential communication from the Department of War, bearing date the 27th Nover. Orders were given to concentrate the Troops of my Division at the following Points (viz) The 1st Regt. of Infant[ry] at Baton Rouge, the 4th Regt. at Montpelier (which is intended as the place of general Rendzevous) the 7th Regt. at Fort Scott, and the 8th Regt. at the Bay of St. Louis, except the Detachment employed on the Military Road which will be ordered to Montpelier.

Finding from yours of the 24th Ult. that it is the wish of the President to carry in to effect [the] object of the Campaign, with the Regular force only with out the aid of militia, my plan of the Campaign shall be confined to the opperations of the Regular forces only; and I am clearly of opinion that to obtain success it will require the disposable force of my Division and the reenforcement of the Light Artillery and 2d Regt. of Infantry to be concentrated and this force will not be competent to make a simultanious attack on Barrancas and St Augustine with certainty of success.

The Battalions of Artillery in my Division will not be more than sufficient to Garrison the Forts on the Frontier. It will not be prudent to leave New Orleans and its dependencies with out defence. St. Philips the fortress on which its security depends, must be strongly Garrisoned, we ought to calculate that the disposable force at Cuba will be employed in such manner by Spain as she may think best calculated to defend her Fortresses and give us annoyance; and if New-Orleans is left in a defenceless situation it may be invaded by the Spaniards with a view of drawing our forces from the Barrancas. Therefore as in all my movements I have "looked behind me as well as before", I am of Opinion that two Companies of Artillery should be left at St. Philips and one at St. Johns and Petite Coquille. Fort Gadsden must be maintained and

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, pp. 191, 157. It is evident that none but a commander thoroughly informed of the military situation in his division could prepare so good a plan as this in a day's time. Secretary Calhoun's letter of Dec. 24, 1819, is printed, from the confidential files of the War Department, in the *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun* (Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report* for 1899, vol. II.), p. 165. That of Nov. 27 seems not to have been found. The King of Spain's delay in ratifying the Florida treaty of Feb. 22, 1819, was so disturbing to President and Cabinet that, in his annual message of Dec. 7, 1819, President Monroe had "submitted to the consideration of Congress whether it will not be proper for the United States to carry the conditions of the treaty into effect in the same manner as if it had been ratified by Spain", *i. e.*, to take possession of Florida, but had suggested that the President might be given authority to suspend execution of such act pending the arrival of the new envoy whom Spain was sending. Hence the military preparations. See also Calhoun to Adams, Dec. 22, *ibid.*, p. 164.

being left destitute of succour for a while its Garrison should remain complete, which will require two Companies, in order to give security to the Post, and hold the Indians and the Garrison of St. Marks in check.[2] The Post of Norfolk and its dependencies will require two Companies, to preserve the Public property. The Harbour of Charleston will require one Company, Point Peter and Amelia Island two Companies, and if the Supplies and the munitions of War for the reduction of St. Augustine, should be deposited at the latter Post a 3d Company will be required.[3] Fort Scott must be maintained by a Small Garrison if the 7th Regiment is with drawn, to protect the Public property, to hold out a shew of support to Fort Gadsden, and keep down Indian hostility on the Frontier of Georgia and the Alabama. Mobile and Mobile Point will require a Garrison of one Company.

From this disposition you will find that the Artillery can not be employed in the field without their places being supplied in Garrison by an equal number of Infantry. From the delay which must necessarily be attendant on a debate of this subject in Congress, Spain will have full notice of our movements and intentions in relation to the Campaign; We can not therefore calculate on effecting much by forced marches and secret movements. We must depend on our own resorces to effect the object and expect an obstinate defence by the Garrisons of Spain. The forces in my Division which may be employed in active Opperations are the effective of the 1st, 4th, 7th, and 8th Regiments of Infantry, which from the last returns will form an aggregate of 1568, from which we cannot calculate an effective force in the field of more than 1000 or twelve hundred men.

The Garrisons of Pensacola and Barrancas if not reenforced may be estimated at 500 regulars and 300 militia which will make an effective force of 800 men. The Barrancas is a strong Fortress and the Spaniards have been for some time and are now engaged in adding to its defence. They have recently erected an auxillery Battery, on the position occupied by our 9 Pd. Battery when the Barrancas was taken in 1818.

The Works of the Barrancas are calculated for a Garrison of 350 men. St. Augustine is one of the strongest Fortress in the World with the exception of Quebeck and Gibraltar, its works however if not repaired are in a state of decay but its local situation adds greatly to its strength. If not lately reenforced its Garrison may be estimated at 500 Regulars, and 300 Militia, in addition to this force we may calculate on 300 Negroes and as many Indians as can be seduced by Spanish bribes and persuasions. I think the aggregate force of Regulars, Militia, Indians and Negroes, may be estimated at 1700, which if brave, and gallantly commanded would be able to defend it against 2000 best Troops of any Nation.

[2] Fort St. Philip stood 70 miles down the Mississippi from New Orleans, Fort St. John on Lake Pontchartrain, six miles north of the city, at the mouth of the Bayou St. Jean, Petite Coquille 25 miles east, at the outlet of Lake Pontchartrain. Fort Gadsden, in Florida, had been built by Jackson in 1818 (*Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, I. 698), on the site of the Negro Fort, on the east bank of the Apalachicola, some fifteen miles above its mouth.

[3] Point Peter was in Georgia; for Amelia Island see vol. II., p. 346. Fort Scott was on the east side of the Flint River, in southern Georgia, just above the Florida line.

St Marks is a strong place. its defence was not complete at the time of it[s] capture but our Troops added greatly to its strength, it is Garrisoned by 250 men and if well defended it will cost many lives to take it by Storm, it is situated on the extremity of the point formed by the confluence of the St. Marks and Warcollas [4] Rivers. A Ditch of considerable width and depth unites the two Rivers in its rear, and by the waters of which its base is washed on every Side. Its walls are built of Stone and where completed, are thirty feet high. this must be taken by stratigim or regular Siege, it would cost a thousand lives if well defended to take it by Storm.

From this view of the Subject and to effect the object of the Campaign with out disaster, My plan of Campaign is, to leave the 7th Regt. at Fort Scott, to cover fort Gadsden and over-awe the Indians and the Garrison of St. Marks. The Troops of the Northern Division to be landed at Blakely on the Mobile Bay [5] and marched from thence to Fort Montgomery [6] where they will be joined by the 1st, 4th, and 8th Regiments of the Southern Division and march immediately to invest Pensacola and Barrancas, after the reduction of which the whole force with the exception of a sufficient Garrison for these posts, will be reembarked on board of the Transports and Sail for the Bay of Apalachicola, from whence a part of the force will be Ordered to Fort Gadsden to unite with the 7th Regiment, which will be ordered to that Post after the reduction of Pensacola. this force when united will march a cross the Country and invest St. Marks in the rear, with a view of cuting off all communication with the Indians, should they be disposed to aid the Garrison; while the remainder of the Troops, with the Supplies, and Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, will be conveyed to the Bay of St. Marks. A Strong Naval escort will be required for the protection of our Transports and may be advantageously employed in the reduction of St. Marks and St. Augustine. After the reduction of St. Marks it will be occupied by a sufficient Garrison and the remaining force will Sail immediately for St. Augustine. Thus by attacking the Posts in detail, I hope our concentrated force will be adequate to their Speedy reduction. Should this plan be approved, it will be necessary to place in Depot at New Orleans 200,000 Rations, with Transportation in readiness to convey them to any point, where they may be required. Transportation for the 1st and 8th Regts. from New Orleans and the Bay of St. Louis, and for part of the 4th and 7th from Pensacola and St. Marks will be also required. The Ordnance and Ordnance Stores estimated for the reduction of Pensacola and Barrancas should be transported to the Bay of Mobile at the time the Troops land at Blakely; but it is not contemplated to transport by land more than 15 days Rations for the Army; and none of the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores except the 2 12 Pds. and two Howitzers with fifty rounds of

[4] Wakulla.

[5] A new town, rapidly growing, at the mouth of the Tensas, across the bay from Mobile. See McMaster, *Hist. of the United States*, IV. 395.

[6] On the east side of the Alabama River, just above its junction with the Tombigbee.

Ammunition for each. The heavey Ordnance should remain on board the Vessels which may be safely anchored in the Bay of Mobile until the Barrancas is invested, after which the supplies of every kind, may be transported to and landed at the mouth of the grand Lagoon near the Barrancas from whence they can be conveyed with little labour to the positions where they will be required.

I deem it necessary for a Depot of 200,000 Rations to be established, at Savanah, St. Maries or Amelia Island, the latter would be the most convenient point but the Deposite should not be made at that place, unless the Strength of the Garrison and Fortress, will inssure its protection, for if the Governor of St. Augustine is a military man he would hazard much in order to destroy our Supplies.

The accompaning Doccument (A) is an estimate of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores required for the reduction of Pensacola, Barrancas and St. Marks. For the necessary supplies to be employed against St. Augustine I refer you to the requisition of General Gaines. I think it an ample supply, and it should be deposited with the Rations at a point from whence it may be conveniently transported to St. Augustine. Doccument (B) contains an estimate of the Teams which will be required at Blakely for the Transportation of the Field Artillery and ammunition and which it is supposed will be sufficient to remove the heavy Artillery from the point of disembarcation to the Position it will occupy in Battery. It is however requested that a large contingent fund may be placed in the hands of the Quarter master to furnish an additional supply should a deficiency exist. It is impossible at present to form an estimate of the Teams which will be necessary to transport the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores to St. Augustine, as it must depend entirely on the point of Landing; if we can succeed in carying Fort Matanzies [7] at the Southern extremity of St. Anastatia Island and effecting a passage up the South River, we can invest the Fortress without transporting our Ordnance more than three miles by land which will be an emence saving of time, money, and Labour. But if this cannot be effected we shall be compelled to land at the mouth of the St. Johns River from whence to St. Augustine we shall have a land transportation of 41 miles. I wish ample funds to be placed in the hands of the Quarter Master to supply any contingency, and particularly to furnish such transportation as may be deemed necessary on our arrival at St. Augustine. I would recommend that the Transpo[r]tation which brings round the Troops from the North should not be discharged on landing them at Blakely but be held in readiness for the reembarcation of the Troops at the Barran[ca]s after the reduction of that place. I have made a requisition for 200000 Rations from a calculation that I might be 75 days employed in the reduction of the Spanish Posts west of Cape Florida; but with the Smiles of Heaven I hope not to be half that time engaged, and our movements and Opperations will be greatly facilitated by having vessels ready for our transportation from Post to post as soon as our work is completed.

[7] Matanzas.

Should it be found that Vessels cannot enter the grand Lagoon as proposed in this place we shall be compelled to transport our Ordnance by land from the Bay of Mobile, which will require a greater number of Teams than that mentioned in my estimate. I am of opinion that light Vessels can enter the Lagoon with little difficulty; but for information on this subject I refer you to Col. Gibson [8] who I believe is well acquainted with it.

I have the Honour to be Very Respectfully

P S for more particular information relative to the Strength of the Southern Division, I refer you to the report of my Adjt. General for the quarter ending 31st Oct 1819.

Affidavit of John Donelson, jr.

State of Alabama, January 13, 1820.

Some time in the month of December Eighteen hundred and Seventeen, a company was made up in the town of Nashville, for the purpose of purchasing lots in the town of Pensacola; said company consisted of the following persons (viz) James Jackson senr., James Jackson Junr., John Jackson, John McCrea, John C. McLemore, John H Eaton, Thomas Childress and John Donelson Junr. and I John Donelson Junr. was chosen by said company to go on to Pensacola and make the purchases; previous to my going I applyed to Major Genl. A. Jackson to get letters of introduction to some person or persons in Pensacola, being then in a delicate state of health I told him if the climate agreed with me that I would wish to remain there for some time, and if Pleased with the country, would want to make some purchases of lots in Pensacola, he replyed that he would give me a letter of introduction to the Govenor, and made out one accordingly, which I delivered to the Govenor of Pensacola upon my arrival at that place.

Having been informed that Col. William P. Anderson [1] had obtained a copy of said letter through some intention of endeavouring to injure the character and standing of Genl. Jackson, that the truth may be known and that Justice may be done to Major Genl. A. Jackson, I therefore depose, set forth, and declare that the said letter was written through motives of friendship alone, and by special request, and not through any interested motives, so far as comes within my knowledge; and that the above named eight persons are the only ones that I have ever known as being originally concerned in said speculation, and that it was set on foot by James Jackson senr. and John H. Eaton and that the probabilities then held out rested entirely upon the negotiations which were then about to take place with the Spanish Government; and that at the time I set out I had no knowledge of a campaign into Florida nor received no such information untill the evening before I left Pensacola which was sometime in the month of February 1818. I do further depose, set forth, and declare, that I do not believe that Genl. Jackson is or ever has been either directly or

[8] Col. George Gibson, commissary general of subsistence.
[1] Colonel 24th Infantry 1812-1815.

indirectly interested in said speculation or that he is or ever was either directly or indirectly to receive any profit or advantage from said speculation; and that he did not advance me any funds for the purpose of purchasing property in the Floridas either Jointly or individually

sworn to and subscribed before me this 13th day of January 1820[2]

HUGH CAMPBELL J. P [Seal]
For Lauderdal County
Alabama State

TO THE PRESIDENT (JAMES MONROE).[1]

HERMITAGE, January 15, 1820.

Private

Dear Sir. Your friendly letter of the 12th ult reached me in due course of mail, and it should have recd an earlier answer, but at the time it came to hand I was much engaged in endeavouring to restore some kind of order in the 7th M Dept which was almost in a state of perfect disorganization. I sincerely regret that Genl Ripley[2] could so far forget his duty as a military man as to suffer his command to be in such a state as I find it. It will soon regain its former respectability, a remedy has been applied and Genl Bissell[3] who is now in command has taken prompt measures, to place the 7th Military Department on a respectable standing.

I had the pleasure to receive the message you enclosed. Should Congress support you in your measures, we will soon have indemnity and peace with Spain. If the[y] do not, our national character will receive a wound that will not shortly be healed, and the nation will not support Congress on this event.

I have no doubt but Spain will attempt to hold out threats and attempt to paralize the nation by threats of foreign alliance. I trust Congress will prove true to the nation and support its Character, for the moment it is discovered, that we hesitate to do ourselves Justice and repell the national insult offered to us by the perfidy of Spain, it will be construed, that our forbearence originates from a fear of the combined powers, and her insults will be multiplied. after suffering many degradations we will have to do ourselves Justice by force. A prompt and manly stand gives us Justice and prevents war. The Uropean powers cannot interfere, so long as we are only seeking Justice and carrying into effect that Treaty, that Spain in good faith had become bound to ratify. Nay more agreable to the usages of nations, bottomed upon national law we have a right to indemnify ourselves, not only to the amount of injury sustained but also for the insult offered and perfidy used towards us. I hope Congress will act with energy and consistant with what is due to our standing as a nation.

[2] This statement is supported by the affidavits of James Jackson, jr., and Thomas Childress. Jackson MSS., dated Jan. 12, 1820.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

[2] Brevet Maj.-Gen. Eleazer W. Ripley. Resigned from the army Feb. 1, 1820.

[3] Col. Daniel Bissell, 1st Infantry, brevet brigadier-general.

I have read with attention the correspondence of Mr Forsyth with the Spanish ministers,[4] I have read it with regret. I have read the late report of the Sec of the Treasury,[5] I have read it with regret. There does appear to me to be a systematic combination between them, that it appears to me that there is an intention in those two things to strike deeply at you and Mr Calhoun, you will pardon me for this Sugestion, and apply it as you think it ought, the sugestion proceeds from a sincere friendship for you both, the Lethergy that would seem to prevade congress on this important national subject hightens my suspicion that a secrete blow is intended, and the engine of intrigue is secretely at work. It will be insisted by those oppose to you that the state of the finance will not permit the nation to do any act that may involve them in war, it will be urged by others that it was the indiscretion of Mr Forsythe that caused the King of Spain to withold his ratification etc. etc. without further comment you can see if my conjectures are right what this will lead to. I will just add Mr Crawford is sorely goaded, he finds he has lost all reputation whilst Mr Calhoun has gained much, and he will do any thing to crush you all, seeing he cannot rule himself. Clay will be silent, but Deep in the intrigue. finding we stand well with the Patriotts, he can no longer ride triumphantly his Spanish Jack, But he will seize the first opportunity to destroy your well earned popularity. Your enemies must and will fail if they make the attempt, the nation is with, and will support you. as far as I can, I will do my duty. I hope I may be mistaken in these sugestions, but they impress upon me with such force that friendship compelled me to state them.

Present Mrs. J. and myself respectfully to your lady and accept for yourself our best wishes. I am with due respect Yr mo ob servt.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, January 17, 1820.

Sir. Immediately on the receipt of the confidential communication from the Department of War [2] Orders were given to carry promptly in to effect the preparatory measures directed. In this order viewing the delay necessarily attendent on the discussion which this subject will produce in Congress; I did not deem it advisable to with draw the Troops employed on the military road, but to hold them in readiness to move at a moments warning, and at the same time to progress with the work in which they are engaged. They have been instructed accordingly, And on the receipt of your final Orders for the Campaign the Detachment on the South end of the Road will be marched to the Bay of St. Louis, where they will be embarked, and the Detachment on the North end of the Road will move direct (via) St. Stephens to the General rendezvous at Montpelier.

[4] *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 652-673.
[5] *Id., Finance*, III. 423-426.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 163.
[2] See p. 2, *ante*, note 1.

I regret to say to you that the grossest neglect of duty has been manifested on the South end of the Military road. If promptly attended to it would long since have been completed. In short Sir, General Ripley left the 8th Military Department in an entire State of disorganization. The Officer Maj McIntosh [3] whom he had invested with the Comd. on the South end of the Road, from his disorderly conduct and habits of disipation has made it necessary for me to order his arrest. Whither [4] the 8th military Department was left by General Ripley in its late State of disorganization, with a view of aiding those in their Opposition who are unfriendly to the Army, I cannot say, but whether through design or other ways, it was left in the most deplorable situation. Prompt measures have been adopted to replace this Department in its former respectable standing, and the energetic conduct of Maj Many [5] who relieved General Ripley in command in the first instance, and the prompt attention to orders by General Bissell, since he assumed command have restored order and subordination.

Considering the Military Road as an object of national importance I have been extremely anxious for its completion, and if the Detachments now engaged on it are not removed it will be completed in the Spring. I shall therefore continue them as long as the other views of the Government will permit, and will await your final Orders for the concentration of the Troops before they are withdrawn. From the situation of these Detachments, you will discover the necessity of giving me the earlyest information on this subject, that they may be removed to the place of General Rendezvous in time to unite with the other forces

I am Very Respectfully

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, January 21, 1820.

Sir. Yours of the 31st Ult [2] is just received. I have read it with great attention and hasten to reply.

When called on by you for a plan of Campaign I regreted very much that I had not by me the plan of the Fortifications of St. Augustine and its dependencies. When in the Year 1818 I determined to retire to private life I placed in the hands of my Friend Captain Gadsen the plan of these fortresses, believing at some day it might be of service to the U. S. in the hands of its Engineer. I had therefore to depend on my recollection of its Strength in the plan of Campaign submited.

In all my military operations I have thought it best never to underrate the prowess of my enemy, or calculate on his weakness. But to depend on my own resourses for Success, and to look behind as well as before, that I may be secure at all points; and never separate my forces so that my

[3] Maj. John N. McIntosh, 8th Infantry.
[4] Whether.
[5] James B. Many, major in the corps of artillery.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter Book L, p. 165; also in War Dept. files.
[2] *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, p. 167.

enemy might be afforded an opportunity of destroying me in detail. The pursuit of this plan, has hitherto crowned me with success in all my Operations and secured me from disaster of any kind.

St. Augustine has been among the strongest Fortresses in the World, some of its works have been in a state of dilapidation; but have been and are now undergoing repair. Its local situation adds greatly to its strength and difficulty of reducing it. Permit me to remark that I am badly advised or you under rate the strength of its Garrison of regular forces. If I am correctly informed You should estimate this force at 500 men. The Strength of its irregular force will depend greatly on our movements against it. If a Simultanious attack is made on it and Barrancas, all the Indians and Woodbines Negroes, would be brought into the field to harrass your frontier and aid in the defence of St. Augustine. When your Troops are engaged in Operating against this fortress, these irregulars will attack your rear with a view of cuting off your supplies and if aided by a reenforcement from Cuba, might cut off your retreat and destroy your whole force before you could be relieved.

To insure Success and prevent disaster of any kind, you must have a sufficient force concentrated to operate against the Fortress and to protect your rear, and until the Matanza Fort is reduced to protect your supplies over land, from the St. Johns the only point from which Supplies can be brought, until the Occupation of St. Anastatia Island by the reduction of Matanza Fort, when our supplies can be secured by water through the Matanza Inlet;

When we reflect that the Commandant[s] of St. Augustine and Barrancas have been and are now engaged in repairing and strengthening their Works, when we reflect on the tardiness of Congress we can not calculate on effecting much by secret movement or a Coup-de-main. We can not expect to reach the Spanish fortresses before they are strengthened as much as the Commandants have the means to add to them. We ought to calculate on as obstinate a resistance as the Commandants have the means of making, and expect them to wield the disposable forces of Cuba the best way it can be to our annoyance and the defence of their Fortresses.

To be successful and prevent disasters of any kind we ought to make our arrangements accordingly, and calculate on meeting all the disposable forces of every description our Enemy can possibly wield. On this base was my plan of Campaign bottomed, that success might attend us without disaster or a necessity arise to create a call for the Militia. If our force is divided, and a simultaneous attack made on St. Augustine and Barrancas, the 7th Regt. of Infantry will have to be removed to the scene of active operations, and as soon as the 7th Regiment is removed from Fort Scott you expose the whole frontier, invite on its borders Indian depredations which will call for the militia to protect it. Hence my plan of Campaign by which our frontier will be protected, our rear protected and success promised without disaster anywhere and without the aid of militia.

By concentrating the forces at Fort montgomery, and leaving the 7th Regt. at Fort Scott, to cover the Frontier, march and reduce Barrancas and Pensacola, these well garrisoned will add strength to Mobile and

Orleans. next reduce St. Marks which will insure us peace with the Indians; and if we fail capturing the Negroe Brigand we will drive them and disperse them in the Swamps. It is right here to remark that from the Strength as well as position of St. Marks, if not taken by supprise or Strategem, it will cost both blood and Treasure to reduce it but reduced it must be, which will (having our borders secured) give us our whole force to operate against St. Augustine, being well supplied will be competent to reduce it against all the forces that can be wielded by Spain without hazarding disaster of any kind or necessity for aid from the militia. The Garrison of Fort Gadsden with the cooperation of the 7th Regt. will afford protection to our frontier and coward the Indians until the Barrancas is reduced and prevent any call for militia to protect our borders.

The Light Artillery and 2d Regt. of Infantry might be sufficient with a naval cooperation for the reduction of St. Augustine if not repaired and not reënforced having only 300 men to man the whole works. Thus Garrisoned it must be found weak at some points and undefended at others. If this is the state of its Garrison the Commandant does not calculate on defending it, this is a calculation too hazardous to make. We must as military men calculate on a brave and military defence, and particularly when we do know that the Town of St. Augustine can afford a military force of at least 300 men. Added to this it is believed that Governor Coppingere [3] can draw to his Standard 300 Negroes (to say nothing of the Indians) tutered by Nichols and Woodbine to the use of Arms and who will fight desperately if well commanded when protected by strong Walls. I am advised the Regular strength is 500, I hope shortly to be in possession of their Strength that may be relied on.

I have thought it my duty thus to explain the reasons which governed me in forming the plan of Campaign which I forwarded to you of date the 10th Inst. I have only to add that if any other plan should be prefered by you I will endeavour to do my duty, and do as much with a few Troops as I can, and wield them to the best of my judgement for the benefit of the Nation and the protection of the frontier, should I continue to command. Great care should be taken to prevent disaster or defeat at every point. Such an event would be wielded by the enemys of the Administration and the Army with all the force and ingenuity their malice could invent. . . . .[4]

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Private

War Department, January 23, 1820.

Dear Sir, I have received your private letter in relation to your Nephew Cadet, Andrew J Donelson,[1] now at West Point. Under existing regula-

[3] Don José Coppinger, Spanish governor of East Florida.

[4] Replying to Jackson, Calhoun wrote (Feb. 5, 1820) as follows: "In relation to the expected movement into Florida, your plan appears to be very judicious, and is approved by the President. It is however believed, the discussion of the measures recommended by the President on that subject will be delayed until so late, that the sickly season will render it unadvisable for the troops to march until the Fall. In this state of things, nothing more can be done, than to hold the troops in readiness for a prompt movement."

[1] See vol. II., p. 275, note.

tions, the regular examination will take place in June, at which time, your nephew will be entitled to promotion, and if you would permit me to offer my advice, I would suggest it as the most advisable for him to remain till that time, unless Congress should authorise military operations against Florida previous to that period. Your nephew stands very high, and will, if he continues till the regular examination, be placed, in all probability, among the first of the Cadets, which will give him the right to select the corps in which he may choose to serve. Should he leave the academy before the examination, he will loose this advantage. The advantage of making a campaign under your immediate observation, should Congress authorise operations this Spring, would doubtless much more than counter ballance that, which I have stated, but, if they should not, I think you would find the course, which I have suggested, as the most advisable. If, however, you should still be desireous of his return to Tennessee in April, I will with pleasure grant the permission which you request.

I entirely agree with you, as to the importance of Cuba to our country. It is, in my opinion, not only the first commercial and military position in the world, but is the key stone of our Union. No American statesman ought ever to with draw his eye from it; and the greatest calamity ought to be endured by us, rather than it should pass into the hands of England. That she desires it, and would seize it, if a fair oppertunity presented itself, I cannot doubt; and that, such an event would endanger our union, is to me very manifest. These are my fixed opinions. Should our relation with Spain end in a rupture, we ought to be prepared immediately, at the very commencement of the hostilities, to seize on it, and to hold it for ever. On the contrary, I think there are strong reasons, why we ought, at first, to limit our operations to Florida, and rest there for the present, unless Spain should choose to come to a rupture with us; or that the designs of England on it, Cuba, should become sufficiently manifest.

Congress has not evinced so much feeling on these important points, as I expected. The subject of Florida appears for the present to sleep, tho' I can not doubt, that, before the termination of the session, they will authorise the President to occupy it.

With sentiment of sincere esteem and respect

James J. Hanna to Jackson.

Portsmouth, Va., January 30, 1820.

D'r Sir, I fear our detention in this country has been a serious inconvenience to you and my mother.

We have used every exertion, but have been so unfortunate, as to take the wrong course and go to places where few negroes were for sale, and difficult to purchase. Had one of us come on here, at first, and the other gone to the Eastern Shore of Maryland, we should have been at home before this. I left Mr Clay about three weeks ago at Plymouth N. C. and yesterday received a letter from him stating, he had done nothing since I left him. I expect him here every day. Since my arrival here I have purchased five fellows for you viz Ned at $450, Tom $455, Argyle $450, Titus $460, and Ned $475. Some of them are better bargains than

others: but I dont consider any of them bad ones, they are all very likely and under 24 years of age, except Titus, who is 30, but is a very large strong likely fellow and represented to be very trusty. Ned, the highest priced one is an uncommon likely fellow about 22 years of age, and was supplied with his blankets and winter clothing. Tom, I was rather taken in with. I examined him while standing and after having paid the money and gotten the bill of sale, I was told he had a little halt in his walk, occasioned by a hurt in his hip in his youth, which has made one leg a little longer than the other. The defect is only in appearance. I think he will make as good a field negroe as any I have purchased. He has got about sense enought to do what he is told, and strength enough to do any thing.

When Mr C. arrives I will get him to go to the Eastern Shore, and if there are as many negroes for sale, there, as has been represented to me, we may calculate on getting home about the 20th March. Please Give my respects to Mrs Jackson and allow me to call myself your Friend and obt. Servt.

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Mr Jas Hanna's letter 30th January 1820—on the subject of the purchase of Negroes, five bot. their name[s] and prices as stated in the memorandom Book.

A. J

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.[1]

Hermitage, February 12, 1820.

Your favour of the 21st of January is Just to hand, and I sincerely thank you for the Trouble you have taken to discover the declarations, and slander of that subtle fiend Colo. John Williams;[2] as to any of his opinions relative to me as a military man, I care not, as I know amonghst military men who know him, his opinions on military matters can have no weight, and being content myself with the plans and execution thereof through my military career, nothing that such a man could say could have any effect on my feelings—so long as he would confine himself to my public conduct generally—but when he would attempt to insinuate any thing relative to my private and moral charector or any particular act of mine as a military man I will punish him. he has I know, in dark innuendoes and secrete and confidential information endeavoured to injure me in congress. My reasons for making the request of you I did, and troubling you with this disagreable business, was to obtain certain proof of some charge he had made against me so that I might have proof, believing from what I know of him, that he would deny any thing to shield himself from punishment or danger. perhaps when you see Mr. King,[3] he can give you some direct information. I wish you if you please to have some conversation with him on the subject of Colo. Williams communication relative to the Salt lick—after which I do not wish you to

[1] See vol. II., p. 304, note 8. Dr. Bronaugh was in Washington when this letter was written.

[2] See vol. II., p. 88, note. Colonel Williams was U. S. senator from Tennessee 1815-1823.

[3] Evidently Rufus King, senator from New York, who had in charge Jackson's defense against Lacock's resolutions.

trouble yourself further, unless, you find something, that would enable me to make a direct call on him. I have waited with some solicitude to see my answer before the senate, but the reasons for delay, are sufficient. The spanish treaty will not be ratified, the course Congress has persued, is well calculated to prevent it. Had congress acted with that promptness, feeling, and energy that the subject required, and our national charector demanded, the Don long since, cap in hand, would have paid his respects to our President, with the treaty ratified, and an humble request that it might be received. But spain has taken courage from the feeble and disgracefull course that Congress has pursued, and Capt Gadsden writes me from orleans that reenforcements from cuba has sailed for Pensacola, that the Governor of Pensacola is streng[t]hening the Barrancas, and has erected a redoubt on the portion we occupied with our nine pound battery. This clearly shews that spain does not intend to ratify the treaty, or would she strengthen the fortifications to deliver them to us, or be at the expence of sending Troops to reenforce her garrisons, for the purpose of incurring a useless expence, no; we therefore will have to take them by force, and every week adds strength to our enemy, and will add to the blood and Treasure it will cost us to Possess the Floridas.

I have been called on for a plan of campaign calculated to be carried on by the regulars alone, and to prevent the necessity of a call for aid from the militia. believing as I did, that Spain would reenforce her garrisons, excite the Indians and negroes to war and seduce them to Join her standard I recommended a concentration of our force at Ft Montgomery (except the 7th Regt. who are to be left at Ft Scott, to overaw the Indians and cover Ft Gadsden and the Georgia Frontier) march for and reduce Pensacola and the Barancas, with the same Transports sail the appelachicola Bay, land such part of our Troops as would be sufficient in conjunction with the 7th Regt to march for and invest St Marks by land, the others sail for the Bay of St Johns, and invest it by water, reduce it, which would secure our rear and the Frontier of Georgia, whilst the Barrancas would give us security to the mobile and orleans and our frontier in that quarter. Then with our combined force invest St Augustine and reduce it. Thus by reducing them in detail no disaster could befall us, when if we were to attempt to make a simultaneous attack on Barrancas and St Augustine, reenforcements might be sent to St Augustine, which with the force there, the Indians, and negroes excited and supplied at St. Marks an attack might be made in the rear and the Troops investing the place destroyed and our frontier deludged with blood before I could reduce the Barrancas and aid them. The 7th Regt. would not be of sufficient strength to march into the seminole country and hold the Indians in check, without much hazzard. Therefore if active operations is ordered my plan of campaign adopted, Mobile will be the rendezvous for our Transports to which point the stores etc. etc. etc. for your department ought to be ordered. If my plan is not adopted, the sec of war will direct one himself, of which he can inform you. I can with the 4th and Eight, take Barrancas, if not reenforced—if reenforced it would take the aid of the 7th. by my plan we are persuing a course calculating

from our own resources on victory, without the aid of the militia. by dividing our force, should the enemy be reenforced, we hazzard defeat and disgrace, and on that event a certain call for the militia. on my plan we secure orleans and mobile from attack, place the frontiers of Georgia in security and reduce the Garrison in detail. be assured St Marks and St Augustine if well defended will cost us many lives, some time, and a great deal of powder. it is their situation, added to their strength, that will make the dificulty in reducing them. The Barancas has dry ground for us to approch it, the others swamps and marshes. I would to god Mr. Mercer [4] was before St Marks to make us a good dry encampment below it, which he said in his speech on the seminole question I might have easily done. however if Congress orders it to be Possessed, we will have it, without militia aid, or perish.

your medical supply you will please to order to orleans to be transported with the Troops and other supplies from there, if laid in at the north, you can order them with the troops from that section destined to form a Junction with me at mobile bay, provided my plan is adopted.

Give my compliments to Colo. Gibson and Easter if with you, and let me hear from you shortly. Mrs. J. Joins me in good wishes for your health and happiness. present me to Mr. Munroe, lady, and family affectionately

I am D'r Sir Sincerely yrs

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, March 11, 1820.

Dear Genl. In my letter a few days ago, I promised that shortly thereafter I would again write you. Your memorial was at that time postponed that gentlemen might have an opportunity to examine and see how far it would prove to them palatable and how far the language might be considered decorous; as you will have perceived by the news papers it was shortly afterwards called up, but interrupted upon the discussion by the *slaves bill* which had been returned to us from the House of Representatives. That being disposed of, the memorial was again adverted to by Mr. King, and after about six or eight speeches, and divers animadversions on the character of the Report of last year; and after the acrimony and severity of your memorial had been discanted upon and defended, it was ordered to be printed.

The advocates and the opposers you will have seen in the Intelligencer: amongst the number was Mr Pinkney [1] who advocated the memorial.

[4] Charles Fenton Mercer, M. C. from Virginia 1819-1839.

[1] William Pinkney, senator from Maryland. Jackson's memorial was presented to the Senate by Rufus King, senator from New York, Feb. 23, 1820. On Mar. 3 King called it up again and debate occurred. The memorial was attacked by Walker of Georgia, Burrill of Rhode Island, and Dana of Connecticut. After some discussion these gentlemen withdrew their objections, and six hundred copies were ordered printed. There seems to have been an agreement that the matter would be pressed no further. No reports of the speeches appear in the *Annals of Congress,* where the debate is mentioned (16 Cong., 1 sess., I. 439, 472). The memorial is in the appendix of the same work 15 Cong., 2 sess., II. 2308 ff.; also in *Senate Docs.,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., vol. I., no. 73. Nothing further was done in the Senate about either the report of Lacock's committee or Jackson's memorial.

He said it was true that it did not, as regarded the committee speak in laudatory phrase, or in suppliant style, nor would such language have been worthy of yourself: that it was a manly argumentative and dignified appeal, and a bold and free examination of an *Indictment* prefered at last session, and was drawn in a style and manner suited to the cause that produced it. He said it was a duty the Senate owed, after what had heretofore transpired, to give under their sanction publicly to the memorial, and by this official act to ward off assault from one whose reputation and character was the property of the nation, and ought to be so considered. It must be to you a matter highly satisfactory, that men so emenently distinguished, and at the same time so competent to judge as King and Pinkney are discovered to be approves of your course and conduct in the Seme. war, men who being almost strangers to you, can feel no other impulse than that which reason sanctions. The opposition to printing was so feebly maintained, and the strength of argument and numbers being on the side of the memorial, that in the end, before the discussion had closed, opposition was withdrawn, and six hundred copies were ordered to be printed; so soon as they are finished I will send you one.

You will remember I stated to you, that Doctr Bronaugh and myself had transcribed and made some changes in the memorial. After this it was handed over to Mr. Pinkney and to Mr. King who desired to see it. They proposed, after having examined it, that some alteration or changes should be made in the first pages; and particularly desired that the sentence which alledged that you had "*understood*" the report had not been drawn by any of the Committee should be crossed out, and not printed. They said that any thing the memorial might contain, directly personal would in coming before the public prove injurious, not beneficial to the end, which ought to be the only one intended to be answered, (to wit) the placing the report of the Senate properly before the public. I at first refused, but on a second intervew with them on the subject, this was my reply; that you would I well knew be satisfied with any freedom or course your frends might deem advisable and if they would state their opinions in writing, to be sent to you, and thereby unite with me in the responsibility I would consent to the alterations proposed. Accordingly they were made; and when you shall see the memorial I am persuaded that in what has been done, there is nothing to which you will object. I will enclose you the writing referred to,[2] as the basis of what was done, when next I write; it is not at hand or it would be now forwarded. The memorial will I expect be printed in eight or ten days hence.

[2] This statement, signed by Rufus King, William Pinkney, and John H. Eaton, is as follows: "Having read over the memorial of Genl. Jackson to the Senate of the U. S. for the purpose of justifying himself against the Charges contained in the Report of a Committee of the Senate, made during the last session of Congress, we are of opinion, and accordingly recommend, that the memorial be revised, and that such Clauses thereof be corrected, or expunged, as impute to the Committee, or to the Senate, either partial, prejudiced or illiberal motives. We recommend this Revision not only because the memorial may otherwise be opposed, as wanting in Respect for the Senate; but because with such Corrections, the Facts and Reasons in vindication of the General, which the memorial contains, will be more likely to have their proper Effect."

Those gentlemen and others warmly your friends are opposed to any further examination of this subject. There is no way to reach it but by referrence of the whole matter again to a committee, and they say that this ought not to be done—that the Report of last year is duly appreciated every where, and is without any of the effects in relation to you, that you conjecture to have been produced; that the senate never made the report theirs by *adoption,* or did more than to direct, as a matter ordinarily usual, its printing: and that your memorial which is as full and satisfactory as any report that could be made, being also by the senate ordered to be printed, is making the reparation commessurate with the injustice. They say, it is not an answer and defence published by yourself, and therefore a private matter; but a reply presented to the senate, who by the order made for its publication, sanction your opinions, as much as they, by ordering the publication of the report, gave *it* sanction; and that, hence, the whole matter stands as tho the senate never had acted on it as the opinions of three men. Added to all this a great majority concur with you, that it is a business with which the senate had, and ought to have had nothing to do, and that a sacrafice of this opinion would be contained, in pressing the enquiry again. Such being the opinions of those whose frendship is unquestionable gives additional weight. Of the good wishes of him who is principal actor in this business the presenter of the memorial you have heretofore had evidence—that of Mr. Pinkney is no less than his

A further objection to the referrence is this, that (for you know they are chosen in the Senate by ballot) an unfavourably disposed committee might be selected. It is very easy in a body of 40, for 12 or 15 men acting in concert to appoint a committee of their own: there own ballots would be certain, while the scattering votes of those unapprised of the scheme might effect the purpose: true a similar concert by a majority might defeat it, but then here is the objection; you have presented the memorial, and stirred the investigation, and for your friends under such circumstances to attempt any concert of the kind would afford room for recrimination and censure to you; having a regard for your honor and feelings they could not venture upon such a course; and not to do so, but to trust the matter to those inimically disposed, would be to venture at great hazard, in pursuit of an unprofitable result, and to afford an opportunity for the venting of any lurking spleen. Your memorial having been printed by order of, and bearing with it the sanction, of the Senate, is as full a report as *any Committee* could give however favourably disposed.[3]

Besides, the opinions entertained by many, that the Senate, have not, and never should have entertained jurisdiction, as you have well argued, would render an attempt to recommit the enquiry hazardous; and should it be made and fail of success it might produce an injurious effect upon the whole. therefore, your friends have come to this conclusion, that the "strong spirited and dignified" appeal you have made through the

[3] Oliver Wolcott, Secretary of the Treasury from 1795 to 1800, writing from Litchfield, Conn., Apr. 2, 1820, to Jackson Meigs, of Washington, spoke as follows: "I have received your Letter of March 28, with *General Jackson's* reply to the *Committee of the Senate.* It is a valuable Pamphlet; but, I wanted nothing to satisfy my mind, that his conduct has been correct, and his services *preeminently* useful to this Country."

senate, and by them under a feeble opposition ordered to be printed, will effectually put the "Lacock Report" to rest, and ought forever to quiet your feelings upon the subject. My desire to consult and to pursue your own wishes upon this subject would be sufficient to attempt the reference but your frends deeming a different course advisable and proper, renders it prudent to forbear any further attempt; especially too as public opinion is now decidedly with you

The Committee on foreign relations in the Ho. Rep. yesterday made report authorising the President to take possession of E and W Florida. Mr. Forsyth's correspondence in addition to what vou have seen was yesterday laid before both houses. His remonstrance as he calls it, to the Spanish Secy. of State was refused and sent back as highly offensive, he informs mr Secty Adams that he shall retire from Madrid into France. Doubtless he has left the Spanish Court

Some of our profound politicians have shewn a great knowlege of the situation of the affairs of their Country, and if clothed with sensibility must feel a little mortified. A reference to the Intelligencer of yesterday will shew them debating on the reduction of the army and navy, and urging it as necessary, when lo, on the very next day, out comes a report for active measures of a warlike nature, which points to the necessity of an increase, instead of a diminution.

In the progress of my horse bill for the relief of the Volunteers [4] it has been urged that they were paid for clothing. There is an old law, during the war which directs volunteers tendering their services for one year, and accepted of by the President to be supplied or paid for clothing; but this law is obsolete, and at any rate applied not to the Semenole volunteers who were to have the same pay etc as had been given to the Militia during the war, which was $6 66/100 under the act of 1795 in view of every thing. Pray did they receve cloathing, and was it by your orders?

The President says he has recvd your letter. He said he wanted to have with me some conversation in relation to it, but it being a levee evening and much crowded no oppertunity was then had. He desired me to say to you, that he had been so taken up with the deep agitations here the (missouri bill), that he did not [have] time but that he would shortly write to you. The agitation was indeed great I assure you—dissolution of the Union had become quite a fimiliar subject. By the compromise however restricting slavery north of 36½ degrees we ended this unpleasant question. Of this the Southern people are complaining, but they ought not, for it has preserved peace dissipated angry feelings, and dispelled appearances which seemed dark and horrible and threat[en]ing to the interest and harmony of the nation. The constitution has not been surrendered by this peace offering, for it only applies while a territory. when it is admitted congress have the power and right to legislate, and not when they shall become States

I fear I have tired you so good night. Present me respectfully to mrs Jackson and to my frend Capt Call.[5] Yours truly

[4] Bill "for the relief of such officers and volunteers engaged in the late Seminole war as may have lost their horses and other property during said campaign", introduced by Senator Eaton Dec. 14. It passed the Senate, but was tabled in the House.

[5] See vol. II., p. 439, note 2.

Colonel George Gibson to Jackson.

Washington, March 29, 1820.

Dear General, It is now ascertained that We will not occupy Florida this season and I am sorry for it; for it was the only chance left me of joining you. Spain has, I much fear, out manouvered us in this affair and particularly at Madrid where it is quite certain we are but poorly represented. Mr Forsyth it is said begins to sigh after home and from what I hear he will, no doubt, be indulged with permission to repose in retirement.

Your memorial is read by every body and it is flattering to your friends to hear it spoken of as greater than anything which has appeared on the subject—even your enemies affect to admire it.

The fate of our lamented Decatur has thrown a gloom over this district which as yet exhibits no change. More than eight thousand persons followed him to the grave and testified by their quiet and orderly behavior how much they respected him in life as a gallant officer and as a Gentleman. I am sorry to say that Mrs Decatur remains in a state of stupor; she has shed no tear.[1]

Present my sincere and friendly respects to Mrs Jackson.

I remain with affectionate regard yours sincerely

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, March 31, 1820.

. . . . I recieved by last mail a Copy of the report of the Committee of Foreign Relations which you had the goodness to enclose me from which I did infer that the Congress of the U States, Viewing with just indignation the conduct of Spain and the humiliating situation of our Country by submiting to her injuries and insults would act promptly. But you may be assured that I shall continue road cutting until I recieve your Orders for a movement, keeping my Troops ready to reduce the Barrancas in Six thereafter. I would barely remark that an Operation against Pensacola and Barrancas and possession thereof, would procure for our Troops a healthy Summers Cantonment and every thing could be in readiness to move against St. Augustine, as early in the fall as the Sickly Season would permit. the 4th Infantry with the disposable force of the 1st and 8th Regiments would be sufficient to reduce the Barrancas if not reenforced. The 7th Regt. would be able to protect the Georgia frontier and keep the Indians in Check if disposed to hostility. A movement might be made if authorized, in the month of may against Pensacola, and the Fortress reduced before the sickly Season. No expence as yet has been incurred except the transportation of the Troops to their respective Head

[1] Commodore Decatur fought a duel with Commodore Barron at Bladensburg, Md., Mar. 22, 1820, and received a mortal wound. He was a very popular officer and his tragic death was a great shock to the country. In his intrepid character and patriotism he was a kindred spirit to Jackson, and the two men had become personal friends during Jackson's visit to Washington early in 1819. In later years Jackson showed his friendship by helping Mrs. Decatur, who was left in a strained financial condition by her husband's death.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 151. Mar. 15 Calhoun wrote that there was little prospect that Congress would authorize a vigorous course of action toward Spain.

Quarters, except by the removal of the Troops from the North to the South end of the military road, which originated from a mistake of the Com'g Officer of the 8th military Department.

I have only to add that as long as I hold the command no expence will be incurred or movement made without Your Order I am Respectfully

To President Monroe.[1]

Private Nashville, April 15, 1820.

D'r Sir. By yesterdays mail I received your Message of the 27th of March to the house of representatives [2] on the Subject of our relations with Spain, from which, and from the information of the Sentiments that pervades a majority of that branch of the Government, I draw the conclusion that no act of Congress will be passed authorizing the occupation of Florida the present Session of Congress, and that it is Strongly calculated upon, that our affairs with that nation will be amicably adjusted by further negociation or explanation and that peace and friendship will be maintained with that nation. If this really [is] the present prospect and can be relied on, my wishes for retirement can be gratified without any injury to my Country or censure that can attach to me, there being prospects of a long continued, and uninterrupted peace. I therefore hope on the rise of Congress with out passing a law authorizing you to take possession of Florida, You will have the Goodness to Signify to me that you will permit me to retire, on which Signification I will forward to you my resignation. Having always assured you I would not resign so long as my Services might be benificial to my country, or cloud of War hover over it—nor until I could obtain your free consent for that retirement, occasion me now to address you. You have long been acquainted with my desire to retire to private life, upon the prospects of permanent peace—these prospects being now in view, and which I hope may be reallized, induced me to ask for your consent that I may retire, and that you will at as early a day as is convenient to you signify the Same to me, that on the receipt of yours containing that permission, I may transmit to you my resignation,[3]

Present Mrs. J and my respects to your Lady and family, and accept for Your Self our best wishes for your health, prosperity and happiness, and believe me to be with due respect, Your most Obt. Servt.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, [April 16(?), 1820.]

. . . . Having got nearly through the seminole war, (accept what is due to Mr Storrs,[2] wicked, and false report, to the house of representa-

[1] Copy.

[2] To Senate and House. Richardson, *Messages and Papers,* II. 69.

[3] At the request of the President, Jackson consented to withhold his resignation, pending the clearing up of the situation in Florida.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. Without date, but evidently just after Jackson to Monroe, Apr. 15, 1820.

[2] Henry R. Storrs, member of the House of Representatives from New York. His report, as chairman of a committee, criticizing Jackson for unauthorized raising of Indian troops for the Seminole war, is in *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 1 sess., II. 1542-1552.

tives, which will receive its exposure in due time) I have wrote to the president, for permission to resign—as soon as congress rises. I hope you have seen my memorial and answer to the report of the triumvirate of the senate of the last year. I am gratified, that it gives my friends general satisfaction, and even draws from my enemies there approbation. How disgracefull to our nation, that select committees of Congress have become the hotbeds of falshood and calumny to serve the views of party, regardless of the means they employ—for my own part I am regardless of their wicked attempts. I am aware that truth is mighty and will ultimately prevail.

The Misouri question so called, has agitated the public mind, and what I sincerely regret and never expected, but what now I see, will be the entering wedge to seperate the union. it is even more wicked, it will excite those who is the subject of discussion to insurrection and masacre. it is a question of political ascendency, and power, and the Eastern interest are determined to succeed regardless of the consequences, the constitution or our national happiness. they will find the southern and western states equally resolved to support their constitutional rights. I hope I may not live to see the evills that must grow out of this wicked design of demagogues, who talk about humanity, but whose sole object is self agrandisement regardless of the happiness of the nation. . . . .

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, April 16, 1820.

D'r Genl. On Saturday I recvd yr. letter of the 29 ulto, and was pleased to find that the course pursued here in relation to yr. memorial was acceptable to yourself. That what was done is supported by prudence, and conduces more effectually to the main object designed by you to be effected, to wit the placing the matter understandingly and fully before the nation, I am more than ever convinced of. There have been many strictures and remarks made upon yr. memorial by different papers thro the states, and in none yet have I seen any other than the strongest expression in its favour; even two prominent papers one at N York and one at Baltimore heretofore decidedly on the opposite side have acknowleged themselves convinced by what you have said.

The copies sent to you and others have before this been recvd. you will find on perusal that the alterations made were inconsiderable: the one named to you before (viz) that the committee as you had understood had not drafted the report, was the most material; other changes were principally as to phraseology, such as *poison,* attrocious, falshoods and such like expressions which were exchanged for words of softer import. The suppression of the sentence in relation to "the *gentleman* who was the chief juggler behind the scenes" you say you somewhat regret. I think tho you ough[t] not to regret it; for independent of the harshness of the expression, yr. proof was hardly sufficient to support the remark I expect. Your expression used was that you had *understood* the report was not drafted by any one of C.[1] I believe I know yr. authority for saying so; it

[1] Congress?

grew out of some statements made by Bronaugh, that the chairman had on getting a copy of the strictures at Gales office gone immediately to Mr. C.s [2] house. Now no body acquainted with Laycock ever supposed that he could write it, yet this circumstance of yours would not sanction such a conclusion, and hence was it better to say nothing about it, but merely to leave it before the public on the *general literary reputation* of the man, ... There is no reasoning against the effect and influence of ones feelings; but these apart, I would say you have done enough, and more is not required. The subject can not be placed before the nation, stronger or better, no matter who shall take it in hand, and this being the case, I repeat, more is not required

You seem to be a little dissatisfied with Storrs report, and talk of replying. Believe me Sir you ought not. If you are to suffer your repose to be disturbed at the snarls of every man who availing himself of his little brief official authority shall speak of you, when pray will you get thro. By yrself and thro yr. frends yr case has been heard in Congress and is fairly before the Country; there trust it, nor believe that any little party yelpings will change its features

Yr memorial came before the public at the moment that Storrs from his select committee discovered his budget. His book [3] fell still born from the press, and nothing here has been spoken or said about it in any way, by any body; and thus you percieve its feebleness, and how little it is to be regarded. I had a copy of it which it became necessary for me to examine, particularly, inasmuch as it had a bearing as 'twas said on my Semenole horse bill which I had reported to the Senate; before I could part with it, the report was published in the Intelligencer, where I concluded you would see it, or else the Copy I had would have been sent you, that you might have known all that was doing.

I examined this book critically, and spoke of it freely as being destitute of accuracy. It was used against me in the Senate, with a view to prevent the troops being compensated for their horses, because they had recvd the 40 Cents improperly. I argued it in the way you have suggested; that the act of 1795 had nothing to do with it: that the act of 1818 had said that they should have the highest compensation given to militia during the war, and that whatever had been given to troops of the same description they were by right entitled to; and that hence all the emoluments secured under the act of 1816, rightfully belonged to them: and so the Senate by a great majority determined—cloths they were not entitled to; the only law upon this subject was in relation to Volunteers who had actually served during *one year,* then, and not else, were they to have an allowance for clothing: this law had expired, and was not revived by the act of 1818, at any rate they had not served *a year.* As regards what is said on the subject of "subsidizing" the Indians, by all men of intelligence this general remark is made, that they always have, and always must be employed, not from any advantage to be derived from them, but to

[2] Crawford's is no doubt meant.
[3] *I. e.,* report in pamphlet form.

make them nutral; if not employed, they will unite with the enemy; this Mr. S. seems not to have known. All that has been said in the Report about the Volunteers, the departure from orders and the constitution, those old topics are answered and fully met by what you have already said; to repeat my text then, more need not be said, and so I trust you will consider it.

You will see in the Washington Gazette of Saturday a pretty severe commentary on mr. Clays Florida resolutions they are from the pen perhaps of some one of the heads of Departments—you can guess as I do. Before the Caucus he was looked to as Vice President,[3] but with all the maneuvring resorted to, not more than 30 members attended, and so the caucus failed in producing any result. I believe not more than one member from Tene. attended (Cocke). . . . .

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Department of War, May 24, 1820.

Sir, During the late session of Congress an appropriation of $20,000 was made to defray the expenses of holding a treaty for the extinguishment of Indian title to lands within the state of Mississippi, and the delegation in Congress from that state, have proposed that you and Genl. Thomas Hinds of Mississippi, be appointed the commissioners to hold the treaty.[1] The President is very desirous to employ you upon this duty, and it will afford him great satisfaction if it should be agreeable to you to accept of the appointment. I take pleasure in communicating his wishes upon the subject, and request the favor of an early answer.

If it should suit you to accept the appointment, a commission will be immediately forwarded to you, as the first named commissioner, vesting you in conjunction with General Hinds, with full powers, to exercise your own judgment and discretion as to the time, place and manner of commencing and conducting the negotiation, of which he will be duly notified; and the choctaw agent will be instructed to prepare the chiefs to give you a friendly reception.

[3] In his *Memoirs* (V. 58) John Quincy Adams alludes to this matter, saying that Clay expected to be nominated for the vice-presidency and that Samuel Smith, of Maryland, who called the caucus, expected to go to the House of Representatives and become Speaker. Adams said (V. 60) that Clay's hopes were supported by Monroe's intimate friends, which he took to mean that peace had been made between Clay and the President. He also said that "not more than forty members" attended the caucus when it met. R. M. Johnson moved that it was inexpedient to make nominations, which motion passed without discussion, and the meeting adjourned.

[1] The Mississippi delegation in the House of Representatives had unanimously asked that Jackson be one of the commissioners (see Christopher Rankin to Jackson, Jackson MSS., May 16, 1820). This offer of the administration was accepted and a treaty was made with the Choctaws Oct. 18, 1820 (treaty of Doak's Stand), by which the Indians surrendered a tract of land east of the Mississippi lying between a point near Natchez and a point one mile below the mouth of the Arkansas River, on the opposite side of the Mississippi, bounded on the east by a line approximately seventy miles east of the Mississippi, and containing about 8,500 square miles of territory. In exchange, the United States ceded lands between the Arkansas and Red rivers, and made other provisions. This letter is printed, with the date May 23, in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 230; journal of the negotiation, *ibid.*, II. 234-250.

It is contemplated to place the whole appropriation at your disposal,[2] which is intended to cover all the expenses of the negotiation, (including the pay of the commrs. and of the Secretary, whom, should you agree to serve, you will be authorized to appoint,) except the sums that may be stipulated to be paid to the Indians in the treaty which shall be concluded with them.

I have the honor to be,

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Private

War Department, June 1, 1820.

Dear Sir, I have received your unofficial letters of the 15th April and 5th of May; and I regard your determination to retire from the Army with that regret, which I am sure a great majority of our people will feel on the occasion. To you and the army the seperation must be painful. Your name will forever be associated with the most brilliant pages of our history; and the memory of the 8th of January will, to the latest posterity, rouse the American Army to the highest feats of valour. To be so connected with our military institutions and history must render your adieu to the army painful indeed.

I perceive you have strong foreboding as to our future policy. The discussion on the Missouri question has undoubtedly contributed to weaken in some degree the attachment of our southern and western people to the Union; but the agitators of that question have, in my opinion, not only completely failed; but have destroyed to a great extent their capacity for future mischief. Should Missouri be admitted at the next session, as I think she will without difficulty, the evil effects of the discussion must gradually subside. As it regards the army and the acquisition of Florida, the greatest opposition has by no means been experienced to the east. However strange it may appear, the portion of our country, which appears to have the greatest interest in the acquisition, I mean the West, was probably that, in which the most opposition was experienced. So unnatural a state of things cannot exist long. The west must see, that the single Port of Pansacola is to it, invaluable. The protection of the commerce of the Mississippi must in a great measure depend on our acquisition of it. . . . .

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Hayne's Bluff, West Bank of the Alabama,

June 10, 1820.

. . . . We are first on the West side of the Alabama—our situation is a beautiful one, 12 miles by Land below Fort Jackson, our Spring is equal

[2] Calhoun's instructions to Jackson and Hinds, July 12, 1820, contain the following: "Your compensation will be at the rate of $8 per diem, and that of the Secretary to the commission, whom you are authorized to appoint, at the rate of $5 per diem, for the time actually engaged. The payment will be made on your certificate of honor, specifying the time that you have been actually engaged. You will also certify the time that the Secretary may be actually engaged. Your certificate, in like manner, will be a necessary voucher for the presents distributed under your authority."

to any one I ever saw or tasted of, the Land of the very first order, the Tract consisting of 700 acres. I prefer it to any settlement I have seen in the Country. My little Crop which consists of Corn and few acres of Cotton, is very fine, and I expect to average 75 bushels to the acre. The Alabama Low Grounds can yield us in Corn ⅓ more than the best Kentucky Lands. I have upon my Farm 100 acres of Low Grounds cleared and in most excellent order, and which is more than my small force can manage.

We find ourselves very much in debt in this Country, to the United States, for Land; and we are anxious to devise some scheme, that will upon fair and honorable terms meet the Exigency. The following is my plan. We will suppose, in order to elucidate the principle, that, I have purchased of the Government $10,000 worth of Land—that in Augt. 1817, I paid $2,500, leaving a balance of $7,500, which if not paid till the expiration of the 5 yrs will again amt. to $10,000. Under this view, I should have to pay the Govt. in Augt. 1822 $10,000. Now at the expiration of Augt. 1822, instead of paying the Govt. $10,000, I would divide it into 10 equal instalments payable yearly, and at the end of each year, let the Govt. demand from the purchaser one instalment, with the interest on the whole debt, and so on in succession till the expiration of the 10 yrs. when the whole debt would be liquidated. I would also give an additional six months grace on each instalment, after which if not paid forfeiture is to take place upon the principle of the original Contract. According to the above scheme, I should have to pay in Jany. 1824, $1000, and every subsequent instalment would become less, and less—the last payable at the expiration of the Tenth year would amount to $1060. A vast majority of the purchasers in this State have given from $2 to $10 pr acre, and my plan would afford them complete relief, and the principles upon which it stands are so fair, that the Government could not refuse to sanction it. I should demand it as a right, and not ask it as a favor. You will perceive that the Govt. is not to lose a single cent of the principal of the Debt and to receive a yearly interest. I confess tho' that my principle will not afford relief to those gentlemen who have given from $30 to $40 to $50 for Land. The question then arises will Government pass any Law for the relief of men who acted so imprudently. I fear not. The Govt. will never give up any part of the debt which is due to them, and to extend the period of payt. to those who have given $40 pr. acre for Land, would afford them no relief. *Permit me if you please to ask the plan, which in your opinion the Govt. ought to adopt, and extend to the purchaser's of Land in our State.* Whatever is done, ought to take place at the next meeting of Congress. . . . .

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Florence, Alabama, June 15, 1820.

Sir, In my last from Nashville I advised you of my intention of Visiting the Military, and from thence to make an incurtion along the Frontier of the Cherokee and Creek Nations to inform myself whether the In-

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, pp. 132, 109; also in War Dept. files.

truders had removed from the Indian Land agreeable to my notification and that of the Agent. After passing the Tennessee River I learned that many had removed, but that many still remained. desireous to spare the Troops a long and fatiguing march at this season of the year, I determined to take a recognizance myself, hoping my presence would induce them to remove without military compulsion. In the mean time I directed a Detachment of the Troops engaged on the North End of the Military road, to be ordered to return to the Tennessee River reparing the Bridges and Causeways and Shrubing the Road, with the intention if found necessary to order a part of this Detachment to remove the Intruders.

On the excurtion through the Cherokee Nation, I found a great many intruders and those on the North of the Chatehoochey not only numerous but insolent and threatning resistance. being informed that a large number of the Intruders who had been removed, their Crops and improvements destroyed last year on the Creek Frontier had returned, I proceeded along that line from the high Shoals of the Chatehoochey to the South East corner of the Creek boundary. all along which I found the improvements destroyed last Year now under cultivation, and was informed that numerous Stocks of Cattle had been driven into the Creek Country. I ordered them forth to remove and cease tresspasing on the Creek Lands, or I would remove them with a military force ordered for that purpose to remove all intruders from the Cherokee Land, and as soon as that duty was performed I should order the Troops along that line with directions to arrest, all those found Tresspassing, with their Stock of every kind and hand them over to the Marshal to be delt with as the Law directs, with instructions to destroy all Crops growing, and improvements.[2]

On my return through the Cherokee Nation I was Shown a Copy of your letter to Col Meigs[3] the Agent authorizing him agreeable to my suggestion to employ the Indian Light-Horse. Being informed that those intruders along the Chatehoochey, were numerous and threatened opposition determined me to hasten to the Military road, and order a part of the Detachment directed to repare the road on this duty, which would keep down all opposition to the Light Horse and after clearing the Nation of all those whitemen who does not hold the writen permission of the Agent, the Light Horse could hereafter prevent intrusion. . . . .

[2] Jackson's notice to intruders on the Indian lands, dated at Shallow Ford, on the Chattahoochee, May 29, 1820, is as follows:

" (Intruders on the cherokee) lands beware, I am required to remove all whitemen, found tresspassing on the cherokee land not having a written permit from the agent Colo. R. J. Meiggs, this duty I am about to perform. The Regulars and Indian light horse will be employed in performing this service, and any opposition will be promptly punished. All whitemen with there stock, found tresspassing on the Indian land will be arrested, and handed over to the civil authority of the United States to be dealt with as the law directs, there families removed to the United States land, there crops, houses and fences destroyed. Having in the month of February and March last, given full notice to all intruders to remove those now found upon the cherokee lands, have no right to complain, at the punishment that awaits them if found now with there stock upon the Indian land. It is also stated to the undersigned, that citizens of the State of Georgia living on and near the line are clearing and cultivated lands within the Indian boundery, this is to notify all such, that such improvements will be destroyed and all persons found tresspassing in this way will be seized and handed over to the marshal to be prosecuted agreable to law, to avoid Trouble and expence this notice is given."

[3] Return J. Meigs.

To Christopher Rankin.[1]

Nashville, June 19, 1820.

Sir, On my return to this place last evening from a tour to the south and South East, I received your letter of the 16th May last, requesting me in the name of the representation from the State of Mississippi, to accept the appointment of Commissioner, to treat with the Choctaw Indians. at the same time I also received a request from Mr. Monroe. I had determined to have nothing more to do with Indian treaties. But Sir thus solicited, both by the President and the representation of the state of Mississippi, unanimously, I must forego that determination and my own private feelings—for I owe a debt of gratitude to the people of your state and their late Governor, for the prompt and efficient support afforded me, in our late struggle with Great Britain, and feel it a duty to serve them, whenever it is in my power to do so. I will therefore accept the appointment. It affords me much pleasure to learn that my friend Genl. Hinds will be associated with me in this highly important business.

I have the Honor to be very resp'y yr. ob' svt.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, June 19, 1820.

Sir: On last evening I reached this place, where I recd. your letter of the 24th of May last, and one from the delegation of the state of Mississippi of the 16th May, requesting that I should accept the appointment of commissioner to aid in holding a treaty with the Choctaw Indians.

I had determined never to have any thing to do again in Indian Treaties; but finding that the President of the U. States, is desirous that I should engage in this duty, this added to the Solicitation of the delegation of that state, has determined me to depart from the resolution I had formed and to accept of the appointment. I never can withhold my services, when requested by old Monroe, and I owe a debt of gratitude to the people of Mississippi and their late Governor, for their support, in our late struggle with Great Britain—by him and them I was well supported. I feel it a duty therefore, to endeavour to serve them, when they by their representatives believe I have it in my power. There is no man I would rather be associated with, than Genl Hinds, nor one in whom I have more confidence.

In making out the instructions, permit me to suggest the propriety of pointing out the bounds west of the Mississippi out of which the land to be given the Choctaws in exchange for their land whereon they now live, is to be laid out. The wish of the real Indian Chiefs is (as I am informed) to perpetuate the existance of their Nation by concentrating the whole in a country that will support them as a Nation—at present they are scattered and wandering over a great space of Country, and if not shortly united will be lost to their nation in other tribes. The pride of a real Indian is in the strength of his Nation and this is a chord I mean to touch to obtain the object in view. I therefore wish to point the lands and describe

[1] Copy. Rankin was M. C. from Mississippi 1819-1826.
[1] Copy. Printed in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 230.

its bounds, where their father the President of the U. States means to settle his red children—concentrate and perpetuate them as a nation and thereby make his children happy.

I am Sir with great respect Yr Mo. Obt. Srvt.

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage, June 20, 1820.

Dear Sir: I returned from my tour to the south and southeast on the evening of the 18th instant, when I received your very friendly and interesting letter of the 23d of May last, which I have read with great interest and attention. On its perusal and consideration, I have determined to remain in service until the situation of Europe fully develops itself, and our affairs with Spain are brought to a final close.

Although retirement has been, and still is the first object of my wishes, yet so long as it is believed that my military service may conduce to the benefit of my country, in any way, my exertions belong to her. I have hitherto made, and it is still my duty as a patriot to make, my private interests and views subservient to my country's good. I have, therefore, upon due consideration and reflection on the subject matter of your interesting letter, resolved not to retire from service so long as my continuing may promote the welfare, safety, and happiness of our country. I am well aware, as soon as you believe the situation of our affairs will permit of my retiring without injury to our country, you will notify me thereof, and permit me to retire. Until then, my private wishes and feelings must bend to what may be conceived will promote the public good.

The view you have taken of the conduct pursued by our government, relative to South America,[2] in my opinion has been both just and proper, and will be approved by nine-tenths of the nation. It is true it has been attempted to be wielded by certain demagogues to the injury of the administration; but, like all other base attempts, has recoiled on its authors; and I am clearly of your opinion, that for the present, we ought to be content with the Floridas—fortify them, concentrate our population, confine our frontier to proper limits, until our country, to those limits, is filled with a dense population; it is the denseness of our population that gives strength and security to our frontier. With the Floridas in our possession, our fortifications completed, Orleans, the great emporium of the west, is secure. The Floridas in possession of a foreign power, you can be invaded, your fortifications turned, the Mississippi reached, and the lower country reduced. From Texas, an invading enemy will never attempt such an enterprise; if he does, notwithstanding all that has been said and asserted on the floor of Congress on this subject, I will vouch that the invader will pay for his temerity.[3]

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS. For the events that led to the publication of this letter, see Bassett's *Jackson*, I. 272, and John Quincy Adams's *Memoirs*, XII. 109, 130, 132, 143, 147. This letter, with Monroe's of May 23, 1820, is in *Niles' Register*, LXVII. 343; Monroe's is also in *Writings of Monroe*, ed. Hamilton, VI. 126.

[2] Referring to Monroe's message of May 9.

[3] In his denunciation of John Quincy Adams for giving up Texas in the Spanish treaty of 1819, Jackson, writing in 1843 and 1844, contradicted all the arguments made in the above letter respecting the value of Texas as a means of defense to the Mississippi Valley. See his letter to Blair, Oct. 24, 1844.

Present Mrs. Jackson and myself to Mrs. Monroe and your daughters and Mr. Gouverneur [4] affectionately, and receive for yourself our best wishes for your happiness through this life, and that of your amiable family: and believe me to be, with high respect and esteem, your most obedient servant.

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, July 9, 1820.

Sir. A few days since I recd. a communication from Colo. Meiggs, giving me information that the Cherokee light horse had been ordered on the duty of removing the intruders, and inclosing me a copy of a letter holding out threats by the whites of opposition. Having ordered a Detachment of 20 men under a Lt. to aid the light horse in this duty and to keep down opposition, and being informed that Lt Graham was Detailed for this duty—he being young and inexperienced—on the recpt of Colo. Meiggs letter I ordered my aid de camp Capt Call, to repair thither assume the command of the regulars and Light horse, and fully execute my order for the removal of all intruders not holding a permit from Colo. Meiggs. I can assure you that I have no doubt but Capt Call will execute the order with mildness, yet firmness, and I trust it will be the last time that united states Troops will be necessary to be called for on such duty. . . . .

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Private

Nashville, July 24, 1820.

Sir, Your General order of June 14th 1820 has just reached me, I have directed it to be promulgated to my Division.

Will you permit me to draw your attention to this order, and request you maturely to deliberate on it, Compare it with the rules and regulations under which the Soldier is enlisted, And the rights and emoluments Secured to him under his compact to serve the U. States by which is secured to him, his monthly pay and rations—let me then presume to ask you to compare the law with the General order of the 14th of June last And then conclude whether any power exists, competent to take from the Soldier, *Eighty five Cents out of every hundred of his pay* for the purpose of buying *seeds utensils* etc. etc. for the cultivation of "wheat and other component parts of the Ration" When by the terms of his compact the Government is bound to furnish the soldier rations at its own expence. As far as I have been conversant with the law martial, and the rules and regulations for the Government of the Army, it does not appear to me that there is any power competant to retain the Soldiers pay, Save

[4] Samuel L. Gouverneur married Monroe's daughter. It was he who discovered this letter among Monroe's papers when the controversy between Jackson and Adams was acute in respect to the annexation of Texas. He submitted it to Adams, and had it published in the newspapers to show that Jackson's position in 1820 was opposite to that which he now took. It is fair to say that long before this Jackson had quarrelled with Monroe, and Gouverneur felt no obligation to defend Jackson at this time.

[1] War Dept. files.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 100; also in War Dept. files.

that of a courtmartial, and then only for the commission of a crime, recognised as such by the rules and regulations for the Government of the Army.

The order for the cultivation of gardens was for the Comfort and health of the Troops; The order for the cultivation of Wheat, is considered for the benefit of the Goverment by saving them the expence of *component parts of the ration* by the labour of the Soldiery, hence it would Seem to me but Justice, that the Seed, utensils and farming tools should be laid in by the Goverment, and not taken from the Pittance of the Soldiers pay, I really cannot believe that any power exists of applying the pay of the Soldier to the purpose of farming utensils and seed for the benefit of the Goverment. How will the Commanding officer collect this from the soldier; Suppose this order a violation of the compact under which the soldier was enlisted—how will the officer Justify himself in laying his hand upon Eightyfive Cents out of every hundred of the soldiers pay to purchase " wheat, seed-corn, axes, wedges " etc. etc. to carry on farming for the benefit of the United States. Suppose the Soldier appeals to the law for redress, to recover his pay; will not the law of the land afford him relief from this order; nay further, may it not lead to serious discussions in Courtsmartial, and may not the soldier, after being thus deprived of his pay contrary to the terms of his enlistment, on the charge of Desertion, with great force alledge in his defence, that the Goverment has violated the contract with him when enlisted, and from that moment he was desolved from his enlistment and cannot Justly be punished for leaving the service, and may it not happen, that officers acting under oath may incline to this opinion, and at once, by their decision absolve all those (whose pay has been thus applied) from the obligation of their enlistment.

Be assured that these remarks are made with the most friendly views, to draw your close attention to the order and its consequences, believing that you have not well considered the subject before the order was Issued. I am Sir with great respect

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, July 26, 1820.

Sir, Last evening I received a letter from Captain R K. Call, U. States Army, charged with the Command of the Detachment now engaged in removing the intruders from the cherokee-land, In which he reports that he has progressed through Bearmeat valley and is on his march to Wills creek. from the number of intruders found, he is of opinion that it will take him nearly three months, to perform the duty assigned him, I have therefore directed him on the recpt. of my answer to forward an order to General Gaines to order a detachment to remove the Intruders from the Creek lands on the Georgia frontier. Captain Call informs me that much noise of opposition was threatened, and men collected for the purpose who seperated on the approach of the regulars, but who threaten to destroy the cherokees in the Valley as soon as these Troops are gone.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 102; also in War Dept. files.

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Capt. Call has addressed a letter to those infatuated people, with assurance of speedy and examplary punishment if they should attempt to carry their threats into execution. I have no doubt but the approach of the Troops so opportunely prevented disagreeable scenes, but I have no doubt but the Indian Light horse will be able to prevent intrusion hereafter. Their chiefs addressed to Captain Call the enclosed letter which he submitted to me,[2] having no power to act on it. I therefore enclose it to you, not having any power to oppose their request, that you may lay it before the President for his determination. I have no doubt but Colo. Galbreath and a few others named, cloathed with authority under the united states could render great security to the Indians in that quarter. Captain Call informs me, the boarder Citizens there, are of the worst characters and has treated the Indians badly. I shall be glad to hear from you on this subject as the chiefs await my answer. I have addressed them that I have forwarded their letter to their father the President of the U States.[3]

I am Sir with due respect

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, September 2, 1820.

Sir, I have just received the enclosed letter from John Rogers the deputy from the Arkansa Cherokees, to the cherokees on Tennessee River now there, and hasten to lay it before you, believing with proper caution the information it contains may prove beneficial in laying the ground work, on which, the whole Georgia claim may be obtained from the Cherokees. This summer as I passed through the lower part of that nation, I was informed by a half Breed, Riley, that the opinion now expressed by Rogers was prevalent amongst the Indians in that part of the nation, and Hicks [2] and others threatened with death for deceiving them. I have now but little doubt, that a large portion of the real Indians wish to pass to the Arkansas, if they had the means. Might it not have a good effect to have this inquired into, and the real fact obtained; and if found true, could it not be carried into effect without much expense to the U. States, except the transportation and provisioning them. Let a confidential agent who will act impartially be appointed to go through the nation, and enroll all Indians who want to pass to the Arkansas, and when enrolled take their relinquishment of all their claim to land where they now live. As soon as this is done, let Congress provide the means of

[2] Not in the files or Letter-Book.

[3] Sept. 15, 1820, Jackson wrote to the Secretary of War as follows:

"I set out yesterday on my mission to the Chocktaw Nation, and met with Capt R K Call on his returne from performing the duties assigned him in the Cherokee Nation. I have directed him to make a report to you which, when received I trust will be satisfactory; and will shew that not with standing the duties, he had to performe were arduous, and delicate, that they have been executed, with both judgement, and prudence and much to the interest of the Cherokee-Nation and will have the effect in future of preventing the infraction of our Treaties with that Nation."

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 76; also in War Dept. files.

[2] Elijah Hicks, clerk of the nation.

transporting and provisioning them and pass a law providing that land shall be laid out for them adjoining the bounds of the Cherokees on Arkansas, and that a like portion of their land here, shall be surrendered to the state of Georgia adjoining the settled parts thereof. There can be no question but Congress has the right to legislate on this subject.

The policy of treating with Indian tribes within the jurisdiction of the U. States, and acknowledging its Sovereignty, could only have arisen at a time when the arm of Government was too weak to execute any law passed for the regulation of the Indian tribes within our territorial limits. To treat with Indians acknowledging our sovereignty, and situate within our declared Territorial limits, as a nation, has always appeared very absurd to me; now when more justice can be done the Indians by Legi[s]-lation than by treaties, and the arm of Government is sufficiently strong to carry into effect any law that Congress may deem necessary and proper to pass for the welfare and happiness of the Indian and for the convenience and benefit of the U. States, It appears to me that it is high time to do away the farce of treating with Indian tribes. Should it be the fact that the wish of the large mass of the cherokees on this side the M. River, are ripe for emigration, it opens a fair field for Legislative interference by Congress, by which justice can [be] done the Indians, and the pledge of the union to Georgia, to extinguish the Indian title fulfilled. These are a few hasty remarks for your consideration. I have heretofore submitted to Mr. Monroe my ideas more fully

I am, Sir, with sincere respect

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, September 15, 1820.

. . . . I enclose for your information a report of Maj Cary Nicholas, Batalion Pay Master on the Subject of the depreciated state of the funds received to meet his estimate for May and June current.

You will see that the Draft is on the Nashville Bank, which only pays paper, which is at 12 or 15 percent below specie Value. And the Specie value of this paper is declining daily as well as all other paper of the Banks of this State, in conciquence of the establishment of a Bank by the last Session of our Legislature, with three milions of paper without one Dollar of Specie for its base.[2] added to this it is [rumored?], and that report has gained currency, that the Secretary of the Treasury has issued orders that no bills of the State of Tennessee, shall be received in payment of public lands, and that this order has reached the receiver of Public moneys at Huntsville. this true will give a Stroke to the credit of our Bank paper and reduce its value, as it will prevent its circulation in Alabama. It is unaccountable to me under these circumstancies, how it should happen that the Secretary of the Treasury has directed the paper of a non Specie paying Bank, to be placed in the hands of the Paymaster to pay the debts of the Government when by his direction the Agents

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 52.

[2] See T. P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy", *Amer. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII. 68.

of Government will not receive it in discharge of debts due to it. The Officers of Government here will not receive it in discharge of the debts due them at par, and will be under the necessity of forwarding their accounts and receipts to the paymaster at Washington for payment. Eastern Notes command a premium here of from twenty to twenty five per cent in exchange for the paper of the Nashville Bank

Yours Respectfully

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, November 13, 1820.

. . . . I cannot omit bringing to view the conduct of the Choctaw factor Mr Horsey.[2] I trust his conduct will be noticed by the Government, and he removed from his situation as factor. I enclose you the certificate of Mr E Duggan, a Gentleman who accompanied Genl Hinds to the treaty and remained there throughout the negotiation, and a man represented to me as a Gentleman of truth and respectability. It speaks a volume. In addition to this I have to remark that this same Mr Horsey, wrote a very long letter to Major Pitchlyn United States interpreter,[3] with a request that he would read it to the chiefs of the Choctaw nation when assembled. Majr. Pitchlyn believing that the conduct of this man in writing this letter was improper, produced this letter to Genl Hinds and myself for our perusal. we find the whole object of this man was to mislead the Indians, thwart the views of Government, and prevent them from treating. we directed him not to read and interprit this letter to the cheifs, which he obeyed. Mr Horsey arrived at the treaty ground the day after the treaty was signed, I gave him a lecture, and informed him I should write you on the subject of his conduct, and I had no doubt but you would remove him. He professes religion, but as I believe without possessing it, and I am sure is doing no good but much evil. He must be one of those itinerant Yankies, who are endeavouring to poison the minds of our slaves, as well as the Indians, and who never ought to be entrusted with an office in a southern climate. . . . .

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, November 30, 1820.

. . . . When I gave the order to Capt Call to seize and deliver over to the civil authority, all persons (with their stock of every kind) found trespassing on the Indian land; I had before me the communication above referred to. I had positive tes[t]imony, that the Intruders and persons on the frontier were in the habit of driving large herds of cattle into the Indian Country, and salting them on the Ground; by which means they would become attached to the place, and if you drove them off they would immediately return to the place where they had been salted. There was no method left by which the Treaty, and Intercourse laws for the

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 56.
[2] John Hersey.
[3] See vol. I., p. 358, note 1.
[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 60.

protection of the Indians could be carried into effect, without considering those who drove stock on the Indian land as having committed a trespass, and seizing the stock thus driven damage feasant, and deliver them as such to the civil authority. For it would be a useless waste of time to drive off the stock from the Indian land, that would forthwith return. Three times I had the stock of intruders driven from the Cherokee land North of Tennessee river, their houses and improvements destroyed. But this availed nothing, the Troops would no sooner leave the country, than the Intruders would return. I then ordered the persons and property of all intruders to be seized and delivered to the civil authority, to be dealt with according to Law. This was executed, and the stock sold by the marshall at Nashville. After which intrusion ceased in that quarter. And I trust the late proceedings on the Georgia frontier, will have the same effect, and I am strongly impressed with a belief that this proceeding can be supported on principles of law and sound policy, notwithstand[ing] the Statue law is silent as to the mode of proceeding. The Treaty and Intercourse laws make, the driving of stock on the Indian land, a trespass, and surely when a crime is committed against positive law, it implies that there is a mode of punishment for that crime, and with due submission, I would suppose that Jurisdiction if not expressed must be implied, to punish a crime expressly declared to be such, both by Treaty and the Intercourse laws; and that the Judges of the Federal Court would sustain Jurisdiction of such crime in all cases where the proof was positive of the trespass being committed, and the person who committed the offence could not be taken. But Sir, in the present case I am of your opinion, as the property is now in the hands of the civil authority, and the Marshall has receipted for it, there is no necessity for our interferance. . . . .

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Department of War, November 30, 1820.

Sir, It appears by a letter of this Dept. dated the 19th Decr. 1817 that the device of the medal voted to you by Congress was transmitted to you for objection or approval. It does not appear that you have returned it. If it be still in your possession I request it may be returned immediately, as an artist has at last been employed in this country to execute the medal. Your likeness has been received and is now in the possession of the artist. I regret exceedingly the delay which has taken place, but it was beyond the controul of the department and I now hope no further delay will be experienced. You will see by the enclosed extract from the Honble. Joseph Hopkinson President of the society of fine arts at Phila. that your profile likeness is required by the artist, and I request you will send it to me as early as practicable.[1]

I have the honor to be, Yours Respectfully,

[1] Replying to this letter, Dec. 28, 1820, Jackson said: "I am apprehensive that it will be some time before I can comply with the request of the Honble. Joseph Hopkinson etc, by sending him my profile likeness—there being no miniature painter in this country at present as soon as an opportunity will offer it will be taken and forwarded to you."

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, December 21, 1820.

Sir, Your's of the 25th ulto. is just recd, with its enclosures; I have duly noted the contents and ordered Brevet Brig Genl Bissell by a confidential officer, to have a site for a Fortification on the Sabine selected and the country explored, and to report to me whether all the protection now afforded to the frontier by the Garrison at Natchitoches cannot be equally secured by advancing the Garrison of Nat. to a point on or near the Sabine river. There cannot exist any serious apprehension of an invasion of the Spaniards in that quarter whatever may be apprehended from their exciting the Indians to depredation on our frontier, and, as I believe, the only thing to be guarded against in that quarter, is Indian depredation.

If we do not possess the Florida's, I have supposed we would take possession of Texas and extend our Garrisons to our Territorial Limits; by which we would overawe the Indians under Spanish influence, and form a Cordon of Posts from the Mandan Villages south west to the Rio Grand or Del norte, or at least as far west as Galvestown and direct to the mandan Villages. This I should suppose (if our Treaty with Spain is not ratified and we abandon the possession of the Floridas, and continue our claim over Texas) would be a thing necessarily following the abandonment of the principles contained in our Treaty with Spain. I must confess that I am one of those who believed and still believes, that our Treaty with spain as it respected our limits and the possession of the Floridas, was a good one. Texas for the present we could well do without. But without the Floridas our lower country cannot be made secure, and our Navy cannot afford protection to it in time of War. The idea of invading our Territory through the province of Texas, is to me absurd. Should it be attempted, a vigilant General with a competent force and transportation concentrated at New Orleans, could cut the Invaders in the rear and destroy or capture the whole. No military man would hazard such a step with a view to conquer new orleans—one fourth his force in his front could bury him in the passes and defiles through which he would be compelled to advance. I therefore never had any apprehensions of an invasion from that quarter; but still have ordered the enquiry and a Topographical view of the country, and as soon as I receive the report, I shall act on the subject and make report thereof to you. Should we not have use for our military forces to occupy the Floridas, a Garrison on or near the Sabine will be useful to keep down the hostile spirit of the Indians.[2] . . . .

To President Monroe.[1]

Division of the South Headquarters,
Nashville, January 12, 1821.

Sir, Being advised through a channel that deserves confidence, that the treaty on the part of Spain is ratified and on its way to America, and

[1] Copy. War Dept. files.
[2] *Cf.* Jackson to Monroe, June 20, 1820, *ante,* and Jackson to Francis P. Blair, Oct. 24, 1844, *post.*
[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

believing, notwithstanding the exertions of a few that it will meet the approbation of the United States, and be ratified by the constitutional authority, I beg leave to lay before you two letters which I have some time since received, but have retained until intelligence of the ratification of the treaty by Spain, was received.

The first is from Majr George W Martin, a young man of great cleverness, and who has during the Creek War and the defence of New Orleans done his duty faithfully in the staff and family of Genl John Coffee. He is a young Gentleman of great sobriety, industry and morality, competant to discharge the duties of the office of Marshall, for which he asks; or any other in which to be a good accountant, to possess industry, energy and honesty are necessary qualifications for the incumbent. I therefore earnestly sollicit for him the appointment of Marshall in the Florida's as soon as we assume the government thereof. I can with truth say it cannot be better filled, either as it regards the Governmental or individual interest, or as it respects the merits of the applicant. I therefore hope that he may not be neglected.

The other letter is from one of our Circuit Judges, recommending Doctor Taylor originally from Virginia. He is a relation of Mr Madison's, and from my acquaintance with him I suppose him worthy of the recommendation given him by the Judge (Alfred Harris). The Judge is a very worthy man, and in whose recommendation full credence ought to be reposed. I am certain that no consideration would induce him to attach merit to an unworthy individual. I hope therefore his letter will have due weight as it respects Doctor Taylor.

I ask pardon for one observation more respecting Majr Martin and that is, he is needy. One cause of which is, that from the age of 18, from 1812, until 1815, he was constantly in the field, all his private interest was neglected, and of course being then an Orphan without a guardian, his patrimony suffered. I name this believing it the duty of the Government whenever an individual has impaired his fortune in the service of that government, when an opportunity offers and an office presents itself to be filled, if that individual is in all respects competent to the duties, he ought to be preferred to another of only equal pretensions to qualification, who has rendered no service to his country nor suffered any privations in its defence. Knowing and appreciating the services of Majr Martin, I know you will pardon me for this long letter in his favour.

Accept assurances of my high consideration, respect and esteem and believe me to be Yr M Obt servant

To Secretary Calhoun.[1]

Nashville, January 18, 1821.

Sir, On yesterday a deputation of Cherokees from the Creek path Town, consisting of George Fields, Wolfe and Turtle Fields, handed me

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 194; also in War Dept. files, and in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 503. The enclosures have not been found. The letter, like that of Sept. 2, 1820, shows that thus early Jackson believed that it was absurd to treat with Indians as though they constituted a sovereign state.

the enclosed letters marked A, B and C. The paper marked D, contains the explanation and talk delivered me by their confidential agent Turtle Field and subscribed to by the others, which is also enclosed.

On my return from the Creek frontier last summer, and passing through the lower part of the Cherokee country, I found great dissatisfaction prevailed, arising from the jealousy of Hicks and others, which I believe I have communicated to you.

When I set out to hold a Treaty with the Choctaws, I heard that the Path Killer had sent to me a deputation. They passed my house and finding me not at home, followed me to the Choctaw nation. That deputation consisted of part of the present (viz) George Fields and Wolfe. They remained with me during the negotiation with the Choctaws, and appeared very desirous that the Choctaws should obtain a country adjoining their Cherokee Brothers on the Arkansas, that they might aid each other in the day of danger. Never did they hint their business until I reached Russelville (Alibama) on my return, and on the morning when we were to part. They then informed me of their instructions to consult me, whether their father the President of the U. States would, upon the terms mentioned in their talk marked D,[2] and herewith enclosed, give to them the reservation asked for? Informing me also, that they had no confidence in Hicks and others, that their people had not been heard in council, and for three years had not received any part of the annuities, and that they were fearful that Hicks etc. would at some future day cheat them out of their land. All of which they wish'd to make known to their father the President, and get him to secure them permanently in the bounds they now ask for. I then told them that I could make no communication to their father the President, until the chiefs of their Town would in writing address me on that subject; When that was done I would freely make it known through you to him, and I had no doubt but it would be granted.

I do believe it to be a reasonable request and ought to be granted. It is a small area compared to what their population entitles them out of the whole country reserved to the Cherokee nation. The only good land asked for in the reserve, is on Thompson's and Browns creeks—the distance from the one to the other is about one and a half miles, and from Brown's creek to Short Creek is about one and a half. The whole reservation does not contain more than about six thousand acres of good land, the ballance is rock and mountain of the most rugged kind.

I do believe in a political point of view, as well as in justice to these people, their prayer ought to be noticed. It is inviting Congress to take up the subject, and exercise its power under the Hopewell Treaty of regulating all the Indian concerns, as it pleases. This is a precedent much wanted, that the absurdity in politics may cease, of a sovereign, independent nation holding Treaties with these people living within its territorial limits, acknowledging its sovereignty and laws, and who, altho' not citizens, cannot be viewed as aleins, but as the real subjects of the United States. If Congress by law will on the terms proposed take up the subject and give them the grant asked for, it will give to Georgia and Alibama all the

[2] No. 4 in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 504.

Cherokee lands not settled upon by those who will petition Congress at the next session, for the right of citizenship. In short I do believe in a very short time, these people will offer this part of reserved land to the U. States for lands on the Arkansas, and as part of the nation is now there, good policy will dictate the propriety of sending all those who do not wish to remain where they now are as citizens of the U. States. This belief however is bottomed on my opinion merely, and is to be taken as such. These people wanting to go to the Arkansas could not, unless they abandoned their improvements without compensation.

They now fear the injustice of the upper part of the nation, and wish to become independent of them and wish to be in such a situation, that they can remain where they now are forever, or if they choose, exchange of their own accord for lands more beneficial to them. If the real object of the Government is to send all over the Mississippi that are not disposed to become citizens, to consolidate our southern population, now is the time for Congress to take up the subject, allow the grant, and establish a happy precedent that will establish hereafter the rule of Legislating for, rather than Treating with the Indians within our territorial limits. This will secure to the Indians more justice, and a great saving to the nation. I have only to add, that I do hope their prayer may be granted, and the precedent established of Congress legislating for them.

I am Sir, with great respect

President Monroe to Jackson.

Washington, January 24, 1821.

Dear Sir, You will hear from other friends the proceedings of Congress, on the principle of Oeconomy, respecting the reduction of the army.[1] On that subject therefore I need say nothing.

We expect daily the treaty from Spain ceding Florida, ratified by her govt. In that event, will you accept the govt. of the territory? The climate will suit you, and it will give me pleasure to place you in that trust. Let me hear from you, as soon as possible, as the arrangment must be made, during the present session of Congress, which will terminate, as you know, on the 3d of march. You declin'd it when I saw you,[2] but perhaps, further reflection may reconcile the measure to you. with the best regards of my whole family to you and mrs Jackson I am very sincerely your friend and servant

To James Monroe.[1]

Hermitage near Nashville, February 11, 1821.

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 24th ulto.

I have read in the last papers a full detail of the proceedings of Congress, and it is with extreme regret that I find (from the *mania* for retrenchment) a majority of the House of Representatives have lost sight of the safety of our country at home, and its character abroad. And if this mania is not restrained by the wisdom and firmness of the Senate, in

[1] *Annals of Congress,* 16 Cong., 2 sess., cols. 932-934 (House).
[2] In 1819.
[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.

the event of war, our country must mourn the useless loss of much blood and treasure, as well as great national disgrace. If Congress leaves the nation without complete defence, it at once invites invasion from abroad.

I am pleased to learn that our treaty with Spain is ratified by her Government. This with proper means, will afford ample security to the lower Country. You ask me, if I will accept the Government of this important Territory? I sincerely thank you for the friendly manner you have regarded me, and the confidence you repose in me by this offer. Actuated from a belief, that my services would not much avail the public good, nor materially benefit your administration, I first determined not to accept it; but from the solicitations of my friends at the City [2] as well as here, strongly urging a conviction that my acceptance of the appointment, would quicken the organization of the Government, and tend to draw to that country a respectable population, I have determined to accept it, provided it will answer your views, that I may resign as soon as the Government is organized and in full operation. If the appointment is given me, my private concerns will require this course. My means are not competant to bear the expenses necessary to execute the Government of that Territory for any length of time. My fortune and constitution have already been much impaired in the service of my country, and although a prejudiced world may now say, the Seminole Campaign was but a struggle for the present appointment, yet will I go on, and devote what remains of my strength to its best interests, and in the midst of retirement an unsullied conscience will bid me pray for its happiness, and raise my feeble voice in its behalf.

I am Sir, with sincere regard Yr. Mo Obt servant

[*Indorsed by Monroe:*] Genl. Jackson accepts govt of Florid:

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.

Hermitage, February 11, 1821.

D'r Brunaugh. I recd. the letters and papers accompanied by your note of yesterday, I wayed the matter well and at one moment had concluded to accept the appointment offerred but on more mature reflection added to the repugnance of Mrs. J. to go to that country I have declined and so I have wrote the president and Sec of War.[1]

With a small fund, and good recommendations a great spec might be made at Pensacola and Ft St Augustine, by the purchase of negroes from subjects who will leave the Territory. with a fourth advanced, one two and three years might be obtained for the ballance well guranteed. I name this to you that you may look and see—send my letters and papers and believe me to be sincerly your friend

Isaac L. Baker [1] to Jackson.

Natchez, February 18, 1821.

. . . . I was gratified on reaching this place yesterday to find Mr Earle in this country.[2] He has done well in exhibiting his full length likeness

[2] Washington.

[1] For explanation of the divergence between this letter and that which immediately precedes, see the letter of Mar. 1 to General Coffee, *post.*

[1] A Kentuckian, captain U. S. A. till 1817, now a Louisiana planter.

[2] See vol. II., p. 402. Ralph E. W. Earl, son of Ralph Earl, a wandering Connecticut painter, studied art in London in 1809 and 1810. Returning to the United States he adopted

here as it has gratified the citizens and not been unprofitable to himself. An effort (which will succeed) is making here to raise a thousand Dollars to buy one for this city. When this arrangement is complete which is expected to morrow Mr Earle will go on to New Orleans where I have no doubt he will meet all the patronage he is entitled to receive. I will return as far as Plaquemine on my way home with him and will give him such letters to my friends in the city as may be of service to him.

I send you with this a pamphlet lately much read and sought after in our state against the Robertson Dynasty,[3] which has declared open war against all your friends and adherents who dared to oppose their coming into power. They have quarrelled with the French and cannot get on well with only a moiety of the americans to aid them in the extraordinary game they are playing.

Samuel Kennedy to Jackson.

Philadelphia, February 20, 1821.

Major Genl. Andrew Jackson

Sir By order of the Association of American Artists, I am directed in their name to return you thanks for your Politeness in siting for your Picture when in this City at their request, through the Intercession of Alderman Carswell and others of your Friends, for the purpose of having an engraving taken therefrom and now request the favour, of your acceptance of one framed and two unframed proof Impressions from the Plate;[1] which are forwarded you through Mr. F. Croft of New Orleans and which I hope will arrive safe and give you Pleasure.

I have the honour to be, with every sentiment of Respect and Esteem,
Your sincere well wisher and Obedt. Servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, March 1, 1821.

. . . . On the subject of the traty with Spain the President believes it will be ratified by our government, and has wrote to know of me if I will

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the life of a travelling portrait painter and visited Mississippi. At Natchez he married a daughter of Mrs. Jackson's sister Mrs. Jane Caffery (see vol. I., p. 214). Soon afterwards Earl became a widower and went to the Hermitage to live. He was a loyal and amiable friend and never outlived his welcome in Jackson's household. He died at the Hermitage in 1837. He painted many portraits of Jackson and some portraits of Jackson's political friends. They do not rank high in art, but they compare favorably with the work of the wandering portrait painters of the day. Jackson had a high opinion of "my friend Earl" (see Pliny Earle, *The Earle Family*, p. 89 n.).

Referring to Earl's portrait of Jackson exhibited in Natchez, Andrew J. Donelson wrote Jackson from New Orleans, Mar. 3, 1821, as follows: "Mr Duncan has favoured Mr Earl with a room in his private house, in which hangs the portrait of Genl J. It is pronounced by all who have seen it, the best likeness ever exhibited in the city. There is no doubt of the Corporation's taking a copy. The city council of Natchez have agreed to compensate Mr Earl with $1000, if he furnishes them with a copy in four months from the time of their meeting, last month, Mr Earl is well and sends his best wishes to yourself and Aunt."

[3] Thomas B. Robertson, governor of Louisiana 1820-1824.

[1] Apparently the engraving by James B. Longacre, published Nov. 2, 1820, from a painting by Thomas Sully. W. S. Baker, *American Engravers* (Philadelphia, 1875), p. 106.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

accept the government. I had said to him when in this country I would not, he requests me to reconsider the subject, and the secretary of war has united with the President on this subject. Major Eaton writes me that my friends in congress is determined to have me appointed whether I will accept or not, from which I infer there is some strong political reason operating with my friends for their solicitude upon this occasion. I had determined, and prepared letters to that effect, saying I would not accept the appointment. my friends at Nashville grew impatient at my decision and on their solicitation believing my letters had gone on the previous mail said to them, if they would apply at the office, if my letters had not gone on I would say to the President I would accept it, and organise the government, with the understanding that I might resign, as soon thereafter as I thought proper. my letters had not gone on, and thus I have written to Mr Monroe. if these letters gets on before the President is compelled to make the nomination I will receive the appointment, my hopes are that they letters will not reach there before the 3d of March, they cannot before the first, for I assure you it will be with great reluctance I will go to that country in the capacity of governor, a few days will decide this question, when you will hear from me. . . . .

James J. Hanna to Jackson.[1]

Norfolk, Va., March 1, 1821.

D sir, I wrote you a few days ago from Petersburg which letter I suppose you have received before this. I have not been able to do any thing

[1] The following statement of account, without date, belongs with this letter:

"To: Jas. J. Hanna, Dr.		
To half of the travelling expenses from Nashville to Milton $28.43¾		$14.22
" Mine and Mr. Samuels expenses to Petersbg. on your business exclusively		$14.75
" Cash. Paid Parrish the Gaoler's bill		146.80
" 1 pr Shoes and Socks for Tom 1.50		
1 Blanket 1.75		3.25
" My Exps. to Norfolk and while detained there		19.25
" Mr Samuels. Exps. from Petersburg with Tom		9.00
" 9 days. Mr. S. was employed to P. and back at 4/6		6.75
" Cash paid for a horse for Tom 50.00		
Saddle and bridle 7.50		
Shoeing for horse 1.50		59.00
Pd. for. pr pantaloons and another pr of shoes for Tom at Milton		2.12½
" Cash paid Toms Exps. from Milton		14.41
" Your proportion of my exps. $27.57 for Milton home		13.78
		$303.33½
Contra Cr.		
By Cash Recd. of you at Nashville.		
in Tennessee Money	$50.00	
In Eastern do.	150.00	
		200.00
		$103.33½
The above balance was advanced in eastern money		
Expenses. to Capt. Amis with Jas. J. Hanna your mare and back to Nash. C. H.		3.37½
		$106.71

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Jas. Hannas letter. Bill of expenses, Bill of Sale of Ned Bot. of R. B. Wilson on Deep Creek near Norfolk. Ned ran away, has been advertised, by Mr. Hanna. Bill of sale given to Mr Jams. Hanna the property of Ned A. Jacksons, if regained

with Ned, who is still out, nor have I been able to discover his wife to make the proposition to her you desired. from what I know of the Negroes in this part of the World, I am sure it would be of no avail even if I had seen her. A day or two after my arrival I was offered $300 in cash for Ned as he ran and agreed to take it and after waiting untill today for the man to raise the money, I now find he either cannot do it or wishes to get the fellow for half nothing; I have a great deal of confidence in Mr Ogg, (the gentleman who you will recollect I wrote to last summer to sell him, from whom I have met with a great deal of friendship) and have left a power of attorney with him to sell him, (he says he will be able to get $350 for him), which is the only thing I am able to do: The fellow has been frequently seen and heard of and there are many who would buy him, but they suppose that I am compelled to take whatever they choose to offer for him. The mare is in very good order and full of spirit, I shall go to Washington in the morning thence to Nash. and after completing my business take her to Sir Archie. Give my respects to Mrs Jackson, and Andrew, and belive me, Yours very Respectfully

THE SECRETARY OF STATE (JOHN QUINCY ADAMS) TO JACKSON.[1]

WASHINGTON, March 12, 1821.

Sir, By direction of the President of the United States, I have the honor of transmitting to you three Commissions,

1.—As Commissioner to receive possession of the Provinces of East and West Florida, conformably to the Treaty between the United States and Spain, concluded on the 22d of February 1819.

2.—As Governor of the whole Territories of which possession is to be thus taken.

3.—As Commissioner vested with special and extraordinary powers, conformably to the stipulations of the Treaty and to the Act of Congress for carrying the same into execution; copies of both which are also among the enclosures with this letter.

Together with the Spanish Ratification of the Treaty, there was transmitted to the Spanish Minister at this place a Royal Order, to the Captain General and Governor of the Island of Cuba, for delivering possession of the Provinces of East and West Florida, according to the stipulations of the second article of the Treaty.[2]

Colonel James G. Forbes has been appointed by the President Agent and Commissary to deliver this Royal Order to the Governor of Cuba, to concert and arrange with him the execution of it, and to receive any documents or archives which may be at the Havanna, and which are stipulated to be delivered by this article. A copy of his Instructions is herewith enclosed;[3] by which you will perceive, that he is to deliver over to you all such documents or archives as he may receive at the Havanna. It is de-

[1] This letter is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 750. In the same volume are Jackson's three commissions here mentioned (pp. 751, 752).

[2] Dated Oct. 24, 1820. The copy is in the Jackson MSS.

[3] Dated Mar. 10, 1821. The copy is in the Jackson MSS. On the transfer of Florida archives see R. R. Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of Papeles procedentes de Cuba* (Washington, Carnegie Institution, 1916), pp. xx-xxiii.

sirable that those relating to each of the two Provinces should be kept distinct from each other, and that this Government should be informed generally of their character and quantity.

Colonel Forbes is to take passage at New York, in the United States' Sloop of War *Hornet*, Captain Read; and, on arriving at Pensacola, is to give you immediate notice, that you may repair thither to receive possession of that place. The Hornet is to remain there to escort the transports, in which the Spanish officers and troops, and their baggage, are to be conveyed to the Havanna. The Spanish Minister [4] has expressed a strong wish, that no troops of the United States may be introduced into Pensacola or St. Augustine, until *after* the evacuation by those of Spain. The object of this request being to avoid any possible unpleasant altercations between the soldiers of the two nations, the President thinks it reasonable to comply with it, unless you should be of opinion that it will be attended with inconvenience. In that event, he relies that you will take every measure of precaution which may be necessary to guard against any such collisions between the soldiers; and he trusts with confidence that in every arrangement for the evacuation, the utmost delicacy will be observed to avoid every thing which might tend to wound the feelings of any of the Spanish officers, soldiers, or subjects, who are to remove.

It is the President's desire, that you should appoint General Gaines, or such other officer as you may deem expedient, to receive possession of St. Augustine; and that the same Instructions should be applied to the execution of that service. The United States' Brig Enterprize, or Sch. Porpoise, will be ordered to proceed to that place, to escort the transports which are to convey the Spanish officers and troops thence to the Havanna. The care of providing the transports at both places is referred to you. The number of troops at either place is not known, but supposed to amount to about 500 men at each. The stipulation is understood to include civil as well as military officers, and provisions as well as passage. Instructions will be given by the Secretary of War to the Quarter-Masters and Commissaries to furnish to your orders provisions and transports for the conveyance of the Spanish officers and troops.[5] It is expected they will be supplied at New Orleans and Mobile, for those to embark within the Gulph, and at Savannah and Charleston for those going from St. Augustine.

A copy and translation of the Royal Order to the Governor of Cuba, for delivering the possession of the Provinces, are among the enclosures herewith. You will observe, that it includes expressly the islands appertinent to them. It will be proper that attention should be paid to taking possession of all these islands; but it may not be necessary that a formal delivery of them in every case should be made.

On receiving from the Governors of West and of East Florida possession of those respective Provinces, it will be proper to exchange certificates of the time and mode of the transaction: orders for the delivery of any military posts within the Provinces will be expected, and they will be occupied by detachments of our troops as you may deem expedient.

[4] Don Francisco Dionisio Vives.
[5] See Calhoun to Jackson, Mar. 22, 1821, in *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, p. 181.

As soon as the possession shall be transferred, you will, in pursuance of your authority over the ceded territories, issue proclamations announcing the fact. A form, adopted from that which was issued on the first occupation of Louisiana, is herewith enclosed, to be modified as the circumstances in your opinion may require.

The powers, vested in you by the enclosed Commissions, are also conformable to those which were entrusted to the Governor of Louisiana, under an Act of Congress of similar import. The President is satisfied that they will be exercised by you with a due regard as well to the priviliges and usages of the inhabitants under the Government to which they have been subject, as to the personal and social rights to which they will be entitled by the stipulations of the Treaty, and as associates to the Union of these States. The money paid into the Spanish treasury before the delivery of possession, and whatever may be due thereto at that date, is to be considered as the property of Spain. Payments and debts subsequent to that date will belong of course to the United States.

The laws of the United States relating to the revenue and its collection, and those relating to the introduction of persons of color, being extended, by the Act of Congress, to the Territory, the execution of them will be superintended by officers to be appointed for the several collection districts to be established by the President conformably to the law.

Your compensation as Governor will be at the rate of five thousand dollars a year. As Commissioner for receiving possession of the Provinces, such reasonable expenses as may be incurred will be allowed. Whenever your military command ceases, your salary as Governor will commence.

In the taking of possession of St. Augustine and East-Florida, similar proceedings to those relative to the occupation of West-Florida will be proper. Both Provinces being placed under your direction, the Proclamation to be issued there will be in your name; and General Gaines, or such other officer as you may appoint, will be instructed to consider himself, for all the purposes of the Government, subject to your orders.

At the ensuing session of Congress, it is to be presumed one of the earliest objects of attention, to that body will be, to make further provision for the Government of these territories. The President wishes you, in the interval, to collect and communicate to this Department any information, relating to the country and its inhabitants, which may be useful to the exercise of the legislative authority of the Union concerning them.

For the expenses incident to the services herewith required, you will draw upon this Department. Strict economy is to be observed in incurring them; and I have urgently to request the transmission, as early as possible, of all the accounts resulting from them, with the vouchers necessary for their settlement at the Treasury.

I am with great respect, Sir, your very humble and obedt. servt.

Secretary Adams to Jackson.[1]

Department of State, March 23, 1821.

Sir, By the second article of the Florida Treaty, it is stipulated that with the Territories of East and West Florida, the *fortifications* within

[1] This letter is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 753.

the same, are ceded and to be delivered to the United States; but no express mention is made of the Cannon, belonging to them.

By the seventh Article of the same Treaty, it is provided that the United States shall furnish the transports and escort necessary to convey the Spanish Officers and troops, and their baggage to the Havanna. But no mention is made of the transporting of Cannon; nor is there any express engagement on the part of the United States, to furnish *provisions* to the Spanish Officers and Troops on the passage.

It is the opinion of the President, that by a fair and just construction of the Treaty, the Cannon belonging to the fortifications are to be considered as appendages to them, included in the cession, and are therefore to be left with them. On the same principle he is of opinion, that with the transports and escort to convey the Spanish Officers and troops and their baggage, the provisions necessary for the passage, are also to be furnished at the expense of the United States, although not specially mentioned in the Treaty; and orders have accordingly been given for the supply of provisions.

It is however possible that the Spanish Governors of East and West Florida, may upon a different construction of the Treaty, claim to carry away the Cannon from the fortifications, because they are not expressly named in the article. You will in that case claim that they should be left with the fortifications, and insist that upon the principle of the other construction the United States are not bound to furnish provisions for the passage of the Officers and troops. You will state that the supply has been ordered in the confidence, that the benefit of the same liberal Construction of the Treaty will operate in favour of the United States; and that if it be not extended to them, they will have a just claim to be reimbursed for the expense of supplying the provisions.

You will add that as there is no engagement on their part express or implied, to furnish the means of transporting the Cannon, they have made and can make no provision for that purpose. Should the Spanish Governors alledge that their orders are express, for having the Cannon carried away, you will leave it to them to make provision for their transportation, and report forthwith the facts to this Department.

I am, with Great Respect, Sir, your very humble and Obedt. Servt.

To Major Allan Campbell.[1]

Hermitage, March 31, 1821.

D'r Sir, I have received your kind favour of the 18th instant, and yours of prior date therin alluded to. I have no apology for not answering the first but the press of business, and my unwillingness to write on politicks—my letters are sometimes interrupted on their passage—sometimes published and become the subject of unpleasant remarks by my enemies, and mutilated for their own views of deception to pervert my meaning and opinions and hold me forth as using expressions I never made or opinions I never held. I have therefore declined answering political letters.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. On Jan. 8, 1830, Major Campbell, who lived in Louisville, sent a copy of this letter to A. J. Donelson, and asked Jackson's consent to its publication.

The idea given me in your letter before me of the 18th comports with the rule I have long since adopted. I give no pledges on any subject. If elevated to the Presidential chair it shall be by the free will of the people who have the sovereign right to call me there—my duty to them, to remain free and unpledged and go there with clean hands without bargain, pledge, or management, and if, I ever be there, it will be agreeable to this rule laid down.

I would visit Kentucky with much pleasure, but when I see with what propriety the public Journals have lashed the heads of departments for their electioneering tours last year, I cannot subject myself to such imputations when my politics are so much at variance with such a course—wherever business leads me, *there I will go,* and I will visit Kentucky with much pleasure when I can without the imputation of electioneering tour.

Accept the assurance of my great respect and believe me your most obdt. servt.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, March 31, 1821.

. . . . I sincerely regret that I did not adhere to my first determination not to accept the Goverment of Floridas, your aunt appears very reluctant to go to that climate and really I am wearied with Public life, But it is too late to look back, and I will organise the Goverment, and retire to private life. I know even in this I make a great private sacrafice; but my word is out and I must comply at any sacrafice. What may be my compensation I know not but whatever it may be I am determined to spend it, and to live within. . . . .

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

War Department, April 8, 1821.

Dear Sir, I have been prevented by a continued pressure of official duties from acknowledging the pleasure, which your favour of the 11th Febury afforded me.

While, I consider an attachment to mere popularity, as an evidence of weakness and vice, I look upon the love of a just renown, as the highest evidence of exalted worth and greatness. The former may be won by intrigue or hypocrisy; the latter only by great and magnanimous actions. The one regards the present; the other looks to futurity. None can doubt, which of these you have persued. Had mere popularity been your object, many of those sacrifices, which now distinguish your life, would have been spared; but then that deep debt, which you will have left on your country and posterity, would not have existed. You may feel the effects of course in a constitution shattered by exertions beyond your physical strength, but the balmy contentment of having faithfully discharged your duty will never forsake you.

Thus regarding your character and actions, I cannot but highly prize the approbation, which you have expressed of my political conduct. I shall carry the remembrance of it, with me through life. Should I meet with the approbation of the wise and good, I ask no more. I think too

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

highly of our country and love it, I hope, too dearly to sport with its destinies. Looking to its future security and greatness, I must often incur the censure of those, whose policy revolves round their *own private* interest. I am ready to meet it and shall, I trust, never be driven out of my course by it.[1]

I am glad you have accepted of the governorship of Florida. It has in fact afforded almost universal satisfaction. The climate, I doubt not, will prove highly genial and may add many years to your valuable life. It will not, however, be necessary for me to say, that you ought to take some precaution in not exposing yourself too freely to its intense summer sun.

Your sentiments in relation to Col Gadsden are those which I feel for him. No one can prize him more highly than myself. His prospect in the army is of the brightest character. The Senate so modified the bill from the house, as to retain the office which he holds;[2] but had not that been done, I was determined, if possible, to retain his services by finding some place in the army equal to his present grade.

The subject of the reduction of the army will be under consideration this week. I hope the whole of its talents and experience may be saved. I have no doubt of the disposition of the President towards Col Butler, and that an arrangement will be made as to him, which will be satisfactory to his friends.

Believing that you would not be in Nashville at the time, which it would require for the mail to convey this to that place, I have directed to Montpelier,[3] where I hope it will meet you in good health. Tho' the official relation, which has existed between us for some time, is about to terminate, yet I shall be very happy to hear from you whenever your convenience may permit. Wishing you long life and every happiness, I remain,

With sentiment of great respect and esteem

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, April 11, 1821.

D'r Genl. I have no doubt but you have been advised of my having consented to go to Florida and organise the government there. this may astonish you from the firm determination I had taken not to accept it, and my long and anxious desire for retirement, but when I tell you, that the change of this my determination was brought about by the solicitations of the President, the secretary of war, and many of my friends in con-

[1] Calhoun's flattering language to Jackson reappears about this time in several of his letters. In a letter of Mar. 7, 1821, he wrote: "My course is fixed and nothing will turn me from it. The prosperity of this Republick is too important to make it subordinate to personal agrandizement, or gratification. As to yourself you are beyond the shaf[t]s of any. Time, which destroys most men's fame will but add to yours. Your country's fame and your's is one; and I would rather have your good opinion with the approbation of my own mind, than all of the popularity, which a pretended love of the people, and a course of popularity hunting, can excite. To love the people is to promote their lasting interest; and not to flatter them; and on this principle posterity will decide."

[2] Inspector general. In August, 1821, the President appointed him adjutant general, but the appointment was not confirmed by the Senate, and expired Mar. 22, 1822.

[3] Montpelier, Ala., was near Fort Montgomery, *i. e.*, east of the Alabama River and a little above its junction with the Tombigbee.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

gress, and many others, it may absolve me from the appearance of instability in my resolves. Mr James Jackson when you see him will explain to you more fully, the propriety of this change in me. I must confess I enter upon this duty with more reluctance and regret, than any in my life, and the great reluctance of Mrs J, added to her bad health, increases my regret, she has consented to go with me, but could not consent to leave her son, he goes also. I should have taken with me my little Andrew J Hutchings,[2] but I am aware if I did, and any accident happen his grandfather would believe I had destroyed him that his estate should go to his fathers family. I have therefore left him at school, and have got Mrs Knox to remain here and take care of him untill we return which I hope will be in the next fall. we set out tomorrow for Nashville and expect to sail sunday next for Montpelier via Orleans to which point I am first ordered. I shall if possible before I leave Nashville have a bill filed and leave in the hands of Mr McLemore, as guardian of little Andrew Hutchings, against Bennett Smith. I shall also leave the note of James Jackson and Co, to me as guardian in the hands of Mr McLemore, that in case Smith should recover the amount may be collected by you and paid, and you as executor exhonorated, but I wish to prosecute this suit to an injunction. . . . .

JACKSON IN ACCOUNT WITH S. W. STOUT AND COMPANY.

Genrl A Jackson — NASHVILLE, April 14, 1821.

to S W Stout and co

to 1 Set of coachee harness	$160.
to painting coachee - - - - - - - - -	40.
to 1 Dozen Moroco Skins	32.
to 11 yds of Broad Lace—$1.10	12.10
to 38 Do of faste[n]ing and Sewing 1/6	9.50
to Workmanship in triming	40.
to New leathering coachmans Seat	8.50
to 6 New curtaines 4.	24.
to 1 Set of thorough Braces	14.
to 2 Swingle tree Leathers 6/	2.
to 1 pr of pole shaf[t]s	5.
to 1 New glass	3.
to eavening glass frames	3.50
to Leathering Step	3.
to 1 New pole	3.50
to mending Stay	75
to repaires to body	2.75
to 3 Dozen plated Nobs 7/6	3.75
to New Wareing Leathers	75
	$348.10[1]
by the old harness	25.
Recvd payment S. W. Stout and co	323.10

[2] Son of a nephew of Mrs. Jackson.
[1] The sum should be $368.10.

To Secretary Adams.[1]

New Orleans, April 24, 1821.

Sir, On the evening of the 22nd inst, I reached this city on my way to Montpelier, and will if I can procure a transport, proceed on my journey on the 26th instant.

Immediately on my arrival Mr Frommentin[2] waited upon me, and produced a commission dated in the year 1819, authorising him to receive the Floridas together with the Archives at Pensacola and St Augustine. He appears to be impressed with a belief, that although, that part of his commission to receive the Floridas was superseded, yet as the executive had been silent on the subject of the Archives to be recd. at Pensacola etc., that he with my approval was entitled to the safe keeping of them. From the tenor of my instructions, I do not conceive that I can create any office in the Floridas that does not exist there at present, and that clerks of any kind except those that are contemplated under my instruction to translate and transcribe the Archives for the information of the President, cannot be necessary until the next meeting of Congress. However should the President be of opinion that a safe keeper of the Archives should be necessary, and that Mr Frommentine should be appointed to that trust, and express the same to me with the salary to be annexed, I will immediately notify Mr Frommentin thereof and request his removal to Pansacola. But it does not appear to me that there can arise a necessity for any individual to have a copy of any of the records before the meeting of next Congress. I shall therefore not make any appointment of this kind, until I hear from the President on the subject.

I have here met with Majr Staunton of the Quarter-Masters Department, who advises me that he is without Quartermaster funds for the purpose of carrying into effect the transportation of the civil and military officers of Spain, from the Florida's as stipulated under the late treaty with Spain, and informs me that it is understood by the Quar[ter]-Master Genl., that through me the funds necessary to carry into effect the stipulation for transporting the Spanish Troops are to be obtained. From the perusal of my instructions, it does not appear that I am authorised to draw upon the State Department for Quartermaster funds, but will take upon me the responsibility so to do. I thought it most advisable to endeavour to raise here by a draft upon your Department the sum necessary to meet the expenses of receiving the country and organising the Government, fearing that a draft would not be sold at Mobile or Pensacola. for this purpose I offered for sale a draft, and found I could not obtain United States paper for it without a discount, I therefore directed Majr Staunton to apply to the Branch Bank of the United States, to be informed whether it would advance upon my draft—it refused. I then addressed a note to

[1] State Dept., Territorial Papers, Florida; also in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 756. Other letters from Jackson to Adams in the same volume are dated Apr. 2, 10, 12, 1821 (pp. 755-756).

[2] Eligius Fromentin of New Orleans (d. 1822) was U. S. senator from Louisiana 1813-1819. On May 18, 1821, President Monroe commissioned him as U. S. judge for West Florida and the western part of East Florida. His conflicts with Jackson in the Callava affair appear later.

the collector Mr Chew, the enclosed is his answer.[3] I also enclose the statement of Majr Staunton, from all which you will discover that without a discount, money cannot be obtained here on drafts upon the Government—no delay however shall occur in the transportation of the Spanish Troops from the want of funds, as far as I can command them, nor will I ever consent to sell bills on the Government at a discount to any, and more particularly to the Branch Bank of the United States, in which is depositted all the revenue of the Government recd. at this place. I shall endeavour at Mobile or Pensacola to raise the necessary funds on drafts. Should I fail there, I trust upon the receipt of this, the Government will instruct the Branch Bank to furnish me with the amount that may be necessary to meet the expenses that may occur in receiving the Floridas and organising the Government thereof

I am Sir with great respect

Major Henry Stanton[1] to Jackson.

New Orleans, April 25, 1821.

Sir, Agreeable to your request, of this morning I waited on the Cashier of the United States Branch Bank and stated to him your wish to negotiate, through his Bank a draft on Washington for ten or fifteen thousand Dollars, which he perimptorily declined doing. Knowing the importance of obtaining funds, and that money could not be had in market for drafts, but at a discount, I ventured to state to the Cashier, such reasons as suggested themselves to my mind, why the favour requested should be granted; and the very serious embarrassment that might result to the public service should he persist in his refusal which however, he thought proper to do without assigning any other reason than that the instructions of the mother Bank forbade his negotiating drafts.

I have the honor to be

To the Governor of West Florida (José Callava).[1]

Montpelier,[2] April 30, 1821.

Sir, I have the honor to inform your excellency that I have been duly commissioned by the President of the United States, to receive possession of the Floridas agreeably to the stipulations of the late treaty, between the United States and His Catholick Majesty. I have also to state, that Col. James Forbes has sailed from New York to Havanna charged with

[3] Chew's reply, Apr. 26, was to the effect that under his instructions he could not advance the money without a special order from the Secretary of the Treasury. This incident was later mentioned as the beginning of Jackson's hostility to the Bank of the United States (Parton's *Jackson,* II. 596); but there is nothing in the Jackson MSS. to show that he remembered the affair longer than during his brief stay in Florida. He did not hesitate, while governor of that country, to endorse a request that a branch of the bank be established in Pensacola. See Jackson to Secretary Adams, Aug. 15, 1821, *post.*

[1] Deputy quartermaster general.

[1] State Dept., B. I. A., Misc. Lett., 81; printed in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 757. José Callava had been commandant of Pensacola since February, 1819.

[2] No explanation can be offered for this date-line. In his letter to Adams of May 1 Jackson says that he reached Blakely on Apr. 29 and was still there when he wrote.

the royal Order to the Capt. Genl. for the delivery of the countries ceded to the United States by the said treaty, and that he is to communicate to me from Pensacola immediately on his arrival, which may be daily expected.

Being desirous, in order to avoid all unnecessary delay, to have in readiness on the arrival of Col. Forbes, from Cuba, the necessary transports for the civil and military officers, and the troops of His Catholick majesty, agreeably to the stipulations of the treaty, as well as for their supplies, (according to the liberal construction which the President is disposed to give to the treaty) I have to request you to inform me of the number of Officers, and troops, to be transported from Pensacola and St Marks, and also of the number of days in which the passage from Pensacola to Havanna is usually performed. As the transports and supplies, will be procured at New Orleans, you will be pleased to inform me, what length of time will be necessary on your part, after the arrival of the order from the Captain Genl. to enable you to make the necessary preparations to embark. This information is requested in order that I may have every thing in a state of preparation for your transportation the moment you are ready. It is also important to enable me to have the necessary supplies transported to Pensacola and St Marks, and in *depos* for the troops which are to occupy the Florida's.

It being communicated to me, that it is expected from the assurance of the minister of His Catholick Majesty at Washington, that no unnecessary delay will take place in delivering possession of the Florida's, I have ordered the supplies of the troops of the United States to be forwarded to Pensacola and St. Augustine, and they are expected to arrive at those points by the fifteenth of the next month. The situation of my troops in the interiour and the difficulty of supplying them there, render this step necessary, and orders have been given to expedite no further supplies to the places which those troops at present occupy. A removal of them, at an early day, is therefore rendered necessa[r]y, and I have no disposition (unless urged by necessity) to move my troops to any garrison occupied by the troops of his Catholick Majesty, until the same shall be evacuated, being, I assure you, earnestly desirous, that nothing may occur to disturb that harmony, and good understanding, which at present so happily exists, between our respective governments, and the citizens and subjects of each.

From a wish to maintain the most perfect harmony and good understanding between us, during our correspondence, I have charged the bearers of this communication, Doctor J C Bronaugh Surgeon General of the Southern division, and my friend and one of my private Secretaries, Judge Breckenridge,[3] to make known to you, the sincere desire on my part, to carry into effect the stipulations of the treaty and the surrender of the Florida's, with the utmost good faith, and amity with the officers of His Catholick Majesty, as well as the promptness with which every

[3] Henry M. Brackenridge (1786-1871), lawyer and literary man. Jackson, immediately after the cession effected on July 17, made him alcalde of Pensacola; from 1822-1832 he was U. S. judge in West Florida.

thing stipulated under the treaty on the part of the Government of the United States, will be executed agreeably to the most liberal construction of that instrument.

I am Sir with sentiments of respect

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Blakeley, May 1, 1821.

Sir, I arrived at this place on the morning of the 29th Ult. and immediately communicated with Montpelier by express; which returned last evening, with information that no advices had been received there from Col. Forbes.

Being informed that associations exist, for the purposes of introducing a number of Africans into Florida, before the change of Government; and for this purpose an agent from Baltimore and another from the East, are now, the one in Pensacola and the other in Cuba or Bahama Islands, To obtain possession of the ceded Country as soon as possible and thereby prevent the furtherance of this dreaded evil, I have this morning dispatched Doctr. Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge, with communications to the Governor of Pensacola, copies of which I send you herewith Marked No. 1 and 2,[2] and also with instructions to enquire into the truth of a complaint made to me in New Orleans and reiterated here, that, the Spanish subjects in Pensacola are in the habit constantly of pulling down the houses of non-resident Americans, for *fuel.*

My Aid de Camp Capt. Call, whom I sent from Nashville over land to Montpelier, has not reached that place owing it is believed to the unusual freshets, prevalent in the upper country. This will detain me here, untill the arrival of my horses and untill the return of the Gentlemen whom I have sent to Pensacola. I have directed Col Brook,[3] in Command at Montpelier, to forward to this place all communications which may be received at Montpelier for me. As soon as I hear from the Governor of Pensacola I will communicate to you his reply.

I have signified to Commodore Patterson the propriety of sending a vessel to take a recognizance of the Florida coast as far as Tampa Bay, to intercept any American vessel loaded in whole or in part, with Africans. From conversing with Majr. Staunton of the Quarter Masters Department, on the subject of suppli[e]s for the Spanish Officers and soldiers on their voyage to Cuba and the inconvenience of preparing their bread on board; I have directed him to order Capt. Rodgers of the Commisariat Dept. at Orleans to have a sufficient quantity of sea biscuit, prepared for

[1] State Department, B. I. A., Misc. Lett., 81. Jackson left Nashville Apr. 12, going by way of New Orleans. He landed at Blakely on Apr. 29, remained there five days, and then went to Montpelier, where he stayed five weeks. When he knew that Forbes had succeeded at Havana and had arrived at Pensacola he crossed the Florida line and reached "Manuel's" (the estate of Manuel González, fifteen miles from Pensacola) on June 17. Other obstacles to immediate transfer now arose and he remained at Manuel's until July 10. Governor Callava's attitude was indifferent and aroused much feeling in Jackson's mind. For two interesting letters on the events, by Mrs. Jackson, see Parton's *Jackson,* II. 597, 603.

[2] No. 1 is a letter introducing Dr. Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge. No. 2 is the letter immediately preceding.

[3] Brevet Col. George M. Brooke, 4th Infantry.

their supply. In this arrangement there will be a saving of Tonage to the U States and it will have the happy effect of preventing any complaints from Spain on the score of supplies or as to the liberality of the Government of the U States in their construction of the Treaty. I hope this measure will meet the approbation of the President.

With high consideration and respect I have the Honor to be

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Blakely, May 7, 1821.

Sir, In my letter of the 1st instant, I advised you of my arrival here, of communicating with Montpelier and hearing nothing from Col. Forbes, of my sending Doctor Bronough and Judge Breckenridge, to obtain information necessary to be had, before I gave instructions to Majr Staunton, Quarter master, to provide the transportation and supplies necessary for the transportation of the Spanish officers and soldiers. These Gentlemen, have this morning returned. The enclosed translation of a letter from the Governor of Pensacola and the report of these Gentlemen, will give you the information acquired, and may not be uninteresting to you.

Finding, from the report of the above Gentlemen, that the Hornet had reached the Havanna on the 9th ulto. and believing that she must reach Pensacola shortly, and reflecting, that it is better for the transportation to be ready with the supplies and to wait for the Hornet, than for the Spanish officers and troops to wait for the transportation to be procured after her arrival; I have ordered Majr Staunton to repair to Orleans, and procure the transports and supplies, and to have them ready to sail for Pensacola on the first notice of the arrival of the Hornet there. Majr. Staunton informs me that he thinks vessels can be obtained on much better terms now, than they can be, after it is known the Hornet has returned, and that transportation must be immediately had. He is instructed to make the most advantageous contract he can, to save any demurrage on account of any short delay; and I have no doubt from the rumours of mercantile associations, to introduce large quantities of goods into Pensacola, that there will be, a great saving to the United States, by having the transports ready on the arrival of the Hornet, as well as earlier possession of the ceded country.

It is all important for the health of our troops, to have them removed from Fort Gadsden in all this month, or early in the next, and every exertion, as far as it rests with me, shall be used to obtain this object. I am at a loss to conjecture the causes of the delay of the Hornet—a few days will give us the reason, and I hope it may not be found to exist in any understanding between an associa[tion] of our merchants, and the Governor Genl of Cuba. But Sir, it is rumoured and believed here, that such an attempt will be made by merchants, to prevail upon the Governor Genl to withold the order for the delivery of the Floridas until the last moment, to give time for the arrival of large shipments of goods for Pensacola.

I am Sir, with sentiments of great respect

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Montpelier, May 11, 1821.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 4th instant, handed to me by Doctor Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge, in reply to mine of 30th of which these Gentlemen were the bearers.

I was well aware that you could take no order for the delivery of the Floridas, in pursuance of the Treaty between the United States and His Catholic Majesty, until you received instructions to that purpose from the Captain General of the Island of Cuba; but I had entertained a hope, that in virtue of the Treaty, with which you cannot be unacquainted, it would have been in your power to give me the necessary information of the number of Officers and Men for whom transportation was to be furnished under the late Treaty, and for whom (according to the liberal construction given by the President) the President had instructed me to furnish the necessary supplies for their voyage to Cuba.

Being informed, however, by Doctor Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge, that you expressed to them your willingness on receiving the necessary instructions from the Captain General, to prepare with promptness, and without delay for the delivery of the Country and the transportation of your Officers and men, I have directed my Quarter Master to furnish transportation for Six hundred men, with the supplies for their voyage and now inform you that the same is ready, and will sail for Pensacola on the first notification of the receipt of the orders for the delivery of the Floridas.

I advised you in my letter, that in consequence of the assurances to the President, by his Catholic Majesty's Minister at Washington, that no unnecessary delay should take place in the delivery of the country ceded, orders have been given to discontinue the sending supplies to my Troops in the interior, which are intended to occupy St Marks and Pensacola. Two public vessels are now at anchor in Mobile Bay loaded with supplies for Pensacola and St Marks. These vessels are intended to transport your Garrison from St Marks to Pensacola, and the garrison of the United States from Fort Gadsden to St Marks. I have charged my Aid-de-Camp, Captn. Richard K. Call, to consult Your Excellency upon the subject, and to be informed, whether on your part, there would be any objection to my making a deposit of the supplies on board those vessels destined for Pensacola, and whether it would meet your wishes to have the Garrison of St Marks transported to Pensacola, preparatory to the delivery of the Country ceded, so that when the orders from Cuba shall arrive, all your Officers and men can be transported together, under convoy of the United States Sloop of War Hornet. Should this arrangement meet your wishes and be within your present powers, it would greatly expedite the delivery of the Country, the transportation of your Troops and their safety, being all embarked at one point under convoy of the Hornet.

[1] Copy. State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. Callava's letter of May 4 is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 760. Bronaugh's and Brackenridge's report is *ibid.*, p. 758.

I take this occasion to repeat the assurances I have given of my sincere desire, that all things may be conducted with harmony and friendly feelings between us, and that every attention may be paid to the comfort, safety and convenience of the Spanish Officers and troops, to whom, considering the approach of a season less favorable for their voyage, a speedy departure must be equally desireable.

God preserve you many years.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Montpelier, May 11, 1821.

Dear Genl, I reached Blakely on the 29th ult. and having from thence to communicate with Pensacola, I did not reach this place untill the 9th instant when I recd your much esteemed favour of the 18th of April. I had wrote you by our mutual friend Mr James Jackson, who I find had not returned when Charles called at your house. ere this you have recd it, which will inform you, of the motives and causes that induced me to change what I once thought my fixed determination and to accept of the commissions to receive and govern the Floridas, untill congress meets and passes a law extending a territorial government over them. as soon as that takes place, I retire to my farm in Tennessee and there spend my latter days.

I have no doubt but the solicitude of the President that I should accept the appointment arose from feelings of friendship, and a desire to give evidence to the world that he fully approved my course on the Seminole campaign, as well as believing that my name would have some weight in establishing the Government over the Floridas. he has given me ample power, and Genl Gains and the whole force in the southern Division is placed under my orders, and if necessary the militia, from which you will discover that I wield sufficient means, to cause obedience if it should be necessary at any time to use force.

In short my Dear friend Mr Monroe has given me all the means, and placed every thing in my power, necessary to cover my expences as well as to organize the government, and I am free to confess that this added to the multitude of my friends urging me to accept it, and giving reasons which if ever I have the pleasure of seeing you I will give you, changed my determination and induced me to encounter the arduous task. added to this Mrs J was in declining health, I was advised it would be the means of restoring not only hers but my own. of the latter I have great doubts, but Mrs J health is much improved and I have great hopes that she will be perfectly restored, we all enjoy good health at present, after my arival at Blakely I had a small attack, which has debilitated me very much, but I am now otherwise on good health. I had a hearty welcome at New Orleans and a general greeting as you will see from the papers. at Mobile and Blakely the citizens of each place gave me a dinner and I am now at this cantoonment awaiting the arival of the hornet, before I can march to Pensacola, and I can form no conjecture of the cause of her detention. she arived at Cuba it is said on the 9th of April and ought to

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

have been here by the first of May at farthest. Rumour says that the commercial interest is combined to induce the governor general of Cuba to withold the possession to the last moment to enable them to throw in a vast quantity of merchandise before the country is surrendered and thereby evade payment of dutys. should Colo Forbes the commissioner be in this combination there may be some delay, but I will probe the report, and if true expose the characters. I shall in a day or two address Colo Forbes a note to the Havanna, if he does not in that time reach Pensacola.

We have experienced a very backward spring and all the low lands of allabama is now under water. I fear the late frost has ruined our cotton. my dear Genl write me often, and advise me of your health and family and the prospects of crops. I will see you in the fall or winter for believe me I never can descend to become a governor of a Territory, after the offices I have filled. you may therefore rest assured after congress meets I am a private citizen. Mrs Jackson and the two Andrews join me in affection and good wishes for the health and happiness of you, your lady and sweet little family, kiss Andrew for me and believe me to be your friend sincerely

EDWARD LIVINGSTON TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, May 14, 1821.

D'r General, I send now by Major Gadsden to Mr. Breckenridge some spanish books, which will be of use to him in the organization of your Courts. I have been also fortunate enough to find the publication made by Oreilly on taking possession of this Country in 1769,[1] Containing an Enumeration of the several judicial and civil Executive Officers with an Abstract of their several functions and the fees to which they were entitled. I am not aware that the Cortes has made any alteration in the denominations or Duties of these Officers tho I believe many of them have under the New Constitution become elective. if I am right in my Conjecture as to their Duties this Pamphlet will be of great service to you and I should think it would be worth Mr. Breckenridges while to translate it for your use. I believe Davesac forwarded to you the translation of the Partidas,[2] he is not now here, on his return which will be in a Day or two I will ascertain this and forward them if they are not already gone.

I know you will rejoice in the news we have just recd. of the success of the Neapolitans;[3] it was essential to their establishment that they should

[1] In 1768 it was known in Louisiana that the province had been transferred to Spain. The inhabitants were indignant, broke into rebellion, and drove out the first Spanish agent who appeared among them. In 1769 came to New Orleans Governor Alexander O'Reilly, to establish Spanish authority. He was authorized to establish such forms of government as he thought best. He issued a series of ordinances that remained the form of government in Louisiana until the end of Spanish rule. The one here alluded to is probably the "Reglamento formado por Don Alexandro O'Reilly para el Gobierno de la Luisiana", Nov. 26, 1769.

[2] Davezac was Livingston's brother-in-law. The *Siete Partidas* of Alfonso the Learned, king of Castile 1252-1284, were a code of law in seven parts, as the name indicates. They have long survived and to some extent have entered into the laws of Louisiana and Florida. The English translation here spoken of was that by L. Moreau-Lislet and H. Carleton (New Orleans, 1820, two vols.).

[3] The Neapolitan revolt had already been crushed, by the defeat at Rieti, Mar. 7, and the Austrian army had entered Naples on Mar. 23, to restore absolute government, but this was not yet known at New Orleans.

begin well, and they now seem animated with an Enthusiasm worthy of their Cause. I wish they had a Man at their head who had the talent to support it under the reverses they may expect. There is but one man I know capable of Doing this and him we cant Spare. I am sorry to hear from the Havanna that you may expect Delays from that quarter. If I can possibly arrange my business for the jaunt I will join you as soon as I hear of your being at Pensacola. In the mean time believe *us*, for I speak for all Connected with me, with the warmest attachment and greatest respect. . . . .

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Montpelier, May 21, 1821.

Sir, On last evening Mr G L Thompson reached me having left the Hornet at Cuba on the 7th instant,[2] and handed me a letter from Col. Forbes, a copy of which is herewith enclosed. Mr Thompson informs me that Col Forbes assured him, that he would not be detained more than four days, at furthest, and stated to him that he had this positive assurance from the Gov General of Cuba. How it has happened after this positive assurance, that Col. Forbes had not arrived at Pensacola on the 19th instant, I cannot conjecture; but, it still adds to my suspicions that the Gov General of Cuba, finding that Col. Forbes can be amused, is amusing himself with him, and thereby gaining a delay of time highly injurious to the best interests of the country, and favorable to the views of those who may be engaged in the introduction of Africans, and foreign goods, to evade the duties. I sincerely regret the delay of Col Forbes, as on his arrival I am prepared to present myself and receive possession of the country. And put an end to this barbarous traffic, which I have no doubt is now practising on the coast of Florida.

I advised you in a former letter, that I had sent bills on Government by Col Gadsden to the amount of three thousand dollars, to be sold in Orleans. I am advised by him that he could not effect a sale of them, and that he was compelled to raise money to enable him to procure the necessary transports for Majr Staunton, from other sources of which you will be advised hereafter. Unless the Government furnishes me with a check upon the Branch Bank of the U. States at Orleans, I am fearful that I shall not be able to proceed well in the organisation of the Government.

I enclose you a copy of a letter from the Govr. of Pensacola received by my Aid-de-Camp Capt Call, together with a copy of his report, which will shew you the feelings of the Governor, and that nothing is wanting but the arrival of Col Forbes to place us in possession of the ceded country.

I am Sir, with sentiments of great respect,

To Colonel James Gadsden.

Montpelier, May 21, 1821.

. . . . I must say to you, from reading Col. Forbes letter that considering the delay that has taken place, and the information received from

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

[2] Forbes's letter of May 7 is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 744. His correspondence explaining his duty at Havana is *ibid.*, pp. 740-749.

Mr Thompson, that Col Forbes, altho' 17 days at Cuba before he left him, had not seen the Intendant, would induce me to conclude that the Governor of Cuba was amusing himself and amusing Col Forbes, and that the delay was intended, were it not for the assurance of Mr. Thompson of the positive declarations of the Governor of Cuba that the Hornet should meet with no delay after the Governor had an interview with the Intendant, which was to take place the day or the day after M Thompson sailed.

. . . .

To Secretary Calhoun.

Montpelier, May 22, 1821.

Dear Sir, I had the pleasure to receive your much esteemed favour of the 8th ult,[1] on the 11th instant, and would have acknowledged it on its recpt, but I had a right hourly to expect information of the arival of Colo. Forbes at Pensacola, and had a wish to inform you that I was on my march to receive possession of the country ceded. It is with extreme regret I have to inform you that altho he reached cuba on the 22nd ult he has not arived at pensacola yet, and from his delay it is impossible for me to conjecture when he may. Mr. Thompson who accompanied him to the Havanna, and left him there on the 7th [2] reached me on the night of the 20th Via Orleans and expected to find him at Pensacola when he reached there. I am fearfull that the Governor Genl of Cuba has discovered in the Colo. too much of the swaviter et modo, and is practising upon him a little of the Spanish policy, procrastination and delay for purposes not calculated to promote our interest, but to gain time for his friends to introduce large quantities of merchandize, and africans. This delay is truly irksome, and will produce great inconvenience and expence to the united states by transporting the supplies for the Troops, first to their present stations and then to the places they are to occupy, which might have been avoided by a little promptness and [energy] displayed by Colo. Forbes. It is to be regretted that the duty assigned Colo. Forbes had not have been committed to Capt Reid, if it had we would have been in complete Possession of the country by this time—but as it is I fear delay will be experienced, and the occasion of it not result much to the dignity of our country. How Irksome my situation to be compelled to remain here with my arms Folded not able to prevent those illegal practices that from information is daily practicing on the coasts of Florida and to favour which causes this delay. But such is my instructions and I must submit to them.

I have my D'r Sir read your letter with great pleasure, the principles you have laid down for your political guide through life will land you in a safe haven, and lead you to a compleat triumph over your Political enemies, and your country to safety and happiness. The course pursued by last congress is universely condemned, whilst your course, and report [3] is approbated by nine tenths of the citizens of the country through which

[1] See p. 46, *ante*.

[2] "In the steamboat."

[3] Report, Dec. 12, 1820, *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.*, II. 188, on reduction of the army, which was carried through by act of Mar. 2, 1821, against the desires of Calhoun and Jackson.

I have passed; indeed it is approved by all except those who, from Political and popular views have been with the majority, and finding themselves now in the minority cannot consistantly retreat.

Permit me to make to you a friendly sugestion. I say friendly for no man wishes you better than I do, or can have your future wellfare more at heart than I have, as I believe your political wellfare to be intimately connected with the wellfare of our country. I would therefore sugest for your safety a change of adjutant Genl Parker.[4] he I have no doubt may be a good man, but he lacks both talents and magnanimity. It was alone his report that gave to your envious political enemies, the least shadow of ground to attack you, it was his blunders, occasioned by his indolence and want of capacity that gave Floyd [5] room for his indecorous attack. it was from Genl Parkers want of magnanimity, in not stepping forward acknowledging the error to be his own, stating your reliance on his performing his duty correctly, and the frequent calls made upon you, that you had not time to examine this report, and the error was to be ascribed to him not to you; this would have made the Doctor to have blushed for his attack. Genl Parker is a weak man, and your safety and ease require a man of capacity possessing high honourable feelings to fill that office, a man of magnanimity, industry and pride—you can find this charector in Colo. Gadsden.

Before this reaches you our military relations will have ceased, but my breast will allways cherish with the most lively recollection, that friendly feeling toward you, that your honourable conduct towards me ever since you have been placed in the Department of war was well calculated to inspire. this feeling for you never will cease during life, and in every situation that you may be placed in through life my best wishes for your wellfare and happiness will accompany you. It will afford me great pleasure to write you when any thing occurs that I think may be either usefull or amusing to you. permit me through you to make one request for a mutual friend of us both. I should not trouble you was it not that I hold no correspondance with the Sec of the Treasury, and am fully aware how he uses his cunning, in the appointment of the officers in his department. his conduct to Major Pickens formerly of No. Carolina now of the state of allabama [6] I am no stranger to. I have wrote to Mr. Monroe some time since asking for Doctor Brunaugh the office of receiver of public money in west Florida as soon as a land office is opened therin. I have reasons to believe Mr. Monroe will give the Doctor this appointment, unless the Sec of the Treasury in the erand of business should play the same game with the Doctor that he did with Major Pickens. my request therefore is that you will remind the President that Doctor Brunaugh has solicited this appointment and continues to be a candidate for it.

[4] Daniel Parker, made paymaster general June 1.

[5] John Floyd, M. C. from Virginia 1817-1829; speech of Jan. 17, *Annals of Congress*, 18 Cong., 2 sess., cols. 891-901.

[6] Israel Pickens, M. C. from North Carolina 1811-1817, register of the land office of Mississippi and Alabama, governor of Alabama 1821 to 1825, and U. S. senator in 1826. Dr. Bronaugh was not appointed; he died in 1822.

I feel grateful to you for your friendly expressions toward me, and the interest you have taken for the preservation of my health—for which receive my gratefull acknowledgements with the assurance of my great respect friendship and Esteem, I am Sir

yr. most obdt. servt.

JAMES JACKSON TO JACKSON.

FORKS OF CYPRESS,[1] May 28, 1821.

Dear Genl. I expected ere this to have been on my road to Pensacola, but found I risked too much by so doing, both on my own acct. and that of my friends. Mr. Crawford has not yet forwarded his instructions under the Law giveing relief to the Purchasers of publick Lands. The arrangement of that business is of most importance to me. I might be too long detained If I went from home, By going in October would have nothing to hurry me. I have sent a power to Doctor Bronaugh to act for me, from his friendship and ability, have no doubt he will do as well for me as I could do for myself. The Genl. and myself have agreed on terms with Genl. Brahan for your Plantation, which are contingent, on his short[l]y being able to arrange for the payments. The Genl. goes shortly to Huntsville when the matter will be finaly understood. the Terms are much below what we intended to take, but after maturely considering your views and great anxiaty to get cleer of any obligations to pay money, We concluded it would be more satisfactory to you. In addition there seems a general disposition not to pay for Lands bought at high prices, In consiquence, Certificates can be bought for one half payable in Tennessee money. The bargain with Genl. Brahan is Cost and one thousand dollars for improvements, the Gin reserved, one third on taking possession the balance in one and two years thereafter in good money. In this transaction have looked as much to your feelings as your interest.

James Hanna brought home one of your fellows, a very fine looking fellow and the only one he brought. The other he left authority with a friend to sell as he run who He expected would get something near his value. It appears this is to be an unfortunate business threwout for your fine Mare is dead, she brought him to Cypress very well and in a day or two after set out for Tennessee and led him there, but at Granny Whites old place she was taken unwell. He remained all night and next day got to Nashville where He was aided by shute, Hardin and others in endeavouring to cure her, but without success. he was recommended to a grat Farryor, who said she had been improperly Treated, for her Complaint was a Chest Cholick and that she in all probability would not recover, which proved but too true.

I won the race at Huntsville, the Grey had great superiority of heels, He took the Track and kept it, the Sir Archy is rather the best game Horse, but the grey was quite too fat. Campbell was out but did not ride,

[1] Near Huntsville, Ala. Jackson owned a plantation in the neighborhood, from which he had received no profits. He was trying to sell it. James Jackson, formerly of Nashville, was acting as his agent. Brigadier-General Coffee had bought land there and was living on it.

to please other[s] I permitted a much wors rider and heavyor Boy to ride. Camp lost upwards of $4000 and offered to bet me $6000 in Land Certificates, but I had too many Children for such dashing. The Race is made to be run again in October, I would not take any part being tired of my Company. I have lately been told Camp says his Virginia rider rode Jocky and that he will be sure of his race.

I fear Wm. Crawford will not make you a good Crop. Genl. Coffee and myself were at your Plantation a few days since, did not find things in that order we could have wished. The stand of Cotton generally is not good, most people had to replant, some of mine is good, some middleing and some bad, I have an excellent stand at Limestone, I in part blame the foul state of my Land here for the want of a good stand.

Mr. James G Birney[2] of Madison County, who is a very honourable clever fellow has been looking at the Land west of Cypress and was much pleased with your place, want of funds only, prevented him from purchaseing. He proposed takeing half the Land and to put on 20 Hands and you and He to work it jointly, He to live on the place and superintend and draw in proportion to the number of hands each had and either to put on as many as He chose, He to be furnished with his meat and Corn for his attention. This is the outline of his proposition, saying if it met your approbation, there would be no dificulty in details. He the present year made 37,000 lb of Baled Cotton with his 20 Hands, which is a recommendation as a planter. Doctor Bronaugh is acquainted with Mr. Birney and you and myself played whist with him and a Mr. Davis at Huntsville one evening while the Legislature sat there. From your recent disagreeable experiment in a Partnership, did not encourage the project, but promised to write you on the subject, If the sale to Brahan is not carryed into effect, and no offer from any other person, what would you think of Mr. Birneys proposition.

There is one thing certin to make good Crops you must have a good overseer, which I expect would be preferable to a partner, I shall hope soon to hear from you and to have the pleasure of seeing you at Pensacola in October next. Will you have the goodness, if necessary, to give Doctor Bronaugh your advice as regards my business. Mrs. Jackson joins me in best wishes to you and Mrs. Jackson, believe me sincerely yours

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Montpelier, May 30, 1821.

Sir, In my letter to you of the 21st Instant, I advised you of the arrival of Mr Thompson and the receipt of a letter from Col Forbes, a copy of which I enclosed to you, and which I hope will reach you in due time.

I have had no information from Col. Forbes since my last; but it appears to be understood and expressed by the inhabitants of Pensacola, that we will not get possession until the expiration of six months from the exchange of ratifications of the Treaty. my letter of the 19th inst. will have given you my construction of the Treaty, and my power under the

[2] Afterwards known as a leading opponent to slavery; candidate of the Liberty Party for the presidency in 1840 and 1844.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.; *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 762.

commission to take possession of the Floridas combined with your instructions. I shall anxiously await your answer to that letter as I have but little doubt now, but we will experience every delay that can be thrown in our way, and I have no wish to do any act contrary to my instructions, or the wish of my Government; but when I review the delays and conduct heretofore practised by the Spanish Government, I feel myself bound to oppose any attempt to prostrate our national character and to violate the pledges of friendship given in the Treaty. I feel every desire to harmonise, and to obtain possession of the country ceded in the most gentle manner, provided I meet a corresponding disposition on the part of the officers of Spain: But, if the order for the delivery should not be sent by Col Forbes to the Governor of Pensacola, on his report that he has delivered the royal order to the Capt Genl and Governor of Cuba, I deem it imperious upon me to advance within the limits of Florida, tender sufficient transportation, and demand a surrender of the country agreeably to the 2nd Article of the Treaty, It being presumed that the Governor Genl. of Cuba has done his duty, and that duly notifying the Governor, he has given the necessary order for the delivery of the ceded country; if the Governor alledges that he is not ready to deliver the country and embark his troops, it seems to me, that he is not only bound to shew good reasons, but also to defray the expenses of demurrage incurrent upon the public vessels ordered for the transportation of his troops. If the Spanish Govr. should not embark his troops before the 22nd of August next, must not the Spanish Government after that date furnish their own transportation, having violated the treaty, and have I not a right after that date to take possession by force, if not peaceably surrendered? from the wording of the act of Congress, I have no doubt we have.

I hope I may be agreeably disappointed in my forebodings; but from the declarations of some Americans that we will not get, we have a right to demand, possession [2] until the expiration of the six months, and that even then we must negotiate for possession, added to the delay already experienced, I am induced to believe that every delay will be experienced that the Spanish officers think will be submitted to by the American Government. Be assured I shall act with caution, but with firmness and energy. I cherish a hope, that the officers of Spain may meet me harmoniously, and altho' appearances are at present to the reverse, I still believe they think that I will act promptly, and that they will be thereby induced not to hazard too much by unnecessary delay. I shall wait with anxiety for your answer to my letter of the 19th Instant,

I am Sir, with great respect

Jackson's Address to his Army on giving up Command.[1]

Headquarters, Montpelier, May 31, 1821.

Officers and Soldiers composing the Division of the south. This day closes my military functions, and having with many of you faced the

[2] Meaning, probably, "get the possession we have a right to demand".

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, pp. 237-242 (draft in Jackson's handwriting). This form of Jackson's farewell address to the army is materially unlike that given in Parton, *Jackson*, II. 590. It is not possible to say who altered it before it got into print. The fact that it was changed after being copied into the Letter-Book and that the allusion to General Brown's order was omitted, shows that it underwent rigorous revision.

stormy showers of war, and with many of you Terminated one [Eng]lish, and two Indian wars, [in] which we experienced privations of the severest kind, feeling [that] friendship[s] thus created, are most durable and my feelings will not permit me to close my military connections with you in silence. Justice to you and to my feelings dictate the propriety of my Testimoney being placed before our common country of my approbation of your military conduct, and of my Individual regard. many valuable officers who have served with me, must retire under the organization for the reduction of the army under the late act of congress But let this be your consolation, that your country in its Joyfull transports of gratitude hails you as her deliverer in the day of peril, and frowns with contempt upon the hasty and untimely policy adopted by congress that has produced your disbandment, before the frontier of your common country was guarded by the completion of the fortifications for its security and defence. but your consolation is you have done your duty, and with your brother officers who are retained in service bravely supported the american eagle whenever it was endangered. To you my Brother officers who remain in the service of your country, permit me to recommend to you, to harmonise with each other like a band of brothers—in fact you are brothers in arms, and it is your duty to conduct *yourselves,* so that your enemies in private life shall [not] have Just cause to censure. each captain is the father of his company, it is his family. continue then, as you have heretofore done under my command, to watch over it with a fathers tenderness and care, treat your companies like children, admonish them; if that will not prevent disobedience *coertion must.* The want of discipline, the want of order promises a total disreguard to obedience and will produce a spirit of insubordination as destructive to an army as cowardice itself, and will lead to disaster and disgrace in any army. This as you regard your military reputation and your countries good you must prevent. imploring from heaven a blessing upon you all I close this adress and bid you an affectionate adieu.

P. S. Being prevented from my official duties of promulgating this adress to the army of the Division of the south, and the want of a printing Press which was daily expected at Pensacola, untill I have seen major Genl Browns Genl order of the day of 1821,[2] Justice to you and Justice to myself compell me to notice that part of it, that draws a general censure of cruelty upon you all, upon whom his censure cannot Justly apply. It is in these words "[3]

This censure is too general to be Just, and the time when, and the source from whence it comes has astonished every Just generous soldier. This censure of the cruelty of the officers, being the cause of the unexampled desertion of the american Troops, so far as it relates to the Division of the South is not true, it can be traced to a [better and ?] its proper source and will be found to be this, that there is no adequate Punishment prescribed by law for the punishment of the offence of desertion, and untill this is the case desertion will increase let the conduct of

[2] June 1.
[3] Text in Parton, II. 592; not inserted in this draft.

the officers be ever so Lenient. What has been the fact; it is this, that more desertions have taken place at recruiting rendezvouses, than ever has taken place after the recruits has Joined there regts., and at no recruieting rendesvous in the Division of the South as far as I have been informed, has there ever been any punishment except that which was inflicted by the civil authority. It is well known that in many instances, the soldier has made it a source of speculation, by going from rendezvous to rondezvous enlisting himself receiving the bounty, and deserting again, some instances has been, where this has been practised from Boston to new orleans.

The present punishment for desertion is hard Labour with the Ball and chain. This inflicts a greater punishment upon the faithfull soldier who is compelled to guard him in the hot sun with all his accoutrements on, than is inflicted upon the culprit, and every desertion adds to the duty of the faithfull soldier, and suppose the soldier condemned will not labour, how is he to be coerced. Stripes and Lashes are prohibited, and you have no dungeons, and your guard houses are pleasant places for the Lasy soldier who sleeps and snores when the faithfull soldier is guarding him on his post in his nightly watch. is not such scenes as this with the general pardons so often extended by orders of the President sufficient to induce the faithfull soldiers, oppressed with double duty by the increase of desertions not punished, to desert also. The goverment must annex an adequate punishment, in the regulations for the Goverment of the army, as it was and at present is in the navy or desertion and insubordination will increase instead of diminish. but It will be said This is dishonourable, I answer, is it more dishonourable to be whiped in the army, than in navy—is it more dishonourable to receive twenty five stripes and be ordered to immediate duty, than to be manacled with chains for months and years, and insulting every freeman who passes with the clangor of their chains, the evidence of ancient despotism, and of the gally slave. This is mockery of freedom. Let it be done away. Let every soldier for desertion in time of peace for the first offence receive thirty nine stripes and Lashes, for the next double and for the third desertion let him be shot. a few examples from the loose acquired habitt of the soldier from the want of adequate laws may be necessary to put desertion down entirely but this will put it down. The moment that the soldier is convicted, the punishment will be inflicted, and your faithfull honourable soldier will not then be, as he is now, oppressed with guarding so many prisoners. To have due subordination in an army as well as in civil life you must have corporeal punishment—with the certainty of its infliction, on the commission of crime. let this be adopted, and we will hear no more of unexampled desertion in the american army, or the unjust imputation of cruelty in our officers as the cause.

It is truly a source of regret to me the cause that has given rise to these remarks, but the reputation of those officers with whom I have spent so many days of toil and nights of watchfullness and care are dear to me, and I never can be silent when I see an unjust attempt to tarnish their reputations, Let the motives of those be what the[y] may that attempt

it. These remarks flow from a pure source of Justice to you my fellow soldiers, popularity I never have sought unless by doing right and Justice to all as far as my Judgt guided me. This I trust I have endeavoured to render to you all, as long as I have had the honour to command the Division of the South, and may you be all happy, and may your country appreciate you her citizen soldiers as you deserve is my Sincere prayer.

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.

Montpelier, June 9, 1821.

D'r Brunaugh, I recd. your letter of the 6th last evening with the letter inclosed, and the inclosed is an answer which I have to request you to hand to Colo. Jones, that he may deliver it to its adress. say to Colo. Jones I regret not having the pleasure of seeing him. I was taken last evening very ill, am under the operation of medicine and better. we recd. the Register last evening, and the appointment of the civil officers in Florida.[1] I have directed Lt Donelson to inclose the National Intelligencer to Capt Call, you will see that not one of those I recommended is appointed, Walten is sec of the Territory and Colo. Forbes Marshal. had I anticipated this I should have adhered to my first determination not to have accepted the Goverment, but I will close my official duties with the next congress as I am determined, never to be associated with such men as some of those who are appointed. say to my friend Call not to despond—that I am determined to try my influence in his behalf, next congress, and any thing I have in my power to give him, will be. I would like to see how the Judges will organize their court how a Jury is to be summoned, and who is to Issue the process to the marshal—etc. etc. etc. I am too sick to write more at present, but hope I will be well tomorrow, should I get worse I will send for you. present me to Judg. Brakenrid[g]e and Call, and receive the solicitations of the ladies and Gentlemen here. keep me advised of the news at Pensacola and say to the Judge when I want him to come up I will write him. Gadsden will remain some days with us.

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Montpelier, June 10, 1821.

Sir, The mail is just passing and I have only time to say, that an express reached this, from Pensacola, one hour since, bringing the information of the arrival of the Hornet, at that place yesterday. We shall move from this on the 14th inst, and hope to be in possession of the Floridas as early after that date as possible

I have the Honor to be

[1] For the list of officers, see *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 753. George Walton of Georgia was secretary for West Florida, and James G. Forbes of New York marshal for both East and West Florida. Writing to Jackson May 23, 1821, Monroe gives the reasons for several appointments (*Writings,* VI. 183).

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. This letter, with a fuller but not materially different report to Adams dated June 11, 1821, is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 762, 763.

GOVERNOR CALLAVA TO JACKSON.[1]

PENSACOLA, June 10, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, Yesterday evening anchored in this Port the United States sloop of war Hornet, of which I should have advised Your Excellency the very hour of its arrival, had it not been for the assurance made me by Captn. Call that he would do so himself.

By the aforesaid vessel I have received the orders of the Captain General of Cuba, authorizing me to enter into the necessary arrangements for the evacuation of this Province, its delivery and the transportation of its garrison, and whatever else conduces and relates to the fulfilment of the stipulations in the Treaty of Amity, settlement of differences and limits between His Catholic Majesty and the President of the United States, concluded at Washington the 22d day of February 1819, and ratified on the corresponding day of 1821.

In pursuance of my intimation to Your Excellency in my letter of the 16th of May last, I send you a statement, marked N. 1, of the force composing the garrison of Fort St. Marks of Apalache, which is to be transported here in order that united with the garrison of this place it may pass to the Havana, in convoy of the Hornet. N. 2 is a statement comprehending the whole number of individuals to be transported from this place, including the said garrison of Apalache;[2] to the number of military officers with their wives children and Servants, I have deemed it adviseable to subjoin that of the other persons in public employ their wives children and Servants, and others of whom you will be informed. N. 3. intimates to Your Excellency my inability to give a decisive answer to your request of information as to the number of days required for the voyage from Pensacola, to the Havana. my remarks therein may however be found useful in pointing out the most prudent course as regards this matter. The specification which it contains of the mode employed in equipping the spanish Troops for transportation, has no other object but the one signified—nothing now remains but to express to you that I am ready, and that it will afford me the greatest pleasure to satisfy to the utmost extent of my power all the enquiries which may be requisite for the regulation of your proceedings.

Your Excellency having empowered Captain Call with authority to take any measures which under the present circumstances he may consider necessary and proper, and the latter having assured me that he is in possession of Your Excellency's orders for the direction of the Officer

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

[2] The numbers were as follows:

"42 Officers, and 366 individuals attached to the Troops	407.[408]
Wives of the Military Officers	11.
Their Children	22.
Their Servants	70.
Persons in public employ	40.
Their Wives	12.
Their Children	33.
Their Servants	46.
total	631."[642]

authorized to receive Fort St. Marks of Apalache, we are making the necessary preparations for effecting its delivery; I must then flatter myself that Your Excellency will be persuaded of my desire to promote your good pleasure and convinced of the true sentiments of friendship and harmony which animate me.

As Your Excellency and myself are the persons authorized on the part of our respective Governments to carry into effect, as far as relates to the charge committed to me, the terms agreed on in the Treaty, there only remains for us to preserve in our subsequent transactions that concord which may ensure their mutual success.

God preserve Your Excellency many Years.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Montpelier, June 12, 1821.

Sir, Your communication of the 10th inst by Captn. Call was received this morning. I cannot but express my gratification at the order transmitted you from the Captain General of the Cuba's to evacuate the Province of West Florida, with the authority as Commissioner to fulfil on the part of the Spanish Nation the Stipulations of the Treaty of Amity, settlement of differences, and limits as concluded between the Plenipotentiaries of His Catholic Majesty and of the United States at Washington on the 22nd of February 1819 and ratified on the corresponding day of 1821. The promptness with which you have complied with my request, after being Cloathed with authority to act, and the frankness with which you have met my repeated communications, are evidences of those sentiments of harmony and amity which animate you and which will govern us in our future operations together.

The Documents numbered from 1 to 3, as enclosed in your Communication, afford the information required on those subjects as connected with the discharge of the duties of the Commission imposed on me. The Transports deemed necessary have been provided, and their arrival in Pensacola may be daily expected. I beg you to be assured that in fulfilling the stipulations of the Treaty, the comfort and safe conveyance of the Spanish Officers and Soldiers to their port of destination, will be duly regarded.

Captain Call was authorized by me to make the necessary arrangements for the delivery of the Fortress of St marks to the American Officer designated to receive it. My motives for proposing an immediate evacuation of that Post by the Spanish Garrison will not be considered premature or be misunderstood by you. To have the whole of Your Military command embark at the same period and under the same escort from Pensacola it was presumed would have been gratifying to you; and with a view of complying with so reasonable a wish, the Government of the United States will willingly incur the additional transportation of the Garrison of St Marks to Pensacola, in preference to transporting that Garrison direct to Havana as the stipulations in the 7th article of the Treaty might be construed.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

Captain Call reports to me that you require in the evacuation of St Marks, a receipt for the Cannon and other munitions of War, which may be left in said Fortress; accompanied with a request that transportation may be furnished for two field pieces with the Troops that may embark from that port for Pensacola.

By reference to the 2nd Article of the Treaty of Amity limits etc. etc. the stipulation of which we are commissioned, by our respective Governments to execute; It appears that His Catholic Majesty ceded to the United States of America, The Provinces of East and West Florida, including the adjacent islands, Lots, squares, vacant lands, Public edifices, *Fortifications,* barracks and other buildings, which are not private property. It is the opinion of the President of the United States that the Cannon belonging to the Fortifications are to be considered as appendages to them and included in the cession. They constitute a part of the work; for a Fortification deprived of its material of defence, like a Ship of War without its armament, would lose its character as such; That this fair and just construction of the 2nd Article of the Treaty alluded to, was the one evidently placed upon it by the Spanish plenipotentiary, Don Onis, who negotiated the same, may be derived in some measure from the stipulation, in the 7th Article. In that Article the United States is bound to furnish the Transports and necessary escort to convey the Spanish Officers and troops and their baggage to Havana. No mention is made of Cannon or Munitions of War, and there can be little doubt entertained that the Spanish Plenipotentia[r]y believed that he had provided transportation for all the public property which had not been ceded under the Treaty, and which could consistently with the stipulations of that instrument be removed. By the 7th Article to the stipulations of which I would particularly direct the attention of Your Excellency, The Spanish Officers, Troops and their baggage are alone mentioned in the transportation to be furnished. No notice is taken of provisions for the voyage, of the civil departments, of the families and servants of the Officers, or of the arms and accoutrements of the Soldiers. Yet with as much propriety, and more consistently with the literal construction of the Treaty, may provisions be denied and transportation for unenumerated persons, and arms of the Soldiers be refused, as a Fortress to be deprived of the Cannon belonging to it, forming its batteries and constituting its principal material of defence.

The stipulations in the 2d article of the Treaty are for the benefit of the United States; those in the 7th Article are for the advantage of Spain; and it is the opinion of the President of the United States, as well as his desire, that both should be construed on fair, just and liberal principles, graduated by the scale of reciprocal benefits.

While therefore I am instructed as Commissioner to insist that by the Stipulations of the 2d Article of the Treaty, the *Cannon* found in the Fortifications, constituting their batteries, are appendages to the same and included in the Cession; so am I disposed to give that construction to the stipulations of the 7th Article of the same instrument, as would comport with the most liberal views; and give satisfaction to that party entitled to its benefits.

Upon a review of the subject a hope is entertained that the difficulties which have occurred in arranging measures for the early evacuation of St Marks will be removed on your part, and that the Cannon constituting the batteries, or the armament generally belonging to that work, will be delivered with the Fort as included in the Cession. Captain Call still acts under the authority delegated to him, and will concert with you the necessary arrangements for the evacuation and delivery of St Marks to the Officer designated to receive it. He has my instructions with regard to the transportation of 2 pieces of field artillery requested by you, and be assured that every accommodation consistent with my instructions and which may be calculated to promote the early and harmonious termination of the duties of our respective commissions will be most cheerfully attended to.

I contemplate moving in a few days into the vicinity of Pensacola, with a view of personally arranging those operations, connected with the faithful execution of the duties which have been assigned us, by our Respective Governments.

I have the honor to be

To Captain Richard K. Call.[1]

Montpelier, June 12, 1821.

Sir. The accompanying communication is for the Governor of West Florida, it is enclosed open for your perusal that you may distinctly understand the construction placed by the Executive of the United States, on the 2nd and 7th Articles of the Treaty of Amity, settlement of differences and limits as concluded with Spain. You will seal it and deliver the same as directed. If after the perusal of this communication the Governor still insists upon the construction placed by him on the 2nd Article of the Treaty; You will then state to him the determination to construe the 7th Article agreeably to its literal signification, allowing transportation for the Officers, Soldiers and their baggage only, not including their families, civil departments or provisions for the voyage. Actuated however with the same feelings of Amity and Harmony which the Governor of Florida professes to animate him and unwilling that any further delay should take place in the occupation of a province by protracted negotiation on points, urged more on principles of right than real importance, you are at liberty to accede to the Governors proposition of receipting for the Cannon in the Forts; on condition that he likewise receipts for the transportation furnished for civil Officers, families of Officers, servants and provisions not provided for in the 7th Article of the Treaty. It must be distinctly understood that no act of mine is to abandon the undoubted right which the United States assert to the Cannon, etc. as composing a part of, and as an appendage to the Forts ceded. An inventory therefore

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy). Captain Call, who had fought bravely under Jackson in the Creek War, was now his secretary and aide-de-camp. He had been directed to proceed by land from Nashville to Montpelier with the horses of the party, while Jackson went by water by way of New Orleans. He was one of Jackson's chief agents in the stirring early days of occupation. In 1822 he retired from the army and began a distinguished political career in Florida.

of the munitions embraced in this claim must be taken, and the receipt must be specified that they have been received with the Forts, claimed by the Spanish Commissioner as not included in the cession, but to be held by the American Agents, subject to any future disposition which may be adjudged by the respective Governments. The Spanish Commissioner's receipt for provisions, transportation etc., will be given in the same form, and you will distinctly state to the Governor and Commissioner that if the Spanish Government insist hereafter on the delivery of the one, the United-States will urge payment for the other.

Should this arrangement not prove satisfactory you will then unequivocally refuse any other facilities in Transportation than what is allowed by the literal construction of the 7th Article of the Treaty; i. e. Transportation to officers, and soldiers alone, without any accomodation for the civil department, families, Servants or provisions.

You will protest most solemnly against the dismantling the Forts, as an act on the Governor's own responsibility, contrary to and in violation of the 2nd Article of the Treaty; and leave it to the Spanish authorities to make provisions for the Transportation of the cannon, reporting the circumstances to me.

You will communicate with the Governor on these points of difference in writing, keeping copies of your correspondence.

Yours etc.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, June 17, 1821.

Sir, I do myself the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your communication of yesterday 16th instant.

I freely acknowledge the justice of your position that you are strictly bound by your instructions, and which is equally applicable to my own situation; It is therefore a duty incumbent on us both to carry the Treaty into effect agreeably to our instructions and not to consume time in discussing its stipulations. It cannot but be regretted however, that our respective Governments should thus be at variance on points so clear, according to my view, as to what is conveyed by the 2nd article of the Treaty under the word *Fortifications,* as there used. for the reasons you have given, and which I admit to be just, I refrain from entering into a minute examination of the question; but at the same time I must be permitted in reply to your letter to shew how widely I differ from you in the construction of the 2nd article of the Treaty.

It is true an Edifice is a house, a store-house, or other public building for the safe keeping of public property, or other public uses, and a *Fortification,* when stripped of its means of defence and which constitutes it such, may be called an Edifice; and if it had not been the intention and meaning of the contracting parties, that the *Fortifications* as such, with all the means of defence annexed thereto should pass, the insertion of the word *Fortification* would have been unnecessary inasmuch as the word

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy). "Manuel's" was the estate of Manuel González, some fifteen miles NNW. of Pensacola.

edifice had been previously introduced. A *Fortification*, stripped of its armament is in fact but an edifice, or a place which has been, or may be a *Fortification.*

The Royal order would appear to me to relate to the field Artillery, and to the Munitions appertaining thereto. I cannot presume that any other construction was intended by His Catholic Majesty's Minister to be given to the order, as any other would be to ascribe to His Catholic Majesty, a departure from the plain, natural and obvious construction of the 2nd article, of which the high respect for the good faith of His Catholic Majesty, entertained by the President of the United States, and myself, will not for a moment permit a belief.

I take this occasion to assure you that I would not, if I could, induce you to depart from your positive instructions. on the contrary it is my most sincere wish that the duties intrusted to us may be accomplished in the most amicable manner. when I shall have the pleasure of personally meeting you, I shall hope to make an agreement agreeable to the instructions given by me to Captain Call, and which he has communicated to you, and which will refer the objects of difference to be adjusted by our respective Governments.

With Sentiments of respect,

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation.

Pensacola, June 19, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, Experiencing a little relief from my sufferings, as I have already acquainted Your Excellency in my note of this day,[2] I have the honour to inform you that I have received your communication of the 17th instant, in reply to mine of the 16th idem and that I am apprised of its contents. I cannot but regret the circumstance of our difference of opinion relatively to the Artillery, as evidenced by our correspondence down to this date, but I rest assured that by following the counsel which I proposed to Your Excellency as the only one that I could adopt, all the operations to which my superintendence extends will very soon be brought into a desirable train.

I remain with the warmest sentiments of friendship, and the most anxious wish to see you, etc.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

[2] In this letter Callava uttered a number of formal compliments and excused himself on the ground of illness for not having "had the pleasure of seeing Your Excellency". In reply to a wish expressed by Jackson he sent the following inconclusive reply:

"Your Excellency expresses also a wish that I would concur in fixing a day as early as possible and to suit the mutual convenience of both parties for an interview and exhibition of our credentials, a reciprocal official recognition and an entrance into the duties of our respective Commissions. In reply, I have the honour to acquaint Your Excellency, that in your quality of Commissioner, you may when it suits your pleasure, and in the manner you may deem most expedient, exhibit your credentials to me, as the existing Commandant of this Province, and that I have already told Your Excellency, that I am authorized to enter into arrangements for its being evacuated by His Catholic Majesty's Troops, and delivered to Your Excellency, agreeable to the stipulations of our respective Governments."

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, June 20, 1821.

Sir, I had the honour late last night of receiving Your Excellency's two letters of the 19th instant, and with extreme regret I learn the continuation of your ill health, but feel gratified with the information that the violence of your disease has so far abated, as no longer to threaten your existence, and that you now enjoy the pleasing prospect of returning health, for which I offer up my fervent prayers.

The contents of your letter of the same date to Col. Gadsden, in reply to the propositions made by him under authority from me to Your Excellency, have likewise been communicated to me. To prevent any misconstruction of the contents of the communication I had the honour of addressing you by Col. Gadsden of the 16th instant; of the motives which dictated the suggestions therein you still appear to have but an imperfect conception; I deem it proper thus to explain.

On the 10th instant I was advised by Col. Forbes, the American Agent charged with the delivery of the Royal Order to the Captain General of Cuba, for fulfiling the stipulations of the Treaty concluded with Spain on the 22nd February 1819, and ratified on the corresponding day of 1821, so far as connected with the evacuation of the Provinces ceded, of his arrival in Pensacola, accompanied with Don Alva,[2] the Spanish Commissioner for delivering the Provinces of East and West Florida to the American authorities appointed to receive them.

In a communication from the same American Agent to the Secretary of State, forwarded through me, enclosing a copy of the Captain General of Cuba's order, for the delivery of the Province of West Florida, conformably to the Treaty above alluded to, to which I was referred, it appears that in the order Col. Forbes' name was mentioned as the American commissioner authorized to receive, and to whom the Territory of East and West Florida was to be delivered.

In a communication from Your Excellency of the 10th instant you advised me of having received orders from the Captain General of Cuba authorizing you to enter into any arrangements which may be necessary for the evacuation of the Province of West Florida, the delivery of it and the transportation of its Garrison etc. etc.

To correct these seeming contradictions, I deemed it adviseable to renotify you immediately of my being appointed on the part of the American Government, sole commissioner for receiving the Provinces of East and West Florida as ceded under the Treaty concluded on the 22nd February 1819, and ratified on the corresponding day of 1821, and suggested the propriety of a day being concluded on when we might meet, exhibit our credentials and officially recognize each other under the Commissions, with the execution of which we were charged by our respective Governments. As it appears however from your communications that you have recognized me as the Commissioner authorized on the part of the United States, to receive the Provinces of East and West Florida, the necessity

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).
[2] Don Pedro de Alba.

of our immediate exhibition of our respective credentials is in a measure removed; and the exchange of copies of them, which will hereafter be both proper and necessary, may be postponed until you are prepared for the delivery of the Province of West Florida, as well as the conclusion of all acts connected with that event.

I now have the honour of repeating to you that under the orders of my Government, I have entered this Territory, and now remain encamped with my Troops, 15 miles from Pensacola, prepared to receive the Province of West Florida, as soon as you are enabled to comply with the stipulations of the Treaty so frequently alluded to in this letter.

I cannot but express an anxious wish that an early period may be designated for the accomplishment of said object; and you will be assured that I am prompted to this by considerations of mutual convenience, interest and comfort to both parties. The season is approaching when a voyage to Havana will be hasardous from exposure to hurricanes, heavy gales of wind and which so frequently desolate the gulph; and a sea voyage at the approaching period to a more southern climate has not unfrequently proved unfriendly to Individuals compelled to make it. The encamping of Troops at this season of the year is alike unfavourable to their health, and the inconvenience of drawing supplies from depots 15 miles removed from camp is not only seriously felt; but is in a measure impracticable from the difficulty of procuring suitable transportation in this country.

I am well persuaded of the exertions making on your part to act with promptness, and decision in the execution of your commission, and I am also satisfied from arrangements made it would be inconvenient to embark the Spanish Troops in Pensacola, before those from St. Marks arrive. But with a view of enabling me to operate in concert with you I must request if practicable, that you name in how many days after the arrival of the Troops from St. Marks you will be prepared to evacuate the Province of West Florida and deliver the same to the American authorities appointed to receive it.

I have been active in arrangeing the measures connected with the duties of my Commission, and have to inform you that one of the Transports intended to convey the Spanish Troops to Havana, has sometime since arrived in Pensacola. Another engaged for the same purpose was unfortunately cast away near the Balize; but prompt measures have been taken to remedy the missfortune in time for your embarkation.

The supplies for the voyage had necessarily to be drawn from the American depots on the Mississippi; and as the information sought of you sometime since, could not then be obtained, I was compelled, so that no delay should be ascribed to the American Commissioner in the execution of his duties, to be governed in the laying in of supplies etc. by the usage and custom which prevailed in the United States.

The enclosed paper contains information as to the component part of the ration as issued to the Troops of the United-States army; and the provisions laid in had been conformable to that.

The ordinary passage from Pensacola to the Havana, in such vessels as will be furnished Your Excellency, is from nine to ten days. Fifteen

days of the American ration will be laid in; and two days supply of fresh meat the day the vessels sail, making in all 17 days rations.

It would have afforded me pleasure to have made the ration correspond to the issues in the spanish service, had the required information been received in time. Major Staunton, however, of the Quarter Masters Department, charged by me with the duties appertaining to the Transportation of the Spanish Troops to the Havana, will receive instructions to concert with you all measures connected with the comfortable transportation and comfortable subsistence of the Spanish Troops, as far as it can be effected in Pensacola, by exchanging such parts of the American ration for such part of the Spanish as may be preferred.

In the American service no pecuniary allowance is made Officers for their private tables. They are entitled to draw their rations, the component parts of which are similar to that allowed the soldier, at the rate of 3 rations per day to Subalterns and Captains; 4 to Majors, 5 to Lieutenant Colonels, and 6 to Colonels; their private stores are always laid in at their own expence: In the American service we have no rule or precedent to govern issues to civil officers, or wives of civil and military officers; they shall receive however conformably to the Spanish practice 1½ rations each day; servants as soldiers are entitled to one ration each.

With you I regret any difference of opinion as to the construction of any articles of the Treaty, the stipulations of which we are in part commissioned to execute. I express a hope however, that an arrangement respecting the *cannon* claimed by the Government which I represent, as included in the *Fortifications*, ceded, may be made to our mutual satisfaction and in a manner which may be amicably adjudged by our respective Governments.

I remain, Sir, with the warmest sentiments of respect, and with a most anxious wish of personally evincing my esteem for you whenever the state of your health will permit, Your mo. h. St.

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation

Pensacola, June 22, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, I received with the utmost satisfaction yesterday morning Your Excellency's communication of the same date, as in it I observe plainly that Your Excellency displays your sublime prudence under every aspect; being informed of all the minor points and particulars of your relation, I with pleasure pass on to remove those which require some comments.

I perfectly agree with Your Excellency that the exhibition of credentials may be deferred for the present, but I must add that in the single event of my complaint retaining its violence, Your Excellency may at a convenient time, send by one of your Aids the document by which it appears by Certificate, that Your Excellency is the person authorized by Your Government to receive this Province which His Catholic Majesty has at this time under my charge, because if it contains only that authori-

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

zation, the original ought to remain in my possession for my own exoneration, and if it should happen to contain any other appointments, it will be necessary that four copies of that part of said document relating to the authorization, should be taken in the Spanish language, and that Your Excellency should attest by your signature the correctness and legality of the same; all of which it will be proper should be done in time to be suitable evidence of my discharge. Your Excellency must not be surprized at or astonished by my refusing to receive the documents referred to, at the time you sent it to me by the hands of Dr. Bronaugh and Judge Brackenridge, since I had at that epoch (as I apprized Your Excellency) no order for entering on, or proceeding to the evacuation and delivery.

It is positively false that the least authorization has devolved on Alva from my Government, as he was only charged with bearing to me the orders under cover, and it is an undoubted truth that I am the Commander entrusted by Spain with the Government of West Florida; that without my consent and instrumentality no one could deliver said Province to another Nation, and that no person has at this time the most distant idea of such an undertaking, either with or without my connivance; and under these circumstances I desire, with the highest sentiments of friendship fairness and candour for Your Excellency, that you would be persuaded of its being altogether unnecessary for you to receive from me the authorizations given me, as the operation demands solely that I should be perfectly assured of the person who is to receive said Province.

As soon as the Garrison of Apalache shall be in this place, and the Transports shall be ready, I esteem four or six days at the utmost as sufficient for the delivery of it, the embarkation of the equipage, the Troops and other individuals; whence Your Excellency may now infer the time solicited of me to be fixed.

I am well apprized of the arrangements relative to the subsistence agreed upon for the transportation, and acquiesce in them.

I regret particularly the inconveniences with which the United States Troops have met in the place where they are located, as well as those attendant upon the conveyance of their provisions; if both of these could be remedied by a nearer approach to this Town, I would with the greatest eagerness contribute to the better accomodation of both, to the utmost extent of my abilities; Your Excellency knows that this is in your power as also in that of your Officers and Troops, and that the only obstacle lies in the inconvenience, that the soldier on either side might be embroiled, and which would give rise to unpleasant consequences; Your Excellency will follow the dictates of the necessity of the case, your own prudence and good pleasure.

Permit me further out of your pure goodness, to repeat definitively that I cannot subject the Artillery and its appendages to any kind of compromise, as I am possessed of no authority to do so, and consequently no other resource remains to me but that which I have proposed to Your Excellency,[2] of which I have already notified His Catholic Majesty's Pleni-

[2] That an inventory should be taken, and that the question should be referred to the two governments, the ordnance meantime remaining in the possession of officers of the United States. See the next letter.

potentiary in Washington, as a proof of my good wishes towards you, and of my anxiety about the determination which may or will be agreed upon at that place with the President. In the mean while I leave a part of it mounted on the Fortresses, altho' this mode of proceeding rests upon my own responsibility in a possible, though unexpected [contingency?] namely that the expence in which the labour necessary to its removal may involve the Nation, and which I might have spared by making a seasonable use of the Garrison for that purpose, may be charged to my account; but this mode of proceeding is in my judgement consistent with prudence and our better intelligence, considering the above mentioned perplexity in which we are involved.

I had last night the honour of seeing Lieutenant Col. Brooke, to whom I presented my respects for Your Excellency, and now for the last time I repeat my most effectual thanks for the interest you express in the reestablishment of my health, the return of which I value more particularly from the peculiar satisfaction which it will give me to see Your Excellency, whom meanwhile I wish every description of happiness. God preserve Your Excellency many Years.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, June 23, 1821.

Sir, Your letter of the 20th instant enclosing sundry articles for agreement as well as another communication from you of the 22d are now before me.

In this last letter you again advert to the Cannon in the Fortifications and repeat that you cannot subject the Artillery to any kind of compromise; but advert to the proposition which you say you had already made me on the subject; and of which you have notified His Catholic Majesty's Minister at Washington. It would have been more gratifying to me if you had repeated the proposition; but to prevent any misunderstandings or mistakes between us hereafter, it is prudent to detail to you what were my views and impressions, lest they should have been imperfectly interpreted to you; of the proposition you made; and under what limitations I assented to the same.

In my communication to you of the 12th instant, I advised you of the views of the President of the United States, as to the construction to be placed on the 2nd Article of the Treaty with Spain, " That the cannon belonging to the Fortifications are to be considered as appendages to them, included in the cession and to be left with them."

In the same letter I stated by the 7th article of the Treaty, transportation for the Troops to the Havana, with their baggage is alone mentioned; and that no stipulation is made for provisions; but anticipating the most liberal construction of each article of the Treaty, the President of the United States had made arrangements for, and had authorized the necessary supplies for the Spanish Troops on their voyage to the Havana.

I do not repeat these remarks with a view of reviving an argument on a subject which was long since put to rest; being sensible from the candour

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

of your confessions, that you can be governed only by the orders you have received.

I request you to consider that I am placed in the same situation; acting under orders from my Government; and have received most positive instructions to insist that the Cannon belonging to the Fortifications be left on them; or to protest most solemnly against their removal, as an act on Your Excellency's own responsibility, contrary to, and in violation of the 2nd Article of the Treaty concluded with Spain on the 22nd day of February 1819, and ratified on the corresponding day of the Year 1821.

To prevent a proceeding of this character, which I feel persuaded would be painful to both of us, but at the same time so to conduct our operations that they might harmonize with and be reconcileable to the respective orders we had received from our Governments, I had supposed that the propositions made and mutually assented to, were these:

First—That an inventory of the Cannon, munitions of War, etc., belonging to the Fortifications ceded should be taken, and signed by the proper officers authorized to do so; with a remark that the said cannon, Ordnance etc. were claimed by you, but left in my possession subject to any future disposition which might be made of them by our respective Governments.

Secondly—That an inventory of the transportation of families of Officers, and Servants. and of the provisions placed on board of the Transports for the supply of the Troops on their voyage should be made out and certified by you as furnished by me.

These are the propositions to which I supposed I had assented; they correspond with the instructions given Captn. Call; for I had no more authority than yourself to relinquish a claim which my Government believed it had, and ordered me to assert to the Cannon, as ceded with the Fortifications in the Floridas.

I presume your views of these propositions were the same, and that they correspond with those of which you have advised His Catholic Majesty's Minister in Washington. Should there have been however an unhappy misunderstanding between us on this subject, arising from an imperfect interpretation of our respective communications, I have only to request with a view of definitively and finally closing all negotiations on this point; that you will state what you intend to do respecting the cannon belonging to the Fortifications in Florida, so that I may regulate my conduct by the instructions received. I express a hope however that the two propositions embraced in this letter will be acceded to by you, as they are agreeable to me.

I enclose you a memorandum of an agreement which I am willing to sign relative to the transportation of the Spanish Troops, and other matters connected with the execution of the Commissions we are respectively acting under. The articles differ somewhat from those sent by you, but are placed in the form in which they can be assented to by me.

I am happy to learn that you will be in readiness to deliver the Province of West Florida to me in four or six days after the return of the Transports from St. Marks; I shall be prepared to receive it and to fulfil the duties enjoined me by my Commission.

I enclose you an attested copy of my Commission; you shall have a view of the original when we meet, and any number of attested copies in English shall be furnished you. The original I deem it proper to retain. With respect, etc.

Captain Richard K. Call to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, June 23, 1821.

General, I have received your note of the 23d instant requesting to be informed of my understanding with the Governor of Pensacola, relative to the disposition of the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores at Fort St. Marks; in reply to which I have the honour to report, that on my return to this place from Montpelier, I waited on the Governor and conformably to the instructions you had given me, I proposed that as he (the Governor) had required receipts to be given for Artillery and stores to be left in deposit at St. Marks, subject to the future orders of himself and the Spanish Government, that he should give receipts for the provisions and Transportation furnished for the removal of the civil Officers of this Province to the Island of Cuba. To which proposition the Governor replied that he was willing to order the delivery of St. Marks, and the removal of its Garrison to this place, merely taking an Inventory of the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores, and that the right to which, would be finally settled by you and himself or by your respective Governments, but of this I am not certain. I am however positive of this, that it was my understanding and I am convinced it was that of the Governor that the right of neither Nations to the Artillery was to be prejudiced or relinquished by this arrangement, but was to be determined by the Commissioners or their respective Governments. With this understanding I ordered the Vessels to sail for St. Marks; in doing so I was actuated alone by a wish to facilitate the transportation of the Spanish Garrison to this place, which I considered the first step to be taken for the abandonment of the ceded Territory by the Troops of Spain. And I believe[d] by adopting this measure much time would be saved, and no inconvenience or misconstruction could possibly arise, as the Governor and yourself, to whom this question was referred would be enabled to determine with whom the artillery should remain, while the Garrison of St. Marks would be on its passage to this place. This I considered a better arrangement than to wait until your arrival and detain the vessels until you and the Governor had settled this question of right to the Artillery, which I believed would necessarily consume much time.

The Governor cannot have mistaken an agreement on this subject—it was too specific to admit of a doubt I am Sir, very Respectfully, etc.

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, June 25, 1821.

Translation

Most Excellent Sir, I received yesterday morning Your Excellency's communication of the 23rd instant, and as I am well acquainted with the

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).
[1] *Ibid.,* (copy).

tenor of the particulars it embraces, and scrupulously so with the part relative to the Artillery, Your Excellency's orders and instructions on that subject, I proceed to answer you on that leading point with all the definitive conclusiveness which it demands and which falls within my province. I have already assured Your Excellency that there neither can have been nor is any misunderstanding in the account which I have given to His Catholic Majesty's minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, for I have made it with corrected and literal copies of Your Excellency's letters and my replies; and I will do the same on the first opportunity with this definitive communication that it may operate the proper effects on those antecedently sent.

On Your Excellency's making me in your Letter of the 12th instant, a reclamation of the Artillery, signifying " that it was the opinion of the President of the United States, that the cannon belonging to the fortifications were to be considered as annexed to them and included in the cession, and that Your Excellency was directed as Commissioner to insist that by the stipulations of the 2nd article of the Treaty, the Cannon found in the Fortifications constituting their batteries are dependencies on them, and included in the cession, and concluded that the Cannon constituting the batteries, or the armament generally belonging to them, should be delivered with the Fortresses as included in the cession ", I told Your Excellency in my letter of the 16th instant, that to avoid digressions I was going to be in my answer definitive and conclusive. In the true sense therefore of that phrase which I rendered obligatory, I represented " that I ought not, and consequently could not make Your Excellency a delivery with the Fortifications of the whole or a part of the Artillery, munition, and other articles in this Department, to pass with them into the property and under the dominion of the United States ". and I added that my sentiments having for their sole object to promote the good intelligence and friendship existing between our respective Governments, and which I desired might reign between us, I inclined to the determination that Your Excellency in consideration of the Presidents opinion, should give him an account of the difficulty, (whenever you had time) as I considered that through the channel of His Catholic Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary in Washington, the proper determination might flow, which would leave both Your Excellency and myself in those amicable terms which we ought so much to desire; that until that determination arrived, it appeared to me necessary and consistent with moderation that the Artillery of the Fortifications with all the effects appertaining thereto, should be placed under the safeguard of Your Excellency, the Officers and Troops of the United States, after the suitable inventories had been taken.

In the subsequent letter which I addressed Your Excellency on the 19th in reply to yours of the 17th treating of the subject, I also told you in corroboration of that conclusion, and amongst other things which had an intimate tendency to it, " I am sure that by the means which I have proposed to Your Excellency as the only one that I could adopt, the proper

determination will very soon be ascertained relative to all the objects under my care".

Finally my reply of the 22nd, to the following words of Your Excellency's letter of the 20th "I am in hopes however that we will be able to conclude on an agreement to our mutual satisfaction touching the Cannon claimed by the Government which I represent, as included in the Fortifications ceded, and in a manner to be amicably settled by our respective Governments", was this, "I request that Your Excellency will have the goodness to permit me to repeat to you definitively, that the Artillery and all its appendages, I can subject to no kind of compromise, as I have no authority so to do; no other method therefore remains for me to adopt, but that which I have proposed to Your Excellency, and of which I have already given an account to His Catholic Majesty's minister Plenipotentiary at Washington, as a proof of my sentiments of harmony and of the anxiety I feel concerning the determination which may or will be agreed on there, by the President".

Prompted at present on one hand by the warmest feelings of friendship and harmony, and venerating as most sacred that friendship and harmony which prevail between our respective Governments and in their compacts, and on the other, desirous of co-operating with Your Excellency as far as may be in my power, I make you the definitive statement requested by you and comprehended in the following heading (or Prefatory notice) which I am going to draw up, and which is to be prefixed word for word to the Inventory of the Artillery and its appendages: the above as we will mutually contribute our assistance to its formation is to be signed by Your Excellency and myself.

"An Inventory of the Cannon, Arms, Military Stores, etc. of which Don Jose Callava Colonel and Commandant for His Catholic Majesty in West Florida, has not made a delivery of, to pass into the possession, dominion, and Sovereignty of the United States, as he has done with regard to the Public Edifices, Fortifications, Barracks and other Buildings which have not been esteemed and held to be the property of private individuals. This inventory was formed of said Artillery, munitions of War and other effects, appertaining to the Department of Artillery, in order that the articles contained in it may remain subject, as far as concerns their removal out of West Florida and to the Territory of Spain, to the determination agreed on between His Catholic Majesty's minister Plenipotentiary and the Government of the United States, and in the meantime may remain in the safe keeping of their Commissioner, Officers and Troops. The expressed subjection of these moveable effects was made at the instance of said Commissary on the part of the United States, Andrew Jackson: the above mentioned instance was made on the ground that they must be understood (in the opinion of the President already referred to) as comprehended with the Fortifications, and ceded with them, under the 2nd article of the Treaty of Amity, Settlement of differences and Limits, concluded definitively between Spain and the United States, on the 22nd of February, in the year One thousand eight hundred and Twenty one; all which appears in detail from the correspondence held

on the subject between said Commissary and the Commandant Don Jose Callava, both of whom are bound to give an account of the same to their respective Governments".

Your Excellency may consider under every point of view allowable in the contents of this Heading to the Inventory, my decission respecting the Artillery, and nothing is wanting to make this point as clear as day-light, but that Your Excellency should inform me decisively, whether under the term "The Artillery belonging to the Fortifications ceded" you understand the whole number of Cannon in West Florida that are not field pieces, and every thing appertaining to the department of Artillery, to be comprehended, or a determinate part of both; If you mean all, the whole shall be comprehended in the Inventory.

No remark offers itself to me on the circumstances of furnishing your Excellency with a certificate of the number of persons transported, and of the provisions with which they have been supplied by Your Excellency for their voyage.

The state of my health does not allow me at this moment to answer Your Excellency concerning the other particulars, the translations of which are not yet finished either; I will do it by a convenient opportunity, but I cannot omit here, to avoid equivocations, referring anew to what I have told Your Excellency, that as soon as the Garrison of Apalache arrives in this place, and the Transports are ready, I estimate at 4 or 6 days at most the time necessary for its delivery, the embarckation of the Equipage, Troops, and other individuals, as I observed in Your Excellency's communication that you only refer to the time subsequent to the arrival of the Garrison of Apalache.

I remain with the warmest sentiments of friendship and respect for Your Excellency. God preserve Your Excellency many Years.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, June 26, 1821.

Dear Sir, I have the honour of early acknowledging the receipt of your communication of the 25th instant.

It is gratifying to me to learn that we have not misunderstood each other on the subject of the Artillery in Florida, and that the proposition of which you have advised His Catholic Majesty's Minister at Washington is the same as originally approved of by me, as the only measure calculated to promote a mutual co-operation in the discharge of our respective duties, or to reconcile those duties with the orders we had received. The Heading or Prefatory notice which you wish to be prefixed to the Cannon, Arms, Military Stores etc. is approved of, and will be signed by me in conjunction with you. To settle the question definitively I comply with your request, in deciding that in the Inventory, should be embraced all the Artillery, with the exception of Field Artillery, in West Florida, comprehending every thing appertaining to the Department of Ordnance.

. . . .

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Manuel's, 15 miles from Pensacola,
June 27, 1821.

D'r Genl. I am here waiting the arival of the transports from St Marks, and one from New Orleans, untill their arrival I cannot obtain possession of the country altho every arrangement is made for its surrender. we were unfortunate in the loss of one of the transports vessel chartered for the transportation of the Spanish troops, she sprung a leak in a heavy gale and fortunately for the crew was run ashore at the Beleze, and I have to await the arival of another from orleans. the weather has been very unfavorable constant rains and blows untill the last three days. since the arival of the Hornet which was on the 9th I have been constantly engaged in preparing the governor for the delivery of the country. he has kept me constantly answering his letters, he claimed the right of carrying away all the artillery. by treaty the country is ceded with all "edifices and fortifications". under the terms *fortifications* I claimed that every means of defence appertaining to the fortification passed and was transferred under the term, observing that as well might he, if a vessel of war had been named in the treaty have stripped her of her arms, which would have changed the character of the vessel, and if the cannon was taken from the fortification it no longer remained as such, but was a mere edifice, and after stating that I was obliged to say to him, that if the fortification was attempted to be stripped of its means of defence it would be viewed as an open violation of the treaty and he held responsible for the same; he then proposed to take an invoice of them and refer the subject to our governments for adjustment, this I assented to, determined to deliver the artillery into the hands of my government and it may do with them as to them may seem right. Thus you see I have got well over this difficulty arising from the omission of our minister in not being more particular and definite in his expressions, and will be in possession of country and artillery in four days after the arival of the Transports; I must refer you to Capt Donelson and Mr Childress for the current news of the place, as I am not very well and weary of writing. . . . .

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Manuel's, June 29, 1821.

Sir, I ar[r]ived here on the 15th Inst. since which I have been employed in making the necessary arrangements for receiving possession of West Florida etc. and have the honor to inform you that every thing is now in readiness but a vessel, to supply the place of the Transport Cora which was chartered by Major Staunton at New Orleans and unfortunately lost off the Balize in a heavy gale on her way to Pensacola. Another Transport could only be procured at New Orleans, and it was confidently expected, that Quarter Master Hunt, stationed at that place, would have

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] State Dept., B. I. A., Misc. Lett., 81.

chartered another vessel and dispatched her here immediately upon hearing of the loss of the Cora, but this responsibility it appears he did not think proper to assume, altho' he must have recd. information of her loss, shortly after the accident, and no step was taken to supply another, until the arrival of Major Stauntons express, who was dispatched to Orleans the instant that a vessel could be procured to transport him, after the information of her loss reached Pensacola. The winds have been unfavorable, but the arrival of the Transport I think can not be delayed more than a day or two and immediately after, I shall receive possession as I have the pledge of the Governor that in four days or six at furthest after the arrival of the Transport he will deliver formally the Keys of Pensacola to me.

Some difficulty was likely to have occured in relation to the Artillery appertaining to the Fortifications—the Governor contended that he had the right to take them away, as they were not specifically ceded under the 2nd Article of the Treaty. I claimed them as being included under the term *Fortifications,* and urged that it might be considered a violation of the Treaty, if an attempt should be made to strip the Fortifications of their means of defence and instanced the case of a vessel of war transfered from one nation to another, which might as well be striped of her a[r]mament by the party disposing of her, as to remove from a Fortification, its Guns mounted for its defence which would certainly change its character and reduce it to a mere Edifice. He however at length agreed that an Inventory should be taken of Ordenance, Stores etc. and the subject be referred to our respective Governments, they remaining in the possession of the Officers of the U. States until the question should be decided. Immediately upon claim being set up to the Ordinance and a receipt demanded for it, as in deposite, I demanded a receipt for the Provisions, and likewise for the Transportation which would be furnished for the Civil Officers and families of Officers, which were not specifically enumerated under the 7th Article of the Treaty. this also has been agreed to and is to be referred in like manner to our Governments. So soon as I receive possession of the Country, I will submit to you all the correspondence which has taken place on this subject and also a full report of all my proceedings adopted in relation to the occupancy of the Florida's.

In justice to Major Staunton I must add that no blame can possibly be attached to him for the loss of the Transport Cora, he having used every necessary precaution to assertain that she was sea-worthy, as he had been ordered by me to employ no vessel unless he was satisfied that she was such. His report together with certificates etc. which fully prove that he faithfully performed his duty shall be furnished you.

The unlooked for delay of the Hornet in the first place, the extraordinary occurrence of Don Alva bringing with him to Pensacola a dispatch to the Governor of East Florida which the Governor of West Florida yesterday assured me was from the Capt. Genl. of Cuba and relates to the delivery of East Florida, when the U. States Vessel Non-Such at the request of Col: Forbes was ordered from Havanna direct to St. Augus-

tine, together with the delay which has necessarily been occasioned by the loss of the Transport Cora, will add to our expence in obtaining possession of the Floridas, and to prevent any further delay from the circumstance of Don Alva having brought to this place dispatches for the Governor of St. Augustine and to ensure immediate possession, Col: Gadsden will sail tomorrow in the U. States Schooner Revenge which fortunately touched on yesterday at Pensacola, taking with him the necessary orders to Col: Butler and offering to carry the dispatch to the Governor of East Florida.

I was fortunate enough to obtain from Col: Gadsden the sum of $4720 for which I have given him duplicate Drafts as per letter of advice.

I have had much writing in answering the letters of the Governor of Pensacola which has engrossed all my time and given great labor to my translators.

I have the honor to be

GOVERNOR CALLAVA TO JACKSON.[1]

Translation.

PENSACOLA, June 30, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, By Your Excellency's communications of the 26th and 29th instant, in reply to mine of the 25th 26th and 28th of the same, I learnt your assent to my last decision, that the Artillery and its appurtenances are not to be withdrawn by me, until what is proper respecting it, shall be decided by the Minister Plenipotentiary of His Catholic Majesty at Washington, and the Government of the United States: the Artillery and whatever belongs to it remaining under the safeguard of Your Excellency, and the Officers and Troops of the United States: and that the heading of the Inventory to be formed of the Artillery and what appertains to it, with the exception of the Field Artillery, is to be made out in the manner proposed by me to Your Excellency.

All the Cannon within the territory of West Florida, and every thing belonging to the Artillery, shall be included in the Inventory, and the said Inventory shall be made by the Commandant of the Spanish Artillery, and Major Henry Stanton, agreeably to the method suggested by Your Excellency.

I am advised of the appointment of Capt. R. K. Call, Your Excellency's secretary and aid, Dr. J. C. Bronaugh, and Judge H. M. Brackenridge to unite with an equal number of persons, whom I shall name for the purpose of examining and comparing the Inventory of the Archives, public papers, etc. as exhibited by me; all which has my approbation, and shall be opportunely executed.

I remain with the most sincere sentiments of friendship

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, July 1, 1821.

Sir, I have received your confidential note,[2] and in the same spirit of friendship and frankness will give you the reasons for the mode adopted in preparing the Process verbal. On referring to the Treaty you will [perceive] that it was first signed by our Minister in English and then by the Minister of His Catholic Majesty: another copy in the spanish language was signed in the same way. Having had reference to the Process verbal of the delivery of Louisiana to the United States, I find the same thing was done on that occasion. It was from this document I copied the form I sent you, and my intention was to have the documents to be sent to my Government, prepared in conformity to it, and in accordance with the Treaty. The Process verbal is the evidence of the title of the United States, while my signature merely proves that His Catholic Majesty has duly fulfilled his part of the Treaty. But in order to obviate any objection, two of these documents can be made each way; that is, two with the English in the left column to be signed first by me, and two with the Spanish occup[y]ing the same column and signed first by you for your use. I assure you I should be sorry to induce you to do any thing which may subject you to censure. Judge Brackenridge is possessed of my views and opinions on the subject, in case any further explanation should be necessary: he is also directed to unite with your Secretary to prepare the document in a suitable manner to receive our signatures.

I am very Respectfully, etc.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, July 1, 1821.

Sir, Your letter of 30 ulto, containing your reply and assent to the agreement proposed by me has been duly received. I have also noted the ceremony of changing the Flags, as proposed by you, and which appears to be as follows " A Picket of Spanish Troops consisting of an Officer and twenty men formed at supported arms its right in front of the Flag-

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

[2] A translation of this confidential note, without date, is in the State Department and is as follows:

" The action of delivery precedes in point of time that of receiving; in order therefore that I may not expose myself to censure from my Government for any impropriety which may exist in the authentic document attesting the delivery and receipt of this Province respectively, I wish to call your attention to the circumstance, that in the two acts in the English language sent me by Your Excellency, you occupy the margin (or column) in which I am entitled to speak as the person who makes the delivery. If through inadvertance Your Excellency has not remarked that they were both written in this way, I hope your Excellency will have the goodness to inform me of it, as also of the necessity or the reason (if any such exist on your part) for that arrangement; I have no objection to four of these documents being drawn up, two in the form adopted by you, and two for myself on the same margin, so that each of us having two of them, I will be able to send one of them to my Government, in which my Act shall occupy the margin that I think suitable.

" This is a confidential note made in the same spirit of friendship and frankness which you have displayed to me, and I hope to merit that you should in the same spirit state to me what you think adviseable."

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

staff: the Troops of the United States to form in front of the Spanish Picket, the Flag-staff between them, on which there are to be two halliards and the Spanish Flag hoisted; the Flag of the United States to be hoisted half mast and that of Spain at the same time to be lowered, but to be detained at the same elevation; each of the Flags continuing thus, until a salute of Twenty one Guns shall be fired, on which the Flag of the United-States to go up and that of Spain to come down, to be taken care of by the Officer of the Picket who is to embark with it, withdrawing his Troops".

It is understood that the above mentioned salute is to be fired by the Spanish Garrison. The foregoing is agreed to as expressed with the following addition, As soon as the last Gun is fired, the American Flag to go up and that of Spain to go down; on which the American and Spanish Troops shall salute each other by presenting arms, and continue at a present, until the Spanish Officer shall deliver to the Officer of the United-States, Your Excellency's order for the delivery of the Fortification Barancas; after which the Troops to come to a shoulder, those of Spain to withdraw with their flag, those of the United-States remaining in possession of the Fortification.

I have to request Your Excellency to inform me of the grade of the Officer that will be in command of the Picket. Messr. Call, Bronaugh and Brackenridge will be ready tomorrow to enter on the duties devolved on them in conjunction with the persons Your Excellency shall be pleased to appoint.

I am, Sir, very Respectfully etc.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, July 3, 1821.

Sir, I have the honour to communicate to you that on last evening Major Stanton reported to me the arrival of the Ship Lucy Ann, chartered by him under my order, to aid in transporting the Spanish Officers and Troops to the Havana, in conformity with the 2nd Article of the late Treaty with Spain. This ship was chartered in the room of the Ship Cora, which was unfortunately lost in a gale. The Lucy Ann is reported to be a fine vessel new and staunch. Major Stanton has (as you have been already advised) my orders to superintend on my part the necessary arrangements preparatory to embarking the Officers and Troops of His Catholic Majesty with their baggage, and the supply of Provisions. The Transport with the Garrison of St. Marks must arrive very soon if not already in Port, and I trust that no delay will take place in putting on board the *Transports now ready,* the baggage of the Officers and Troops, making every necessary arrangement, so that on the arrival of the Garrison of St. Marks, possession of the Country will be surrendered forthwith, and the Transports with their Convoy immediately set sail. The government of the United-States is now paying a heavy demurrage, and I have the utmost confidence in your pledge that no unnecessary delay will be permitted on your part after the arrival of the Transports, and that it will afford you, as it will me, much satisfaction to have the Troops of

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

both Nations in comfortable quarters, before the boisterous and sickly season commences.

I am Sir, with great consideration and respect etc.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Manuel's, July 3, 1821.

. . . . Mrs. Jackson informs me that her maid Betty has been putting on some airs, and been guilty of a great deal of impudence, on this subject I have wrote Doctor Brunaugh and Mr. Blair. I have said to Mr B I hold him responsable for the controll of the servants and he must chastise them. I have directed that the first impertinance she uses, or the first disobedience of orders, that she be publicly whipped. she can behave herself if she will and I have told her that Publickly whipped she shall be, the first offence. I have said to Mr Blair the first cloaths she attempts to wash for any other person but the family, without the express permission of her Mistress, that he is to take her to the public whipping post and give her fifty lashes, and that she may save herself of this disgrace you may assure her of her danger, for I have ordered and am determined that she shall in all things behave herself *well* or receive examplary punishment. It is humiliating to me to have to resort to this, but I have to request of you to observe her conduct and the first disobedience or impudence order Mr Blair to give her fifty lashes and if he does not perform it, dismiss him, and as soon as I get possession I will order a corporal to give it to her publickly. I am determined to cure her. . . . .

To Captain John Donelson.[1]

Manuel's, July 3, 1821.

D'r Sir, I had the pleasure last night to receive your kind letter of the 14th of May last which is the only letter I have received except from Capt Eastin, since I left you. I sincerely thank you for this, which give us the pleasing intelligence that you were all well, and my farm was going on well; this intelligence was better than I anticipated, from the unusual bad spring. a good crop of cotton will this year be valluable, from the great destruction of crops by the spring freshetts, as well as the hail storms and late deluge by constant and heavy rains.

Mrs Jackson enjoys good health as well as Miss Narcissa and the two Andrews, my health has not been so good, but I hope it may be benefitted by the sea breese as soon as I get possession of pensacola, which will be in a few days. the delivery has been delayed in consequence of the loss of the transport vessel the Cora in a gale of wind at the Balize. another was to be obtained at New orleans, and only reached pensacola Bay last night; in a few days we will be able to get the Spanish officers and soldiers with their baggage embarked when I will take possession of the country. The Cora was lost on the 11th of last month and I have been here 15 miles

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc. Published in Parton's *Jackson,* II. 600.

from pensacola since the evening of the 17th with my troops, Mrs Jackson, Miss narcissa and the two Andrews have been in pensacola since the 28th ult. Mrs J came up last evening to see me and goes down to day, and I hope in four days to be in complete possession of the country, when I will write you and be able to form an opinion when I will be able to see you (if life lasts) at my residence in Tennessee; I have had a very tedious and disagreeable time since the first of May, owing first to the delay of the Hornett and secondly the delay occasioned by the loss of the transport ship the Cora, but I am happy to think that the time is so near at hand when the full possession of the Floridas will be had. pensacola is crowded, and it [is] impossible under existing circumstances that any business can be profitable, altho I have no doubt but pensacola will rise into notice as a commercial city faster than any other place in the U. States, but it will take time for the necessary capital to concentrate there; and many in the first instance will be disappointed and go off dissatisfied. a great field is now open to the real capitalist, and real property well situated must in a few years become very valluable.

Mrs Jackson requests me to return you her thanks for the pleasant and minute detail you were pleased to give her of her chickens and gosslings. If old Hanna should be able to report, as present, as many chickens on our return in November, say to her her mistress will dub her a knight of the Feathers, and give her a medal plume—I am fearful the owls will destroy them. we are happy to hear that little Andrew Hutchings is so well contented, say to him his cousin Andrew will bring him a pretty when he returns, and I will buy him a pony. his situation has cost me a great deal of uneasiness, however since I have recd your letter, I am contented, he will do well. Mrs J joins me in good wishes for you and family and all our friends, say to your sister Hays Narcissa is in good health, and present us affectionately to her and family and to all our friends. say to Mrs Knox we send our love to her and little ones, with a request that she takes care of our little Andrew. let me hear from you as often as you have leisure and believe me to be your friend sincerely

P. S. your son Capt Jno Donelson parted from us here a few days since, highly pleased with his purchase made in 1817 in pensacola—and I have no doubt if he holds it, that in ten years it will gain 1000 per cent—he ought not to sell it—if in the division he is fortunate. present me affectionately to your son Wm to Mr McLemore and Mr Martins families.

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation.

Pensacola, July 3, 1821.

Sir, I perfectly agree with Your Excellency in the addition which you have suggested to the note I sent you, relative to the ceremony of the change of Flags at Fort Barancas. A Lieutenant of the Spanish Troops will command the Picket.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

Tomorrow the 4th or the next day the 5th, the meeting will take place of the persons named by Your Excellency to compare the records and other documents with the inventories made of them. The inventory of the Artillery will receive seasonable attention on the terms agreed to.

I wish Your Excellency the best state of health, mine is improving tho' slowly

I am Your Excellencys, etc.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Manuel's, 15 miles from Pensacola,
July 4, 1821.

. . . . I have been here waiting the arival of the Transports for 18 days. The loss of the transport Cora on the Baleze, made it necessary to procure another, that could only be done at orleans, and the ship Lucy Ann chartered in her room only arived night before last. I had sent twenty days since the Amelia, for the governor of St Marks and the Shield to transport our garrison from Ft Gadsden to St Marks. The winds have been contrary and altho I have been expecting the Emilia for this five days she has not yet arived. the wind has been favourable for the last 24 hours, and I hope she will arive in the course of the day, when nothing remains to be done but the Spanish Troops to be imbarked and possession given. I had like to have had some dificulty about the ordinance attached to the Fortifications, the coma[n]dant claiming the right of taking them away as they were not *specifically ceded* by the treaty; I claiming them as passing to the u States under the term *Fortification*. however I retain all the artillery and the subject is to be determined by our governments.

Having heretofore saluted the american eagles by the batteries of Barancas, I could not let them go without again saluting our flag from the same battery. My time has been unpleasant, Mrs J and Miss Hays and the two Andrews are at Pensacola. Mrs J was up yesterday and is in good health, mine is not so good. I have not been yet in Pensacola, nor do I suppose I will be, until I go and enter as governor of the same, I never have been invited. I proposed an interview, the commandant declined it, and I would sink the place and him with it, before I would visit him, this is I suppose what he wanted. he has behaved very well, but would have tripped at one time but I gave him emphatically to understand the course I would persue, he explained and declared his idea was as I had stated it. I hope to be with you in Novbr, in the mean time I would be happy to hear from you whether you have done anything with Brahan and what prospect of crops. present us affectionately to Polly and the family, to Mr J Jackson and family and accept for yourself our best wishes, adieu

To Major Henry Stanton.[1]

Manuel's, July 6, 1821.

Sir. By Capt Call last evening, I recd. your letter of the 5th Instant and I regret the inclemency of the weather that retards the unloading of the

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] Copy.

Lucy Ann. we cannot command Neptune, but when the waves and weather permits, I have full confidence not a moment will be lost on your part; and I have the pledge of the Governor that no delay shall be on his part.

You will please to remark, that you are the Judge whether the field Artillery, as such designated by you, can with convenience go on board the Transports; if they can, being but small and few in number, it is my wish that they be permitted to be put on board by the Spanish garrison, as it will be gratifying to the commandant; and no injury to us. I make this remark now, from the intimation of Capt Call that you have not been instructed on this point heretofore, in which I think he is mistaken. When the weather will permit, you will please notify the Commandant that you are ready to superintend the embarkation of the Artillery and heavy baggage of the officers and Troops, and if you perceive any disposition of delay on their part, have the goodness to remark you are instructed by me, that you have the pledge of the Governor that no unnecessary delay shall take place, that we are paying demurrage on our vessels, and I calculate on expedition whenever the weather will permit.

On the subject of the Inventory to be taken of the Ordnance etc. a caption has been agreed upon by the Governor and myself, which will be handed to you by him or his officer appointed to act with you on this occasion. It is to be in english, and expresses the cause of the Inventory being taken, towit that they are claimed by me as passing to the U States under the term *Fortification* as used in the 5 article of the treaty. The Governor claims them as not being specifically ceded in said article of the treaty; This subject, with the provisions furnished, and all subjects of Spain furnished with transportation, other than the military officers, troops and their Baggage, are to be referred to our respective Governments for their decision. The ordnance etc. remaining with the U. States. From which you will see, that it will be necessary to have a roster of the Officers and Troops, and the civil officers with the wives and servants of the officers; and a receipt for the provision furnished, all signed by the Governor or proper officer appointed by him for that purpose. I would send you a copy of the heading of the Inventory, but as the one agreed on is in the possession of the Governor made out in english, he will give it to you—and the quality and Caliber of the Guns must be mentioned as well as the quality of all ordnance stores appertaining to the Fortifications and which are noted in the Inventory.

I am sir with great respect.

Yr. mo Ob Servt.

P. S. It is intimated to me that an American prisoner in the Calaboos is intended to be taken. You will permit no American whatever to be put on board the Transport vessels. I have been and am still very unwell, insomuch that it is difficult for me to write

Henry M. Brackenridge to Jackson.

Pensacola, July 8, 1821.

dear General, We have been at work all morning, in marking and signing the publick records according to the idea you have suggested. But

without occular examination it is difficult to have a correct notion of what they are. I have sent with Captn. Call merely the notes of the marks etc. put upon them, intending to make out a formal paper to be signed by us. The records relate only to transactions between citizen and citizen; bills of sale, transfers, and protests; the United States government is no further interested than to see the citizen protected in his rights. There is not a single originial grant among them. You will perceive that these consist of unbound books containing from five to one hundred pages, for the first years one unbound book yearly was sufficient, afterwards three or four a year were required: these last are put up in separate pakages intended to form a book, and are numbered 1, 2 and 3. They are so different from any records that we are accustomed to that we had to adapt our plan according to their pecul[i]ar character. On some we have put both the letter of the alphabet and the number, when one or the other would have sufficed, but we thought it prudent abundanti cautela. The marks we have put are sufficient to identify the unbound books—it will scarcely be possible to substitute another for any one of them. This precaution is taken by us for the interests of the people here, for the United States have no interest further than this.

The Governor appeared somewhat out of humor on the subject of the Process verbal, but on explanation changed his tone. The fault was committed by his secretary. It is all rectified. The papers are prepared exactly according to the form sent to him, word for word.

The wind is now favorable and we may expect the vessels from St. Marks, this evening or tomorrow.[1]

I am most respectfully

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation

Pensacola, July 10, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, In reply to Your Excellency's letter of yesterday, which I received at nine o'clock last night, I have to inform you that Major Stanton set out this morning for the Barancas, for the purpose of making out the Inventory of the Artillery; and that on his return this evening I shall learn whether that object has been fulfilled and whether the Transports are ready, so that being in possession of this *datum* in full, I shall be able tomorrow to comply with the request expressed in your note referred to above.

The schooners which have brought the Garrison of Apalache, are now unloading provisions at this place; as soon as this is done they are to repair to the anchorage at Barancas, for the purpose of landing the powder and munitions, which they bring from Apalache, to be placed in the Store Houses, and included in the general inventory.

Your Excellency may rest assured that this Province will now be delivered to you in the shortest possible time, and tomorrow I will appoint

[1] It was July 9, at 11 a. m., that the vessels bringing the Spaniards from St. Marks arrived at Pensacola.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

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the day agreeably to my promise; I have thought it proper in the mean time to make the foregoing explanations that I might not appear to be dilatory in answering Your Excellency's letter.

I remain with the most sincere Sentiments of friendship,

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation

Pensacola, July 11, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, At this moment, seven o'clock P. M. the last hand is putting to the Inventory of the Artillery; some little things yet remain to be completed on board the Transports, and a small portion of the Pilot Bread that is to form a part of the rations for the Troops is unfinished. the consideration of the above facts leads me to conclude that on monday or tuesday the 16th or 17th instant, it will be in my power to deliver the Province of West Florida to Your Excellency in the place already designated, and at 10 o'clock A. M. On Saturday the 14th I will determine whether the delivery is to take place on monday or tuesday. Previously to the hour I have pointed out, all the Garrison shall be embarked, except a guard of thirty men and a Lieutenant, who are to remain in the Government House until the delivery, and that [in?] the principal point or Guard House, consisting of the same number, which is to be relieved by the United States Troops, as soon as I make you the delivery.

It only remains for me to agree with Your Excellency on the perfect necessity that there is, in case the expedition, owing to the weather, should not be able after getting the Troops on board, to leave the harbour for some days, if the rations consumed by them during that time out of the number of the 17 allowed them for the voyage being replaced on board on the account of the United States, or of their being furnished fresh, on the same account during their continuance in the Bay. That the Deserters whom we may have on either side from day to day be religiously restored by Your Excellency and myself, without the necessity of mutual reclamations, but on the express condition that by the very act of being returned, the corporal punishment which is considered due to the crime, be on either part remitted to them.

I remain with the truest sentiments of friendship,

To Governor Callava.[1]

Manuel's, July 12, 1821.

Sir, Late last night I received Your Excellency's letter of the 11th dated at 7 in the evening. I had duly received Yours of the 10th instant, and considering its tenor and your former pledge that in four days or six at furthest after the arrival of the Transports you would deliver possession of West Florida and its dependencies, It was with great surprize and

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy). The outburst of impatience in this letter was the beginning of harsh feeling between Jackson and Callava. By nature he was not the man to put up with the delays of the Spaniard. This last delay was trivial in itself, but it broke a calm already threatened by the whirlwind.

astonishment that I read in your letter of the 11th instant the following paragraph—" From all this I conclude that on monday or tuesday the 16th or 17th I can deliver the Province of West Florida to Your Excellency in the place already designated at 10 o'clock A. M. On saturday the 14th I will determine for Your Excellency whether the delivery is to be monday or tuesday ".

At eleven o'clock A. M. on the 9th instant, the Transports with the Garrison of St. Marks arrived in the Bay of Pensacola, were reported to me, and on the same day the 9th instant, I reported the same to you, and in the last paragraph of my letter requested you would name a day and hour for the delivery of possession of the Province. In your answer to my letter on the 10th instant you say " Your Excellency may rest assured that now in the shortest possible time, this Province shall be delivered to you, and that *tomorrow* I will appoint the day according to what I have said to you ". In your letter of the 11th you say on the 14th you will determine whether the delivery shall be made on monday or tuesday. I am constrained to say that this is not the candour and promptness I had a right to expect from Your Excellency's former pledges that in four or six days at furthest after the arrival of the Transports, the Province of West Florida should be delivered to me, nor is it in accordance with that frankness which I had a right to look for, from your letter of the 10th instant; the Transports (being the last) bringing the Garrison of St. Marks, arrived at 11 o'clock A. M. of the 9th instant, the whole time agreeably to your promise of four or six days in which the Province shall be delivered to me, will have elapsed at 11 o'clock A. M. of the 15th instant.

I have used the utmost frankness with Your Excellency in all our correspondence. It becomes me now to speak with the same frankness. My Government had the most possitive assurance from the King, your master, through his minister at Washington, that no unnecessary delay should take place in the delivery of the Floridas. Notwithstanding this, the Hornet was detained at the Havana upwards of one month [after] she arrived. I have your pledge that within four or six days at furthest after the arrival of the Transports, possession shall be delivered. On sunday the 15th at 11 o'clock A. M. this time expires, and I shall expect the pledge given by you to be exactly performed. I have on a former occasion informed you of the great expense and inconvenience the United States have encountered by the unlooked for delay already experienced; that we are paying heavy demurrage on our Transports which cannot be permitted any longer. I therefore consider it my duty explicitly to state to you that unless your Troops are embarked within the time for which I hold your pledge, The Transports will be immediately after discharged from the service of the United States, unless a tender in money be made of the daily demurrage on the two Transports, on which they shall be detained two days and no longer.

The subject of the rations has long since been put to rest. Every thing was offered and done on my part for your accomodation, and as it concerns the ration, I have your approbation of the whole, and Major Staun-

ton has reported to me the full and entire satisfaction on your part. The subject with me is closed. Yesterday Major Staunton reported to me that every thing on his part was complied with and ready, except the Inventory of Ordnance, which was to be made out by your Officers, that he went on the 11th instant to Barancas for the purpose of completing the same, but found that Your Officers had made out no Inventory by which he could compare the Ordnance or Ordnance stores, that this was postponed until the Inventory should be made, and that on his part he is ready at any moment to complete the business.

I have no powers to treat about deserters. All American deserters have been disgracefully discharged—there are no deserters of yours in my camp, it is contrary to Law to enlist them. No American Citizen will be allowed to embark with the Spanish Troops on board the Transports.

I hope, Sir, as harmony has accompanied us thus far in the performance of our respective duties, that it may continue to exist between us to the close of our Official transactions and that you will with that promptness which characterizes the soldier and agreeably to your Letter of the 10th instant, on the receipt of this name a day and hour, " within the four or six days, at furthest, after the arrival of the Transports ", on which you will deliver possession of West Florida and its dependencies. I had hoped after receiving yours of the 10th that instead of a long letter, nothing more could have been necessary on my part, but a mere acknowledgement of the receipt of Yrs of the 11th instant.

Relying with full confidence on your pledge, I yesterday moved my Troops to Galvez Spring,[2] to be in readiness to take possession of Pensacola and the Barancas, where on this day I shall join them. At this place we will remain until I shall receive your answer.

I am Sir, with great respect

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation

Pensacola, July 13, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, With the greatest regret and surprize, I received yesterday at seven o'clock in the evening Your Excellency's warm communication, which in my opinion, without meaning any wrong to Your Excellency, is as wanting in justice as it is inapplicable to the existing circumstances between individuals of two nations who have just terminated their differences by solemn Treaty.

In that communication I find my good faith sensibly attacked, as also the regularity of my proceedings, which indeed speak for itself, but which I never have nor ever could have supposed would be questioned by any one. Since however for my misfortune this has happened to me today, I proceed to reply to Your Excellency in a manner conformable to the frankness of my disposition, the justice of my cause and the spirit of friendship and harmony which direct all my sentiments and operations.

[2] Jackson himself seems to have gone there the next day. It was about two miles out from Pensacola.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

It is true that I stated to Your Excellency in my Letter of the 22nd of June last, that as soon as the Garrison of St. Marks should arrive at this place and the Transports should be ready, I should consider four or at farthest six days sufficient for the delivery, and for the embarkation of the Baggage, Troops, and other individuals.

That free declaration from the moment it was made depended on the future for its accomplishment: it was dictated solely by the desire to satisfy in the best faith, the early instances of Your Excellency made to a Chief, whom Your Excellency cannot but know is bound by his duty to superintend and regulate the complete and final adjustment of accounts of the different Departments of a Province and of its Offices; to remove them with their incumbents and the families of the latter, not in the disorder which might be expected on the approach of an enemy, but with that decorum and regularity which belongs to a state of Peace and which are usual even among uncivilized Nations.

Said declaration rested on futurity, and on that account was liable to those accidents which render it impossible to count a moment of that time which is to come, to those occurrences and events which the power of man cannot controul. In spite of all these, however, the epoch fixed, from the impulse of candour and the best desire to give satisfaction, has happily not been disregarded.

The term mentioned by me was understood to commence when the Transports should be ready, and these were not ready when I wrote to Your Excellency on the 10th and on the 11th, nor were they so yesterday, nor are they today; utensils are still wanting which the Troops will require on their passage; a portion of the Pilot-Bread deficient, which is to form a part of the ration on board. And on whose part did the failure occur? not on mine; for I ordered it to be made at my own expence from the moment that major Stanton refused, when requested, to have the twenty five barrels of Flour which he allowed as a part of the ration, made up into Pilot-bread, (as the Spanish Soldier unaccustomed to work up his Flour, would in fact have been without bread on board) and that Your Excellency may the more clearly perceive the desire which animated me for the attainment of the earliest evacuation of this Province, knowing that the Baker employed for the Spanish Troops, could not work it up within the time and with the promptitude which I wished, I requested every individual of that occupation in Town to undertake a part, offering them a gratuity over and above their compensation. Since then every thing is not ready on board the Transports to day, as is the fact, (for some Utensils are now making under the direction of Major Stanton) and since from there being no mechanics in this place, I have procured a civil functionary to assist in the completion of them, it is therefore as clear as the light of day, that Your Excellency's complaints of me, and consequent disposition to give me real offence, are founded only in imagination, and since the time, which Your Excellency deals out to me with as sparing a hand as would suit a person going to execution, were estimated by me at four or six days at furthest from the time the Transports should be ready. Having now shewn Your Excellency how

little need there was of so great urgency, I have to inform you that the Garrison of Apalache arrived effectively at this port at 11 or 12 o'clock on the morning of the 9th, and that in speaking of days, not hours, it is usual to count the time between the dawn of one day and that of the next, more especially on occasions like the present; the 9th therefore ought not to be taken into account; on the other hand, it must be remembered, that I requested, nay entreated most earnestly that the vessels should be speedily unloaded, and my anxiety even prompted me to cause the provisions for my Troops to be landed on the 10th in the rain, at the risk of losing them, and although there was no absolute necessity for it; I also solicited the return of the same vessels to the Barancas to unload the munitions of War, that they might be placed in the Store-house and included in due time in the Inventory.

If on the 11th I had announced to Your Excellency the day and hour for the delivery of this Province, I did so not only without the Transports being ready at the time of my writing; but even then in the hope with which I flattered myself of being able to anticipate a day, and being in doubt whether the time would permit every thing to be in readiness to put the Troops on board, and therefore to prevent confusion being introduced into an operation which requires time and care, I relied on having it in my power on Saturday to determine the day and hour in question. That I have aimed at pursuing the shortest methods for the accomplishment of this business is remarked with astonishment by all who are aware how indefatigable myself and those under my orders to whom the charge of winding up the affairs of the Departments under their care has been assigned, have been in our exertions. That in order to shorten the time of the delivery I have expended my own money to provide utensils for the Transports; I have given definite orders to the Spanish Officer commissioned to act with Major Stanton, should any difficulties present themselves to the latter, on the subject of furnishing for the Transports any articles which may be essential to the comfortable accomodation of the Troops of this Garrison during the passage, not to contest the point, but to proceed instantly to put them on board at my private expence; without discussing with Major Stanton the question of his obligation to furnish them or giving him to understand that they were required of him. That notwithstanding a severe indisposition I have laboured night and day, regarding unnecessarily as a secondary consideration the preservation of my existence, is a most sacred truth, as also, that at this time I have experienced three relapses, and that I have had, and have not at present a person to supply my place; that the speedy arrival of the moment for the delivery of this Province interests myself more nearly even than Your Excellency, is not less true, as in the present state of my health, the fatigue of mind and body, might, were that moment deferred much longer, conduct me to my Grave.

The Inventory's not being made out on Major Stanton's arrival, did not proceed, as Your Excellency seems to think, from negligence on the part of the Spanish Officer of Artillery, for as I have stated to you in my letter of the 30th of June last, that the Inventory should be made out

by the Spanish Commandant of Artillery, in conjunction with Major Stanton, the concurrence of both was necessary in proceeding to make it. I had given directions to the said Commandant accordingly; and so far from the delay having been occasioned by him, that delay was to be attributed to Stanton, for having gone to the Barancas with that object, he ought to have united with the Commandant for the purpose of making it, each one in his own language on a view of all the Articles. Had this been the case, we should not be under the necessity of making new confrontations, and wasting that time which Your Excellency counts out to me by minutes so scrupulously exact, and which is so necessary to myself and to my Subalterns for the discharge of other pressing duties.

As to unnecessary delay on the delivery of West Florida, I know of none: The Treaty stipulates that that event is to take place by the 22d of August counting from date to date, or sooner if possible.

On the 10th of June I received the orders for the delivery of this Province previously to the 22d of August. There were 72 days remaining; by making the delivery after 37 have elapsed, I think I have complied faithfully with whatever promises may have been made by His Catholic Majesty's Minister, who though always bound to observe the same in good faith, must still have some portion of the accomplishment to be regulated by the particular circumstances in which the Commandants find themselves placed.

I assure Your Excellency upon my honour and by whatever is most sacred, that in this correspondence nothing is further from my wish than to cause you the slightest offence or dissatisfaction but permit me to say like a soldier as I have been from my youth up to this day, that I view with the greatest surprize under the circumstances in which we find ourselves, the violent aspect of the following words which occur in Your Excellency's communication placed there perhaps in a moment of passion "I consider it my duty explicitly to inform you, that unless your Troops are embarked within the time for which I hold your pledge, the Transports shall be immediately after dismissed, unless a tender is made of the demurrage upon the two Transports, in which case they will be detained two days and no longer". If the force of the reasons with which I have explained my conduct to Your Excellency does not suffice to convince you of its candour and correctness, Your Excellency may authorize them to come to my house, to receive from me the money which has been allowed as the daily demurrage, and for the two days which you indicate, it will be punctually paid; this concerns myself since Your Excellency exacts it, and it also concerns me not to recede, nor will I recede an atom from the path of my duties, and it is for you in my opinion to consider upon the other points, and to come to such determination thereon as may be most agreeable to you.

On Tuesday the 17th instant at 10 o'clock in the morning I will deliver to Your Excellency the Province under my charge in the Government House. When I proposed to Your Excellency to agree upon the mutual restoration of the deserters, I thought that the reason of the thing carried with it sufficient weight, but since Your Excellency does not think the

circumstances sufficiently strong to authorize an agreement on this matter, it must rest with Your Excellency's pleasure.

Should the Troops when embarked, be forced to remain in the Bay, the wind and weather preventing their egress, I will be at the expence of their maintenance, as they are under my charge and I am acquainted with Your Excellency's views on the subject.

I must beg of Your Excellency that these unpleasant discussions may cease, since prudence in every point of view requires that they should be avoided.

God preserve Your Excellency many Years.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Galvez Spring, July 13 ,1821.

Sir, I have this evening received Your Excellency's letter of today in answer to mine of the 12th instant. I heartily join with you in wishing that there may be an end of these unpleasant discussions. Nothing is more sincerely desired by me than an amicable and harmonious termination of the Commission entrusted to us.

Your Excellency tells me, that you have been a soldier from your cradle. such has also been my lot, and I have never failed, Sir, to comply with my promise. It was from my knowledge of your being a Soldier, that I looked for that frankness which appertains to the character of a Soldier, and it was this which occasioned my surprize, on finding, that notwithstanding Your Excellency's promise, often alluded to, and your express dictation in your letter of the 10th that on the day following a day should be named for the delivery of the Province, instead of doing so, Your Excellency's letter of the 11th informed me that on Saturday the 14th one of two days, (both beyond the time understood as the latest) would be fixed upon. This was a mode of proceeding which I could not understand. Had Your Excellency thought proper to say to me, that from unexpected difficulties, from causes over which human power could have no controul; Had Your Excellency stated to me, one of the reasons urged in your letter of today, I should have felt myself as much bound by a spirit of liberality to acquiesce, as under the circumstances to insist on a fulfilment of Your Excellency's pledge.

Since, however, Your Excellency has been pleased to name a day positively, and unconditionally, to wit, on tuesday the 17th instant at 10 o'clock A. M. at the Government House of Pensacola, for the delivery of the Province; I am satisfied and wave the demand of demurrage on the vessels and which would not have been made, had not Your Excellency's letter of the 11th in my opinion, deviated from the course I had a right to expect from Your Excellency.

With respect to the exertions Your Excellency has made for the speedy delivery of the Province and the promptitude displayed in our intercourse, I have never called them in question; on the contrary, on several occasions, I have borne testimony to them, until the unpleasant difference arose between us, and which I hope is now satisfactorily settled.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

In justice to Major Stanton I must state to Your Excellency, that agreeably to my instructions, and his report to me every thing has been done, over and above the liberal construction given to the Treaty by the President, conducive to the comfort of the Troops. I am informed that the Flour was delivered more than fifteen days ago, in order that it might be prepared in such manner as Your Excellency should think proper and which met Your Excellency's approbation. The Transports, I am assured by those on whom I place the most implicit reliance, are fitted up with a degree of care and attention unexampled. There is no doubt, that were they to remain a month longer, something might still be thought of so as to encrease their comforts. They have been reported to me ready, and not only so, but much superior in every respect to what on ordinary occasions, would be considered sufficient by the United States for the transportation of their Troops. I think it unnecessary to add any thing on this subject, and should not have alluded to it, but for the sake of the Officer, who is in some manner implicated by Your Excellency.

I am with Sentiments of Sincere Respect,

To Governor Callava.[1]

Galvez Spring, July 13, 1821.

Sir, Your second note of the 13th instant has also been received, I had hoped that the subject of which it treats, had been well understood, and also put to rest some time since by my Letter of the 23d ulto. I stated to you in possitive terms "that I was instructed by the President of the United States, to insist that the Cannon belonging to the Fortifications be left on them, and to protest most solemnly against their removal, as an act on Your Excellency's own responsibility, contrary to, and in violation of the 2nd Article of the Treaty." "That an Inventory of the Cannon, munitions of War etc. etc. belonging to the Fortifications, and signed by the proper officer authorized to do so, with a remark that the said Cannon, Ordnance etc. etc. belonging to the Fortifications were claimed by you, but left in my possession, subject to any future disposition which might be made of them by our respective Governments."

In your letter of the 25th of June you acknowledge our understanding on the subject to be the same; In your letter of 28th June, a caption, or heading of this Inventory is prepared by you and approved by
in my letter of the 29th with this provision, that the Inventory as well as heading is to be made out in English as well as Spanish. From all this it is clear, that the Cannon and Ordnance Stores appertaining to the Fortifications are to remain on them, and the Fortifications to continue as they were at the time of the execution of the Treaty, until the question of right be determined between our respective Governments. From these facts which cannot be mistaken, it follows, that when an Inventory is taken it must set forth what kind of Cannon, and whether it be good or not, whether fit or unfit for service, that the facts may appear to our Governments; if it be decided that the Ordnance pass to the United States, under the term *Fortifications,* as used, then the Inventory will be useless; but

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

should it be decided that Spain has a right to take them from the Fortifications, it is important that each piece and its quality should be described, so that no dispute may arise about their identity.

The Notes made by Major Stanton are therefore proper, and should be subjoined to the Inventory, both in English and Spanish, made out and signed by Your Excellency and myself. Major Stanton having made the remarks on the margin, an Inventory can be made out in Spanish and English in two hours, and ought to have been prepared long since. There is ample time now to prepare them, and I trust it will be done, that every thing may appear as it truly is, and that justice may be done in the case to ourselves and to our respective Governments. The specification of the condition and quality is for your advantage, in case they should receive any injury in our hands, for certainly, it would be very singular, that they should remain on the Fortifications, and no use permitted to be made of them, such a possession we could not receive, for until otherwise decided they must be considered by the U. S. as appertaining to the Fortifications.

With sentiments of respect, I am y mo. o. s.

To Governor Callava.[1]

Galvez Spring, July 15, 1821,
10 o'clock, A. M.

Sir, I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's two letters of the 14th instant, which only reached me this morning, and my translator being in Pensacola, has detained until this time my answer.

I am happy to find that our arduous duties are brought to a close to our mutual satisfaction, and in that spirit of amity so sincerely desired by me, and so desirable for the attainment of the object of the Treaty.

Your Excellency will accept my assurance, that if there be any thing in my letters calculated to wound your feelings in the course of our correspondence, such was not my intention; and from the anxiety I have witnessed on the part of Your Excellency for the discharge of your duties with fidelity to your King, I am confident you will make due allowance for the earnestness on my part to gratify the just expectation of my Government and Country.

I remain Sir, with sentiments of respect

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.

"Sunday Evening" July 15, 1821.

Genl Jackson with compliments to Doctor Brunaugh informs him that the Genl will be in Pensacola to breakfast on tuesday at half after six A. M, and a number of the officers of the army as well as the officers of the Navy from the Hornett—will the Doctor have the goodness to aid Lt Donelson in making the necessary preparations for Breakfast, and also dinner. The scripture says return good for evil, in this feeling I intend asking the Govr. and his secrataries to dine with me, he is as I sup-

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

pose, very sore, and if he was devoid of urbanity I mean to shew him I at least possess magnanimity by which I will heap coals upon his head. had I agreed to the ceremony this day proposed by him we would have had no time for dinner, but as useless ceremony is a great tax upon me, I have waved all that could be dispensed with and I suppose we will get through about eleven oclock and have the star spangled banner waving over our dinner. I have been compelled today to respond to three long letters. my answers were short.

If your duties will permit I would be happy to see you some time tomorrow, I would ask you to dine, but it would be a tax upon your appetite. The Genl has not slept much this two nights—he was obliged night before last to write untill after one oclock, and the musquitoes, disturbed him last [night], this night he expects to sleep as he has a barr, and hopes his correspondence is closed with his Excellency

Governor Callava to Jackson.[1]

Translation.

Pensacola, July 16, 1821.

Most Excellent Sir, On my replying today to Your Excellency's communications of yesterday, which are still before me, a termination must necessarily ensue, in a spirit of ingenuous cordiality, to those differences of opinion between us, which are rather to be attributed to accident and misconception than to unfriendly dispositions, which I am far from believing can in any case be harbored by persons of the character of Your Excellency, and which Your Excellency ought to consider as being equally remote from me. I am about to speak to Your Excellency with the same frankness candour and ingeniousness which I should use towards one of my greatest and best friends, and I therefore beg Your Excellency will listen to me with calmness and indulgence.

That a mutual misconception of our opinion is the cause of the unpleasant feelings of Your Excellency as well as of my own, there can be no doubt, and the pain which they occasion both of us, is such as men of worth experience, to whose conduct a different respect and coloring is given, either by calumny, or by mistakes, or misunderstanding from those to which it is entitled.

To begin the recapitulation of our proceedings, Your Excellency addressed me from Montpelier, notifying me of your having been appointed by your Government to receive this Province; you then requested of me information on certain points, connected with the delivery of the same by me, and I replied to Your Excellency, that I could not at that time enter upon the subject as I neither had orders nor authorization, but offered to satisfy you as soon as they should be received, as in fact I did the moment they arrived, and that without having seen your credentials, and actuated solely by good faith; this circumstance is an unequivocal proof of the ingenuousness of my disposition, for Your Excellency cannot but observe that previously to taking that step, I ought to have seen your credentials.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

Your Excellency gave me notice of your arrival at Manuels, requesting me to name beforehand a time and place for our interview, exhibition of our credentials, etc. etc. and I replied to Your Excellency, that you might whenever it suited your convenience exhibit yours to me in quality of acting commandant of West Florida. I am persuaded that Your Excellency on receiving this intimation from me, ought to have visited me in person with Your credentials, an honour which I should have been warranted in returning immediately; Your Excellency did not do so, thereby treating me in a manner by no means suitable to the real and effective considerations which belonged to my station in West Florida.

In my capacity of Governor of a Province, which at that time was subject to Spain, and not to the United States, it was my duty to support my station with all the circumspection due to it; for what I might have done as Jose Callava as often as I pleased, the pretensions of my Nation would not permit me to think of; because according to the Etiquette necessarily observed amongst nations, I should be subjected to a humiliation in appearance indecorous in making those previous advances to Your Excellency which of right should first proceed from the part of Your Excellency, from the sole circumstance of my being the chief of West Florida, and of Your Excellency coming from without.

Your Excellency continued to communicate with me without having presented your credentials, and although by a deviation from my most important obligations, whereby I exposed myself to a considerable respons[ibility], I gave orders for the delivery to Your Excellency of a military point, viz, the Fort of St. Marks of Apalache, for the delicacy of my own feelings made me even prefer my own ruin to putting Your Excellency under the necessity of shewing me your credentials, and such is the course I have pursued until the present day; this is my undisguised opinion, and here is the disagreement between us; Your Excellency believes one of two things, either that at the moment Your Excellency arrived at Manuels, I ought to have left this place to pay my respects to Your Excellency at your dwelling, or that I should leave my house and meet Your Excellency in some other place.

I am persuaded that I have out of complaisance to Your Excellency waived all the points of etiquette which were my due; and in doing so have incurred a real responsibility; Your Excellency considers yourself slighted by me, when it is a fact that I am incapable of being wanting in respect, I will not say to a person of Your Excellency's high standing but even to the most miserable and wretched of mankind; I believe it to be equally true that you are incapable of wilfully and intentionally disregarding what is due to me; but since it is no longer possible for us to correct the error, whether it be mine or yours, of which let those who are impartial judge, far be it from us to permit the occurrence to occasion new explanations, or the slightest resentment, and I hope it may be the foundation of a cordial friendship between us for life, which I desire to promote, not only with Your Excellency but with all those who are worthy of yours.

It is true that Your Excellency's Officers were sent to me, but they came as bearers of Letters, and not for the express purpose of complimenting me: some of them moreover came empowered to treat with me on subjects which would perhaps have been more properly arranged by ourselves in a personal interview. If your Excellency had not desired me from the time I wrote my second letter, to deliver my communications to Captain Call that he might forward them to you, I should have sent them by an Officer; the first of mine was sent by one of the frontier guards, not only from the circumstance of their being on duty at the Govt. House I could rely on a prompt despatch, but also because they are usually charged with the duty of carrying letters to and from a Province.

My note of yesterday on the subject of the ceremonial of the delivery was dictated with the best faith, and had not a point of mere etiquette for its object. Do me the honour to peruse the enclosed small volume, the part contained between the pages 101 and 119, and Your Excellency will find the mode in which every thing was conducted on a similar occasion—viz—the delivery of Louis[i]ana by France to the United States. Wm. C. C. Claiborne, and Genl. James Wilkinson, were Commissioners for the receipt and Mr. Lausatt on the part of France for the delivery. I hope Your Excellency will from this be convinced how erroneous the opinion is, which Your Excellency has unhappily formed of me, not only in this last affair, but in all my correspondence.

My wretched state of health does not permit me to write any more at this moment: but I hope in the course of today to have one of the highest gratifications which I shall have experienced in my life, and that is, if we should not be threatened with rain this eve[n]ing, (for a wetting would be sure to prove fatal to my existence) to have the Glory of embracing Your Excellency in Your encampment.

God preserve Your Excellency many Years

To Governor Callava.[1]

Galvez Spring, July 16, 1821,
half past 2 o'clock P. M.

Sir, I have this moment received Your Excellency's letter of this date. I have not time to respond to it fully—let it suffice that I do not speak the spanish language (nor as I am informed) does Your Excellency speak the English; but I am persuaded that the misunderstanding must have existed from the want of a proper interpretation of our real thoughts as expressed in our correspondence.

Let me assure you, long since I should have met you with pleasure in Pensacola, had I not conceived that it was not your wish. Your Letter received at Manuels informing me of your indisposition, determined me to visit you without ceremony in the feelings of the frankness and harmony of a Soldier; but your letter of 19 June (as translated) altered my determination, for altho' without ceremony with a soldier and as I was told you were also; yet when I was induced to believe that an undue condescension was expected, I was compelled to the course which

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

I pursued. My feelings as a soldier, I suppose correspond with yours, death before an undue condescension It is what I ask of no one It is what I will not render to any.[2]

It will afford me great pleasure to meet you in my Camp, I am without a horse, or I should meet you and conduct you; but I send my nephew, Lt. A. J. Donaldson, of the Corps of Engineers and my Aid de Camp, to conduct you to the Camp, where you will meet with a cordial welcome and where I shall be glad to see you should the weather permit; but be assured, I have no wish that you should expose your health if the weather should prove inclement, on this event. I will be in Pensacola early to-morrow morning to breakfast with Mrs. Jackson, whom our unfortunate misunderstanding has prevented me from visiting since she has been in Pensacola. Should I not see you this evening from the inclemency of the weather, will you with the frankness and friendship of a soldier, breakfast with Mrs. J. and myself tomorrow morning at half after Six or Seven, when I shall have the pleasure of introducing you to my Officers, who know well how to appreciate a soldiers merit, and all who have known you, appreciate you as such.

You will have the goodness to inform me through my Nephew, whether or not you will breakfast with me on tomorrow at the appointed time, should you not meet me this evening in Camp. Should we not meet each other before 10. o'clock tomorrow on the stair case, I shall then take you by the hand as a soldier and friend, and I am certain after further acquaintance we will know how to appreciate each other.

I am Sir, with great respect,

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Pensacola, July 17, 1821.

Sir, Mine of the 29th of June advised you of the occurrences to that date.

I have now to inform you that at Ten O.Clock of this day, the Province of West Florida with its dependancies etc. was delivered to me in due form by Don Jose Callava, the Commissioner on the part of the King of Spain. I shall take the earliest opportunity to communicate the circumstances preceeding and attending the surrender; suffice it to say, for the

[2] Jackson thought he had not been treated with due courtesy by Callava. In accepting the latter's plans for the ceremony of surrender, he said in a letter to Callava of July 15: "Your Excellency in your letter of the 22nd of June after having had the interview with Col. Gadsden which produced his letter to Your Excellency of the 18th of June, and after your letter to me of the 16th June, Your Excellency declined the interview proposed by me. Your note received at Manuels, the evening of my arrival made known to me your indisposition, which with me was a sufficient apology, although a stranger, and my wish was to wave all unnecessary ceremony, and meet you with the feelings and promptness of a soldier, waving all etiquette due to me as a stranger and to my rank. I was satisfied with your good wishes as expressed and of your desire to see me as soon as your health was restored. We have concluded the duties assigned us thus far in harmony without ever having had the pleasure of seeing each other, or I, one of your Officers; my Staff and Officers, have been instructed to shew to you all the respect due to your rank and situation, and I know them from long experience not to fail in the execution of my orders, or to be wanting in the respect due to others."

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

present, that it was accomplished in the most friendly and harmonious manner, although at one moment, from a misapprehension, on both sides, I did not flatter myself with so happy an issue.

Some Ordinances for the better Government of the Town and Province, and in fact which are absolutely necessary, have been prepared. Copies of these, as well as a report of my whole proceedings as Commissioner for receiving possession of Florida, will be forwarded to you as soon as possible, and am satisfied they will be found strictly within the powers with which I am clothed by the President.

None of the Officers appointed by the President for this Province, have yet joined me: whether any of those appointed for East Florida have arrived, I am not certainly informed.

With great consideration and respect,

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Pensacola, July 18, 1821.

D'r Genl, On yesterday I recd possession of this place with the whole of West Florida and its dependencies. Thrice have I seen the Spanish coulours lowered and the american coulours waving over this place, and my fatigue has been greater this, than at any other period. I am engaged establishing some rules and regulations by which a good police may be established, and the health of the place preserved. its police is wretched, the whole town inundated, it has rained for two months, and continues still every day to rain.

The ladies are in good health and spirits, the transports under convoy of the Hornett are still in view, and the parting friends, cast a melancholy gloom over the place. however it will be a momentary thing, and I will have the pleasure to be enabled to lay the foundation of permanent happiness to the people, and lasting prosperity to the city. however I am contented that this will terminate my political career, and that I will have the pleasure to see you at your house in all the month of October next, fully satisfied with the Hermitage to spend the rest of my days. I am anxious to hear from you to be advised whether any engagement for my place near you has been made with Genl Brahan, if not what you have determined on as the best plan to be adopted under the act of congress and the instructions of the sec of the treasury. present me to Mr James Jackson and say to him if he will reach here in September I will return with him in Octr. present Mrs J and myself affectionately to your lady and sweet little family, accept for yourself our best wishes. I am with sincere friendship

your mo, obt. servt,

Samuel R. Overton to Jackson.

Nashville, August 1, 1821.

. . . . Whilst in the city of Philadelphia, I learned pretty distinctly, that the dominant party in Pennsylvania are determined to run you as

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

a candidate for the next Presidency. I was informed, from a source, which might be considered authentic, that the leading politicians of that state, had been for some time, and were still engaged in collecting materials upon the subject, by which to ascertain the chances of success, and to authorize giving you their decided support. I believe they have become satisfied, that you have more popularity, and greater claims to the office, than any other individual who can be presented to the people of the United States. They have, consequently determined to give you their suffrages at the next election. It was stated to me, that amongst the letters written to different parts of the Union, in order to embody public sentiment upon this subject, one was addressed to Genl. Adair, to which he replied, that you were very popular in Kentucky, and that he was unequivocally friendly to your election.

Such circumstances as these, connected with the great augmentation of your popularity, in consequence of the investigation of your military conduct, in Congress, is strongly calculated to induce the belief, that your pretentions to the Presidency, are more imposing and flattering than any of those who are now seeking the patronage of the people for that station. If you are once brought before the people of the United States, in this attitude, and under favorable auspices, I think very little doubt can be entertained of your election. I think as little doubt can be entertained too, that you should consent to be considered a candidate for that office. If the people believe that you can render them important services in the capacity of President of the Union, they ought to be gratified, and you should acquiesce in the acceptance of their suffrages. This course would not only be dictated by those obligations which you owe to the people, but also by those due to yourself. I wish you, however, General, not to misunderstand me on this occasion. It is not my wish or aim to perform the office of dictator in this matter; but only desire what I have advanced, to be received as suggestions for consideration. Having accidentally, arrived at a knowledge of the future operations of your friends at the Eastward, I deemed it my bounden duty to communicate to you the result, to the end that you might anticipate events, and be properly prepared to meet them. I have no doubt your friends calculate with sanguine expectations that you will yield to their wishes; it is for you, after weighing all the considerations which should enter into the estimate, to decide the question. . . . .

Major Henry Stanton to Jackson.[1]

Pensacola, August 2, 1821.

Sir, In compliance with the wishes expressed in your Excellency's note of this morning directing me to state particularly to your Excellency my understanding as to the conditions on which provisions were furnished to the Spanish Troops for their subsistance from this place to the Havana: I have the honor to inform your Excellency, that I have, in the frequent conversations with your Excellency on the subject, and by your Excy's letter of 6th of July understood distinctly that it had been agreed between

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).

yourself and Governor Callava, that the provisions, not being provided for by the 7th article of the late treaty, were to be placed on the same footing with the ordnance left in your Excellency's possession: subject to the future decision of the Governments of Spain and the United States.[2]

In your excellency's instructions to me of the 23rd of June, it was stated that an Inventory of provisions placed on board of the transports would be taken, signed by the officer receiving it; and countersigned by myself. In compliance with this intimation, the enclosed Invoice was transmitted to Govr Callava through Don Manuel Garcié on the 16th of July. It was at the time, my opinion that the form of this Invoice was such as your instructions indicated, but it was not my intention to accept of any receipt until it had been submitted to your Excellency for such amendment, as your Excellency might have thought proper to suggest.

On the morning of the 17th the day of the surrender to the American authorities of West Florida, It was stated to me by Mr Crusat secretary to the Spanish Governor, that as his Excellency was seriously indisposed: and had much business to transact during the morning, he wished to delay the execution of the receipt for the provisions as well as the statement required from him of the number of Troops etc actually embarked on board the transports, until a more convenient moment: when they would be duly executed. It is not possible for me to state to your Excellency the precise terms used by Mr Crusat; but they were such as to create a confident belief that the unsettled concerns alluded to in our conversation, would be adjusted agreeably to the understanding which existed between your Excellency and Gov Callava; and to the satisfaction of all concerned. This conversation; and request was reported by me to your Excellency; and the delay desired by Mr Crosat, granted.

A copy of the instrument furnished by Gov Callava relative to the provisions is herewith enclosed.

I have the honor to be

[2] Jackson had two quarrels with Callava. One was over the provisions to be furnished the Spanish officials and soldiers while being transported to Havana, a point on which the treaty of cession said nothing. The other, a furious quarrel, arose over the refusal of the Spaniard to release some legal papers demanded by Jackson as necessary in a law suit then pending. This letter deals with the first of these controversies. To understand it properly it is necessary to read the following note from José Y. Cruzat, Callava's secretary, to Major Stanton, acting for Jackson, dated Aug. 1, 1821:

"*Dear Sir,* I have translated the Inventory, which, together with a private note, you sent to me yesterday, to be signed by the late Governor of this Province, Dn José Callava. That gentleman, after having taken a full and accurate view of the subject, has directed me to make you the following answer.

"That by the communications of H. C. Majesty's Minister Plenipotentiary near the Govmt. of the U. States, as well as through the channels of the Capt. Genl. of the Island of Cuba, he (said Governor) has been officially informed that the Provisions for the transportation of the Spanish Garrison from this place to the Havanna, were to be furnished by the U. States; that he has not been entrusted with the reason or consideration for which they have been furnished, and consequently that in no document is he at liberty to mention any thing more than that they have in effect been furnished by the U. S.

"That taking for his guide the facts above stated, and confining himself to that line of conduct which it is the duty of a Subaltern to observe, he has extended the Document from its simplest form to the utmost limits of which the state of the case would admit, and that he cannot add, substract, or alter, a single word in it. He regrets extremely that it is not in his power to gratify H. E. the General, by making in that document the transformation requested by him."

To Governor Callava.[1]

Pensacola, August 3, 1821.

Sir, It was with extreme regret that yesterday I learned from the report in writing, of Major Stanton, that a receipt was refused for the provisions furnished, and for the transportation of Civil Officers, their families and servants, in fulfilment of the agreement entered into between us, previously to the delivery of this Province to the United States, as will appear by our correspondence, and which receipt was to have been executed at the same time, that the special stipulation respecting the Ordonnance was complied with on my part. The signing the receipt was postponed at the solicitation of your Secretary, Mr. Cruzat to Major Stanton, on the morning of the 17th, that Officer having the Inventory prepared and Mr Cruzat stating as the reason for this application for postponement, Your Excellency's ill health, and press of business at that moment. A pledge was given by Mr Cruzat that this Inventory and receipt should be given by you at any time when your health was sufficiently restored, agreeably to the understanding in our correspondence, and satisfactory to me. Relying with great confidence on this assurance and anxious to avoid every thing which could tend to oppress your mind while you were suffering from sickness, I assented to the indulgence requested by Mr Cruzat. But I confess I experienced a disappointment, not a little mortifying, when Major Stanton presented me a receipt in the Spanish Language, which, when translated, I found to be one acknowledging that the Transportation and provisions, agreeably to the 7th Article of the Treaty, stipulating for the Transportation of the Officers and Troops of Spain with their baggage to Havana, had been furnished. I had really at first supposed that this could have been only a mistake, until the Report of Major Stanton to which I have alluded, was made to me.

I will briefly call to Your Excellency's recollection the correspondence and the agreement entered into on the subject; In the Letter which I addressed to your Excellency dated the 30th of April, I spoke of furnishing the Spanish Troops with provisions, *according to the liberal interpretation which the President was disposed to give to the Treaty.* This was of course in expectation that an interpretation equally liberal would be given to the stipulations in favor of the United States under the Second Article. At that time however Your Excellency informed me, that you had no authority to enter into a correspondence with me on the subject of my letter, and at that time the intention of Your Government to place a narrow and literal construction on the Second Article, had not been made known to me.

I was first officially informed of the Orders from Your Government with respect to the Cannon of the Fortifications, when the arrangements were about to be made with you by Captn. Call for the delivery of St Marks. I then addressed you my letter of the 12th,[2] in which you will find these words, " By the 7th Article, to the stipulations of which, I would particularly direct the attention of Your Excellency, the Spanish

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. (copy).
[2] Meaning June 12.

Officers and Troops and their baggage, are *alone* mentioned in the transportation to be furnished. No Notice is taken of provisions for the voyage, of the civil departments, of the families and Servants of the Officers, or of the Arms and accoutrements etc. of the soldiers; yet with as much propriety, and more consistently with the literal construction of the Treaty, may provisions be denied, and transportation for unenumerated per[s]ons and arms of the soldiers be refused, as a Fortress to be deprived of the Cannon belonging to it, forming its batteries, and constituting its principal material of defence."

This letter was delivered to you by Captain Call who was at the same time presented with a letter of instructions and which he was to make known to you in case your orders from your Government on the subject, were such as you could not deviate from.

In pursuance of these instructions, it was stated to you by Captain Call " that as you had required receipts for the Artillery and Stores to be left in deposit at St Marks, subject to the future orders of Yourself and the Spanish Government, *he would require receipts for the provisions and transportation furnished for the Civil Officers to the Island of Cuba*". According to his instructions he was ordered " to state the determination to construe the 7th Article according to its literal signification, allowing transportation for the Officers, soldiers and baggage only, not including their families, civil department or provisions for the voyage "—He was left at liberty to " accede to your proposal, on condition that you likewise receipted for the Transportation furnished for civil Officers, families of Officers, servants and provisions not provided for in the 7th Article of the Treaty. An inventory to be made of the munitions etc. and the receipt to specify that they had been received with the Forts, claimed by the Spanish Commissioner as not included in the cession, but to be held by the American agents, subject to any future disposition which might be adjudged by the respective Governments. The Spanish Commissioner's receipt for provisions, transportation etc. to be given in the same form and distinctly to state to Your Excellency that if Spain claimed the delivery of the one, the American Government would claim payment for the other."

An apparent misunderstanding afterwards occurring with respect to this matter, I thought it necessary in my Letter of the 23d June, in order to prevent all possible mistake, to place before Your Excellency, my understanding of the agreement, by reducing it to the two following distinct propositions.

First—That an inventory of the Cannon, munitions of War etc. belonging to the fortifications ceded, should be taken and signed by the proper Officer authorized to do so; with a remark that the said Cannon, ordonnance etc. were claimed by you, but left in my possession, subject to any future disposition which might be made of them by our respective Governments.

Second. That an Inventory of the Transportation of families of Officers and servants and of provisions placed on board of the Transports for the supply of the Troops on their voyage should be made out by you as furnished by me.

The same letter [ex]pressly declared these propositions, to be the same as contained in my instructions to Captn. Call, and to which I had also referred in my letter of the 17th. In your reply of the 25th you declare that you are "well acquainted with the tenor of the particulars it embraces, and scrupulously so, with the part relative to the Artillery and my orders and instructions on the subject". In the concluding part of the same letter you say "no remark offers itself to you on the circumstance of furnishing me with a Certificate of the number of persons transported, and of the provisions with which they have been supplied by me for their voyage".

In conformity with the foregoing proposition, and explanatory correspondence, I made out a note for Major Stanton directing the mode in which the Inventory and receipt should be drawn, and after urging him for more than ten days to obtain it, what was my surprize when he handed to me the note addressed to him by Mr Cruzat. From that I learn, that Your Excellency has "already [been] informed [by] His Catholic Majestys Minister at Washington and [by][3] the Captain General of Cuba, *that the provisions for the Transportation of the Spanish Garrison from this place to Havana, was to be furnished by the United States,* that the *reason why* they have been furnished, has not been given, and consequently that in no document are you at liberty to mention any thing more than that they have been furnished by the United States" and that [not] a word can be added, subtracted or altered from the receipt you have thought proper to offer.

I cannot conceal the indignation which I experienced at this open disregard of the agreement entered into between us, as well as of the pledge given by Your Secretary Mr. Cruzat to Major Stanton. Anxious however to close the transaction in amity, and feeling confident that the *reason* of the Second proposition in my letter of the 23d, could be sufficiently collected from our correspondence, as well as from the very nature of the proposition itself, I resolved to accept an inventory made out in *strict and literal conformity with that proposition,* acknowledged to be understood by you, and assented to in Your letter of the 25th, leaving out of view my letter of the 12th June, the instructions to Captn. Call of the same date communicated to you and my subsequent references to those instructions, I was content with a compliance with the second proposition just mentioned, *which, by no possibility could have been misunderstood.*

For this purpose, I this day directed my friend Dr. Bronaugh and Major Stanton to call on you and to request you to sign an inventory taken from the words of my letter of the 23d and which I learn with astonishment by their written report you have refused to give, without introducing other matter foreign to it, and which never was the subject of correspondence between us. I forbear, Sir, to express the opinion I entertain of such conduct, the facts which I have stated, speak a language sufficiently strong. When these things shall be made known to my Government and to Yours, I must ask what confidence can be placed in Your Excellency, what in Your Secretary, for requesting time on account of the

[3] Brackets are on MS.

state of your health, giving a pledge that the receipt should be given in a manner satisfactory to me and afterwards regardless of that pledge and of Your Express agreement positively refusing to give it? This conduct can injure no one but Your Excellency and Your Government.

Painful as it is to my feelings, I am compelled to pursue the only course that is left me, and which is, to report the case to my Government as a willful breach of the agreement entered into by you, and therefore rendering null and void the receipt given by me for the Ordonnance, the one being the consideration upon which the other was founded.

This closes my correspondence with Your Excellency on this subject for ever.

I am Sir Yr most Obdt Servt.

To Secretary Adams.

Pensacola, August 15, 1821.

Sir, I enclose you a copy of a Memorial to the President and Directors of the Bank of the U. States, at Philadelphia, which has been generally signed by the respectable citizens of this place.

The original addressed to the President of the Bank of the U. States at Philadelphia, I have taken the liberty of enclosing to you, with a request that you will have it forwa[r]ded.

I have the honor to be Sir,

To Messrs. Walton, Brackenridge, and Miller.[1]

Office of the Executive of Florida,
Pensacola, August 21, 1821.

Gentlemen: Having been officially informed that there are a number of papers or documents in the possession of an individual of the name of Domingo Sousa, of a public nature, and which belong to the office of the alcalde of this town although not delivered with the other documents relating to private property, you are hereby authorized and instructed to proceed to the dwelling of the said Domingo Sousa, and to make a demand of all such papers or documents as may be in his possession. In case the said Sousa should refuse to exhibit and deliver the same, you will immediately report the fact to me in writing.[2]

[1] This brief order opened Jackson's part in the celebrated Vidal case. It is explained in a letter from Jackson to Adams, Aug. 26, 1821, *post,* which with other documents was sent by the President on Jan. 22, 1822, to the House of Representatives, in response to a call by that body. See *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 799-913, in which are many letters not germane to the subject. Callava prepared a protest against his treatment and sent it, with a number of other documents, to the Spanish minister to the United States, who sent them to Secretary Adams with a strong remonstrance. For this series of documents, see *ibid., For. Rel.,* IV. 767-787. Parton (II. 787-792), has entered fully into this incident.

[2] The order of the king of Spain for handing over the provinces included the delivery of "the Archives and Documents which relate directly to the property and Sovereignty of the same two provinces, by placing them at the disposal of the Commissaries or Officers of the United States duly authorized to receive them." And it went on to say: "and all the other papers and the effects which belong to the Nation, and which have not been comprehended and mentioned in the expressed clauses of the Cession, you shall have conveyed and transported to another part of the Spanish possessions, which may be most convenient for the public service."

Dr. James C. Bronaugh to Jackson.

Pensacola, August 23, 1821.

Sir, I conceive it to be my duty to report to you the manner in which Col: G. M. Brooke acted towards Col: Butler Judge Brackenridge and myself when in the discharge of your Orders of yesterday

At about half past 5 OClock last evening we proceed to the House of Don José Callava for the purpose of demanding of him certain papers etc. by your order; but being informed that he was at Col: Brook's, we went to the gate and Judge Brackenridge entered the House for the purpose of informing him, that we had some private business with him, and that it was our wish to see him at his own House. Col: Brooke seeing me near the gate which is on the street several times called to me and requested me to come in, which I declined. He then came to the gate and requested both Col: Butler and myself to walk in, we informed him that we were in the discharge of certain duties and could not and requested him to ask Judge Brackenridge not to delay. He then returned to his House and a few minutes afterwards we were joined by Judge Brackenridge who informed us that Don Callava would neither give up the papers or return to his House and that Col: Brook had declared that no civil process should be served in his House; we then entered the gate and as we proceeded towards the House, Don Jose Callava and six or eight Spanish officers and citizens passed by and we were then accosted by Col: Brooke in the following manner " That he had been extremely badly treated in having his company disturbed—that he acknowledged no authority to arrest a man in his House—that he was astonished at our conduct and that it had been extremely indecorous towards him."

I am sir with gr respect

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Pensacola, August 26, 1821.

Sir, The enclosed documents will advise you of an occurrence, painful to me, but unavoidably necessary, and dictated by the imperious rules of justice, to save the unprotected orphan from being ruined by the most cruel oppression, by the most corrupt, and wicked combination, I ever investigated.[2]

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. Sept. 24, 1821, Daniel Brent, chief clerk of the State Department, acknowledged the receipt of this letter and enclosures, saying that he had sent the original to the Secretary in Boston and a copy of it to the President in Virginia. The letter was printed in 1822 in a report of the Secretary of State (17 Cong., 1 sess., *Ex. Pap.* 42), and reprinted therefrom in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 801-802. It was also published in the *National Intelligencer* (Washington), Sept. 4, 1828, and in various other newspapers.

[2] Dec. 5, 1821, and Jan. 28, 1822, President Monroe sent to Congress large collections of documents relating to Jackson's administration of the office of governor of Florida. The first is in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 740-808, and the second *ibid., Misc.,* II. 799-913. So complete are the collections that the editor has not thought it necessary to include in this work several papers which, otherwise, he should have placed before the reader. The Florida incident is treated in Bassett's *Jackson* (I. 298-317) and in Parton's *Jackson* (II. 614-639). Parton's account, however, loses value to some extent through his tendency to treat the incident in a humorous manner.

In the reestablishment, and resuscitation of the Judiciary in West Florida, and from the various distribution of the Judicial functions, I had indulged the hope, that no cases would occur to compel me to exercise the Judicial powers with which I was invested, by my commission from the President.

I was well aware that much corruption existed in Spanish Judicial proceedings, but still my mind was not prepared to expect such a scene of combined wickedness, and corruption, as has been brought to light by this investigation, and which the enclosed extracts taken from the original documents or records, and certified by the Alcade of Pensacola, exhibit. They relate to the succession, or estate, of Nicholas Maria Vidal, who died in this place about the year 1807, having made his will, leaving persons in this Country his heirs, but who from that time to this day, have never received one cent of their inheritance. It was this case which gave rise to the proceedings alluded to, marked no. 1, and to which I beg leave to refer you.

The Document no. 2, is an abstract of the whole proceedings instituted by the heirs for the recovery of the testamentary papers, and other documents relative to the estate of their deceased Father, and for the recovery of which, I was compelled to exercise my Judicial functions and to take the energetic measures I did, and which were well warranted by the laws of Spain, as well as by those of the United States; and which could alone have preserved to the heirs of Vidal, the evidence of their right of property. Without these records they would have been unable to compel the House of Inerarity and Forbes, the depository and debtor of the estate, to do them right and justice. This act of justice was due to them, by every law human and divine. By the second article of the late Treaty with Spain, this right was expressly guaranteed, and under that Article Col: Callava as the Commissioner of Spain, was bound to deliver those Documents as the evidence of the right of property here, at the time of his surrendering the Country, and with other papers which he did deliver.[3]

It is clearly to be perceived that the influence of John Inerarity, prevented all the decrees of Callava, as well as of his predecessors, in favor of the heirs of Vadal, from being executed; thus exhibiting a Judicial mockery without example. And by the influence and arts of this man (and as some have it, by his gold) the final attempt was made, secretly, to carry away the papers relating to this large estate, by this present shielding Inerarity from all responsibility to the heirs, and enabling him to continue in undisturbed possession of property to a very large amount, so unjustly, corruptly, and fraud[ul]ently obtained.

[3] From the minutes of Callava's examination, in Pensacola, Aug. 22, 1821, in the presence of Governor Jackson, is taken the following:

"Question 1. Were or were not the papers mentioned in a schedule handed to you by H. M. Brackenridge, alcalde of the city of Pensacola, delivered by Domingo Sousa at your house this day to Antoine Fullarat, your major domo; and, if so, at what time of the day?

"Answer. [Translated.] I say that I solemnly protest against the act, which at ten, in the middle of the night, took me from my bed, where I was sick, although I consider myself a Spanish commissioner, appointed by the Spanish Government, under the treaty recently concluded between the said Government and that of the United States, for the

I have reason to believe that Callava would not have presumed to have stood out in contempt of my order, but that he would have delivered the papers when first demanded, nay that he would have directed Domingo Sousa to have done so, had he not been urged to this obstinate resistance, by some of our American Citizens, under the impression that I would not, nay, durst not, commit him for the contempt. This added to the influence which Inerarity had over him, who was continually by his side, and I am convinced urging him to with hold the papers, from a belief that their production would unfold the vilany practised, make him responsible to the heirs, and destroy both his character and that of Callava. It was no doubt this conviction, which caused him to make the involuntary exclamation, (when my order was read to Col. Callava by Col: Butler, and when told on his refusal to deliver the papers, proven to be in his house, that he must appear before me,) that "the die was cast"—yes, he said truly the die was cast, for he must have clearly seen, that the arts, the influence, the wealth, the power, of no individual, not even of Inerarity himself, could any longer obstruct, the pure channels of justice!

I have to regret that the conduct of some of our Officers on this occasion, was highly reprehensible, and that in particular of Judge Fromentin, unaccountable, indecorous, and unjustifiable. I have said indecorous, because from an interview with him on the subject of his jurisdiction and powers, under his commission, and instructions, it was well understood, that the former only extended over the revenue laws, and the acts of Congress prohibitting the introduction of slaves. My Commissions and instructions, had been shewn him, and he had acknowledged all other Judicial powers to reside in the A[l]cade, and in other Judicial jurisdiction under me, as well as in those with which I was invested by the President. After this clear understanding between us, and his being instructed to aid me in the administration of the Government, to attempt thus to oppose me, without even giving me notice, or making enquiry into the nature and cause of my proceedings, to issue what he calls a writ of *Harbeas Corpus,* without pe[ti]tion, or affidavit, or oath of any kind, and that on the application of Inerarity and of some Spanish Officers, the former, interested in the destruction of these papers, was such an act of indecorum and contempt of my authority, displayed such ignorance of his duty, to say

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cession of the Floridas, which commission has been conf—. [Here the governor stopped Colonel Callava, and directed the following question to be put to him:]

"Did or did not Domingo Sousa deliver at your house this day the papers above mentioned; and, if so, where are those papers now?—and answer this directly.

"Answer. That he declines answering, except in the manner he considers proper—in his own language, and with his own hand.

"The question being repeated, he answered that he was here as a commissioner, and could not answer in any other capacity; on which he was informed by the governor that he could not view him as a commissioner, or in any other light than as a private individual charged with refusing to surrender papers which belong to the public archives of this province, and with being connected with individuals charged with being about to secrete papers and to carry them out of the country, by which the inhabitants thereof would be deprived of their evidence of property, and which, under the second article of the treaty with Spain, ought to have been delivered with the other property placed in the charge of the alcalde for safe-keeping. The question being again repeated, he refused to answer, except in the manner before stated" (*Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.*, IV. 783). The brackets are in the printed minutes.

the least of it, as caused me to notify him to appear before me, and shew cause why he had attempted this improper interferrence with me, in the exercise of my Judicial powers. The time when the interferrence was made, renders his conduct still more reprehensible—he did know that opposition by force, had been threatened by Callava and his Spanish Officers, to my authority, aided, as they had a right to believe, by some of my Officers. This as you will discover, I put down, as it ought to have been, and the lecture I gave the Judge when he came before me, will, I trust, for the future, cause him to obey the spirit of his commission, aid in the execution of the laws, and administration of the Government, instead of attempting to oppose me, under Spanish influence.[4]

I enclose you a copy of the paper he calls a writ of *Habeas Corpus*; if the view of this paper does not furnish sufficient evidence of his incapacity for the Office of a Judge, if it be not sufficient to strike him from the roll of Judges, I must say, that ignorance of law, is no objection against any one's holding a Judicial station, however high and important. Judge Fromentine was represented to me, to be no lawyer, but favorably spoken of as a man of literature. But I could not have formed such an idea of his want of legal knowledge as this transaction displays; I am therefore more inclined to ascribe his conduct to weakness, than to any other cause.

You will perceive from the whole of the proceedings, that energetic measures were unavoidable, that my authority was attempted to be set at naught, and my orders and decrees treated with contempt. I could not view Col: Callava in any other light, than that of a private individual, charged with violating the rights of others, and setting my authority at defience. I could not distinguish him, or his situation, from that of Domingo Sousa, or of Fullarat, his steward. These, by Callava's orders, had treated my authority with contempt, and Callava had not the magnanimity to relieve them by acknowledging the papers to be in his possession, even after positive proof was had of the fact, that they were so. I did believe, and ever will believe, that just laws can make no distinction of privilege between the rich and the poor, and that when men of high standing attempt to trample upon the rights of the weak, they are the fitest objects for example and punishment. In general, the great can protect themselves, but the poor and humble, require the arm and the shield of the law.

Col: Callava's powers having ceased here with the surrender of the Country, it was only a display, and so considered by me, of pompous arrogance and ignorance, in his claiming the privileges of diplomacy, which in fact he never possessed; and his powers having ceased, his Commission accomplished, the pretension which he sat up, was an insult to the

[4] Among the documents relating to this affair sent by Jackson to the Secretary of State and published in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 799-913, there is, at page 810, the following statement, signed by Judge Fromentin on Aug. 24, 1821, in Jackson's office, in the presence of George Walton, secretary of West Florida: "Judge Fromentin, in obedience to the order of his excellency, appears, and acknowledges that he granted the writ of *habeas corpus* without the affidavit of any person, and that no affidavit was made before him; and that it was granted upon the *verbal* application of a number of individuals who made the application (named Le Rud., Innerarity, Brosnahan, and Father Coleman); and, upon being asked to whom he delivered the said writ of *habeas corpus* to be served upon the officer who had in custody Colonel Callava, he replied that he delivered it to one of the persons who made application for it, but to which he does not know."

weakest understanding. There are other, and many complaints by the Spanish subjects, who remain here, of documents relating to private property, being missing from the Alcades Office. If proof is had where they are, demands will be made, and I hope the precedent set, will prevent the necessity of again exercising these painful measures to coerse their production. But should such occur, I shall not shrink from my duty, however painful it may be to my feelings to exercise such authority for the security of those individuals who, under the Treaty, look to our Government for the protection of their rights. . . . .

P. S. I send you a newspaper containing an Ordinance " for the better regulation of the Harbour of Pensacola " and another " regulating the Fees of Justices of the peace ", both of which have been passed since my last communication and from my ill health and great press of business, I send you thro' the paper enclosed.[5]

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Pensacola, August 26, 1821.

D'r Genl. Colo Butler will hand you this, and to him I refer you for the news of this place. I need not say as usual that I am busy, he will inform you, Mrs J and Miss Narcissa with myself respects to you all, our son will pay his to you personally, he goes home with Colo Butler, I believe well satisfied to get there. I hope they may reach you in safety. have the goodness to say to Capt Jack Donelson that I have received his letter, thank him for his goodness in making to me the communication, and will adopt his advice. I will be with you in all the month of October next if health and life permits.

I am anxious to hear from you on the land subject, as my trip has and will be expensive and if I can get home with a loss, above all my emoluments, of one thousand dollars I will be contented, and if a sale has been made of my possessions near you, it will be a convenience; but the *lords will be done.* I shall leave here early in October next. I am happy to learn that Pickens is elected your governor, but regret to see it rumoured that Carroll is Gov of Tennessee, I hope it is not true for the happiness of my state.[2] May god bless you farewell,

To Captain John Donelson.[1]

Pensacola, September 3, 1821.

Dear Sir, Last nights mail brought me yours of the first of August, for which I sincerely thank you. I have recd after a tedious delay on the passage all your letters, and for your attention to my interest in my ab-

[5] The *Floridian,* it must have been, of which the first number was published at Pensacola eight days before, Aug. 18, 1821. It was the second newspaper issued in Florida, the first having been the *Florida Gazette,* publication of which began, at St. Augustine, a month before, July 14. J. O. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (Florida State Historical Society, 1926), pp. 17, 20.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Israel Pickens, governor of Alabama 1821-1825; William Carroll, governor of Tennessee 1821-1827, 1829-1835. See *Tennessee Hist. Mag.,* IX. 9-30, and, for his relations to Jackson, T. P. Abernethy, "Andrew Jackson and the Rise of Southwestern Democracy", in *Amer. Hist. Rev.,* XXXIII. 68-69.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.

sence, I cherish, and will through life, the most friendly and lively recollections.

I have received no letter from Mr Saunders on the subject of my cotton. Doctor Beeler writes of the 28th of July, that on that day he stated to him the amount of sales of my cotton to be $551. There is an express agreement that he is to pay me the exchange at Nashville for the money of New orleans. This I have no doubt he will acknowledge. Old Mr Richardson must be paid as soon as the work is done, and when you apply to Mr Saunders for money for this purpose you will please settle with him the exchange, and have it added to the amount of sales, before you receive it. That for the use of the money for which the cotton was sold at Orleans, he is to allow me at Nashville the exchange for Orleans money, I am well assured he will readily acknowledge. I hope before the other contract for the cedar becomes due I shall be at home, should I not you [*sic*] I have informed Mr Saunders, that the money is to be applied by you to these debts, and that I had given you a memorandum of them and an order for the money. I am certain he will pay it when you apply. the ballance of the cotton coming to you you will retain out of the first money Mr Saunders pays out of the proceeds of the cotton.

I hope we will be able to leave here by the first of October for home; Mrs Jacksons health is not good, and I am determined to travel her as early as my business and her health will permit, even if I should be compelled to come back to settle my business and turn over the Govt to my successor. I am determined to resign my office the moment congress meets, and live near you the ballance of my life.

I am fearfull that the paper system has and will ruin the state. Its demoralising effects are already seen and spoken of every where, and I have but little doubt (at least I fear it) that it has predominated in your late elections, altho I am unadvised how they have terminated but from Doctor Butlers letter he is doubtfull that Colo Ward [2] will loose his election. If this should be the case, let every honest man take care of himself, and have nothing to do with the new raggs of the state for be assured it will be a reign of immoral rule, and the interest of speculators will be alone consulted during the existence of the new dynasty. Say to Mr Saunders that he well recollects that I objected to the new state bank bills, I never had one of them and I never will receive one of them. in this country you could not pass them and get one dollar specie for ten dollars in them; I therefore protest against receiving any of that trash and I am sure Mr Saunders will not offer it, I will take the old state bank or its branches, at the exchange for orleans.

Before this reaches you Colo Butler and our little son will be with you I hope; I trust you will extend your care over him untill we arrive, when he is gone you may be sure your sister will not rest long behind. We all enjoy tolerable health at present but I am wearied with business this hot weather.

Prsent us affectionately to your lady and family and all our friends, and accept for your self our choicest blessings. adieu,

[2] Col. Edward Ward, an aristocratic neighbor of Jackson's, candidate for election as governor.

Jackson's Talk with Indian Chieftains.[1]

West Florida—Pensacola, September 20, 1821.

On the 18th of September 1821, I was visited in the Executive Chamber by three chiefs of the Florida Indians, viz Blunt, Nea,moth,la and Mulatto King, who, through their interpreter made known to me that the object of their visit, was to be informed what their Father, the President intended to do with them, that various reports had reached them, and that Nea-moth-la had been up to see the head men of the Creek Nation, and that Genl. McIntosh told them that I would deprive them of all their lands, only giving to each 640 acres of land for themselves and their families to live on, Upon which, I gave them the following talk,

Friends and Brothers, I am glad to see you and to shake you by the hand in friendship and to assure you that as the hatchet has been buried, your father the President never wishes to see it again raised. Your Nation was once led astray by the advice and counsel of wicked and bad men; the Creek Nation had listened to the same bad counsel, and in consequence, had brought destruction upon themselves. Your father the President gave them peace. McQueen and Francis,[2] with a number of Warriors, would not regard this peace; but fled from their Country, and came here, where they adhered to the false counsel of British Agents and Spanish incendiaries, and your Nation having pursued the same course, compelled your Father the President to send his white children to chastise and subdue you, and thereby give peace to his children both red and white. This was four years ago, and all those Indians who had raised the bloody hatchet, were ordered to return to the Creek nation and there live in peace, where they would again be taken by the hand in friendship by their father, the President, and by him be protected. I repeat that I am glad to see you in friendship and to give you assurance that your Father the President has no other wish than to be in friendship with you, and that having buried the hatchet with his red children, he is anxious to have them collected together at some one point where he can protect them, either within the limits of your Old Nation the Creeks, or, at such other point where they can be altogether, and within his power to protect and make them happy. I give to you a plain, straight talk, and do not speak with a forked tongue. It is necessary that you be brought together, either within the bounds of your old Nation, or at some other point, where your Father the President may be enabled to extend to you his fatherly care and assistance. Those, who fled from their Nation and joined in the War against us, must return to their country, where their chiefs are willing to receive them, and where they will be protected by their Father the President, for they cannot be permitted to settle all over the Floridas and on her Sea Coast. Your White brethren must be settled there, to keep from you bad men and bad talks. I will gladly meet you tomorrow in this room, and listen to your talks and wishes, and give you such information as you may require and I possess, and I wish to be informed, where the Red people in

[1] War. Dept. files. First five paragraphs printed in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 413.
[2] See vol. II., p. 361, and vol. I., p. 503.

the Floridas are settled, that I may make it known to your Father the President, that he may be enabled to judge of your situation, and point out where you are to be collected together to insure you protection and that you may be treated as the rest of his beloved children. Your former disobedience is forgotten and he again receives you as his children. The Chief replied, that he had heard many rumors, that he had received no satisfaction until he came to see me, that he was very glad to hear this talk from me, and that he believed it to be a straight talk.

On the 19th They met agreeably to appointment, when I addressed them in the following manner,

Friends and Brothers. I am glad to see you this morning and to shake you by the hand again, and to assure you of the kind feelings of your father the President, and of his love for his red children. I desire to know where the Red people are settled in the Floridas, and also their numbers.

Nea-moth-la answered, that he liked the Talk he had received, and wd. carry it to his Nation, assemble the Chiefs and give it to them, and also that he would give me an account of the Towns, as near as possible, which he did as follows, saying that he knew of about 15 Towns [3]—viz. *Red Town,* at Tampa Bay, does not know the number of souls. *Ac-lock-o-na-yahe,* above Tampa Bay—a number of souls. *O-pony's* town back of Tampa Bay. *Tats-ta-la-hoats-ka,* or water-melon-town on the Sea board—this side Tampa Bay. The greater part of all these fled from the Upper Creeks when peace was given to that Nation. *A-ha-pop-ka,* situated back of the Musquito. *Sow-walla* village, composed of those who fled from the Coosa, and followed McQueen and Francis their Prophets. *Peter McQueens village,* the other side of the Tampa Bay. *A-lach-a-way-ta-lofa,* in the Alachaway plains—a great many souls, Took-o-sa-math-la the Chief. *Santa-fee-ta-lo-fa,* at the E. fork of the Suwaney—Lock-taw-me-coochy the Chief. *Waw-ka-sausa,* on the E. side of the mouth of Suwaney on the Sea Board—these are from the Coosa river. *Old Suwany Town* burnt in 1818 on the Suwany River. These are from the Tallapoosa Towns, and followers of McQueen and Francis. *A-la-pa-ha-talofa,* west of Suwany and E. of Niccasuky, the Chief Ockmulgee is lately dead. These are from the Upper Creeks. *Wa-cissa-ta-lofa,* at the head of the St Marks river. These are from Chattahouchy, Upper Creeks. *Willa-nou-chee-ta-lofa* near the head of St Marks River, west of Wa-cissa-ta-lofa, Natives of Florida. *Talla-has-se,* on the waters of the Micca-suky pond—these have lived there a long time, have about 100 warriors, and suppose about 10 Souls to a warrior—say 1000 Souls. *Top-ke-gal-ga* on the E. side of the O-clock-ney, near to Talla-hasse village. *Wethoc-ouchy-talofa* between the St Marks and Oclockney rivers in the fork of the latter. very few of these are Natives of the land. *O-cheese-ulga* E. of the Appalachicola, where Hamly [4] and Blunt live—about 200 Souls,

[3] Several of these towns are to be identified with places of the same name existing now: Alachua, Santa Fe (River), Old Town, Wacissa, Tallahassee, Ocheesee. Several others may be located in the list in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.,* II. 439. "Talofa" means town.

[4] William Hambly, interpreter; see vol. II., p. 374.

Coth-rin the Chief. *Choco-nick-la* village, the Chief is Nea-thock-o-motla—second chief is Mulatto King, were raised there, have about 60 warriors, on the W. side the Appa-lachicola. *Top-hul-ga*—this village and *Cho-co-nick-la* join each other, raised in E. Florida and removed there. *Tock-to-cth-la,* west of Fort Scott and the Chatta-houchy, ten miles above the forks, forty or fifty warriors, were raised at the *E-con-cha-ta* or Red ground and moved down. Another Town in Florida point called *E-chee-po-crassa*; these moved from the Upper Creeks, about 30 warriors and a great many women and children settled there.

I asked the Chiefs their opinion of the number of souls in Florida—they replied, that they supposed, about 2000 Souls, but were not certain. I enquired at what point those, who had been raised there would wish to be concentrated. They replied, they have not yet consulted together, but when they returned, would assemble all the Chiefs, and deliver the talk they had with me, which was a straight talk, and inform me the result.

I then gave them the following talk,

Friends and Brothers. Listen. I find from the information you give, that the greater part of the Red people in Florida are those who fled from the peace offered to them with the Upper Creeks in 1814, came to this place, joined our enemies, listened to their Talks, were driven hence, and went to E. Florida, and there again raised the War hatchet, excited you to destroy our women and children and compelled yr. father the President, as before stated, to send his white children to subdue them. When you return, say to yr. people that those Indians must return to their own nation, where they will be received in peace and friendship and be protected by their father the President as a part of his Red Children, or must settle at such place as shall be set apart for those who have been raised in the Floridas. Say to your people to remain where they are now, and to take care of their crops, collect all Your Chiefs and inform me or the President your father, where those who have been raised in the Floridas, wish to be settled, should they not desire to go up into the Creek Nation, with those who have fled from it. Tell your people all these things and when I get the information I have requested you to obtain, the President your father will send an Agent to you to point out where you are to settle and what he will do for you his red children. I will send this talk to your father and as the War hatchet is buried and all things forgotten, he hopes that you never will again raise it; he now views you as his children, will protect and do you justice and I will write to McIntosh, that he shall not trouble you. I will furnish you with provisions to carry you home, all will be ready tomorrow morning; you will then call, that I may shake you by the hand in friendship and give you the letters.

The Chiefs replied. They were well pleased with the talk, that on their return, they would assemble all the Chiefs and consult with them, and would send me and their father the President their talk, that many of those who had fled from the Upper Creek had returned, and many more were willing to go up but were afraid. I told them, they knew I spoke from a straight heart, that they might assure their people of the friendship and protection of their father, but that he could not nor would not permit them to be scattered over the Floridas as they now are, that those

belonging to the Upper Creeks, being the largest number must return to their Nation, or settle at the place which their father the President would point out for those who had been raised in the Floridas, when he collects them together. Those who fled from the Talla-poosee and Coosa rivers cannot complain of this, they have their own Country, they have no claim to land in the Floridas.

The Chiefs replied, they would tell all these things to their Chiefs, that they were pleased with the talk and would call on me tomorrow morning and shake me by the hand. I gave them an order to get provisions and we shook hands and parted.

attest

JOHN COPPINGER CONNOR
Executive Clerk
STEPHEN RICHARDS
Interpreter

This 20th day of September 1821, the Chiefs came and shook me by the hand. I explained the talk of yesterday; they replied they well understood it. I then gave them a copy.

attest.

STEPHEN RICHARDS
Interpreter.

TO SECRETARY ADAMS.[1]

PENSACOLA, September 30, 1821.

Sir, I have not had the pleasure of receiving any letter from you since yours of the 20th ult. and in complience with your instructions therein, am preparing a report on the subjects alluded to, which shall be forwarded in due time.

I had hoped when I last adressed you that nothing would have occurred here, after the unpleasant affair of Callava to compell me to notice the conduct of those spanish officers who remained, that adequate regard for the laws, and the chief magistracy of the country, would have induced them, to demean themselves peaceably during their temporary stay, but in this I have been mistaken, and by referrence to the within proclamation,[2] and news paper of the 29th instant, you will see the step I have been compelled to take, and the cause which has led to it. You will find over the signature of " the spanish officers "[3] a violation of that decency and respect which is due me as the supreme Judicial tribunal of this country, and to my sworn interpreters,

I should have been unworthy the important and sacred trust reposed in me by the president of the united states, if I could for a moment have sufferred the dignity and majesty of the laws, to be thus outraged in that of my person and my Interpreters, with impunity—so long as they

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.; *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 813.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 814.

confined themselves to a Justification of themselves, it was well, but the moment they attacked with their gross falshoods the dignity of the court and its officers, it became my duty to act with promptness. I have taken this step after mature reflection and deliberation, believing it absolutely necessary for the preservation of the peace, harmony and good goverment of the country. it will not do to permit a Band of spanish officers, to keep the public mind in a constant state of excitement, and alarm, and thereby, weaken that allegiance of the creoles of the country, to the general goverment, which is enjoined on them by my proclamation, and which I have every reason to believe, were disposed to yield had it not have been for the undue influence of these turbulent men moved by others who *work unseen.* To suffer them to remain here after being aware of these things, and shewing they defied my authority, considering themselves independant of my rule, and subordinate only to that of their chief, would have been highly improper, and could not have met the approbation of my Goverment. as long as I have the honour of commanding here, the Goverment and laws shall be respected; and all who deport themselves with becoming propriety shall receive every attention, urbanity and politeness due them. Instead of Judge Fromentine aiding me in the administration of the Goverment I have strong reasons for believing, he is exciting the course that has been pursued by these spanish officers.

I inclose for your information and that of the President, my opinion and that of my legal associate [4] on the question of my Judicial Jurisdiction and powers in the Floridas, and our decision on the case that gave rise to it. If I am correct in the construction of my Judicial powers, of which I have no doubt, I should have been warrented in committing all concerned. I was advised to do so, by those most friendly to the goverment, but I thought it best to extend to them all the lenity in my power, and have only in the first place required them to leave this country as they were bound to do by the seventh article of the treaty, all of which will more fully appear having referrence to my proclamation.

I am sir with sincere regard and respect

To President Monroe.[1]

Pensacola, October 5, 1821.

Sir: Having organised the Government of the Floridas, and it being now in full operation, I have determined to take a little respite from the laborious duties with which I have been surrounded, and leave the charge of the Floridas to the Secretaries appointed for the same. This becomes necessary, as Mrs. Jackson is anxious to return home, and the situation of her health requires that she should pass through the newly settled country before the inclement weather sets in. She and my family will leave this on the 7th, and I shall accompany or overtake them with a view to return, should it become necessary for the good order of society here before the meeting of the next Congress.

[4] *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. pp. 814-818.
[1] Copy. N. Y. Hist. Soc.

From the report of Mr. Worthington,[2] charged with the Government of East Florida, I have but little doubt that the Govt. of E. Florida will be well and satisfactorily administered. I should have visitted that section of country, but for the want of transportation, there being no public vessel put under my orders, and a private vessel could not be obtained for charter.

I leave Col. Walton [3] in charge of West Florida and all its dependencies, particularly instructed, and from his character and talents, I am confident that the Government will be satisfactorily administered during my absence. Every thing now is progressing with regularity and harmony, and I am happy at so seasonable a time to be able to embrace that relaxation which my enfeebled constitution requires. My labours have indeed been great, and the near approach of Congress fills me with pleasure, as I look to that period when I can resign with propriety, and by Doctor Bronough you will receive my resignation of the Commission of Governor of the Floridas etc. etc. I give you this early information, that you may in the meantime select a fit person to fill this important station. It will require a man of energy to rule these provinces at this time, and Congress ought to provide an energetic code of law for its government, that may as far as possible dispense with all Spanish customs, and at as early a day as possible, Americanise the Floridas.

I had determined to be silent as to the man whose energy and talents would fit him for this important station; but justice to one, whom I think a much injured man, whose merits as a military man were not inferior to any of his grade, and who by a decision of a Court martial, founded on testimony which the Government at this time can duly appreciate, has been degraded and neglected, and if I may be permitted to use the expression, justice requires that he should again be noticed by his government, and placed in some office by which he and his rising family may be released from the obloquy which the sentence of the court has placed upon them. I have but little doubt, if the same court had the subject now under consideration, and supported by the same evidence, it would pronounce a sentence of acquittal. for these reasons, added to my high opinion of his military merit and his fitness for this office, and the attachment of the people here to him, I bring him to the view of the Government, as a proper person for this appointment. I mean Col. Wm. King late of the 4 Regt. U. S. Infy. A man whose service, whilst under my command, I hold in fresh recollection, and whom I believe innocent of any military offence worthy of the degradation awarded him, and on this belief, for justice and his families sake, I now name him, when the opportunity is good, for the Government to restore him to that confidence and standing in society which he is entitled to.[4]

[2] William G. D. Worthington of Maryland, secretary for East Florida.

[3] George Walton of Georgia, secretary for West Florida.

[4] Colonel King had in 1820 been suspended for five years by President Monroe as the result of a trial by court martial for peculation and for having some deserters shot. He served with Jackson in the Seminole War and, by him, was left in command at Pensacola in 1818.

I leave here, with the determination of returning, should Col. Walton inform me that such a step may be necessary. But it will be necessary, if possible, to go with my family to Nashville. When I left there, it was on a short notice, and my order positive. I left all my military papers, and had a right to believe that all my military Public accounts were fuily closed. Since reaching this Territory, I am informed that my Quarter-M. account for quarters and fuel whilst in the city of Washington, has been suspended.[5] As I am determined to have these accounts investigated and fully closed by Doctr. Bronough it becomes necessary that I should have my papers, that this account may be examined, stated, and forwarded by him. In the meantime, I assure you that nothing relating to my private concerns, shall prevent my return hither should my presence become necessary. Trusting to your goodness to have a successor appointed to relieve me, as soon after the meeting of Congress as your convenience will permit.

Mrs. J. joins me in a tender of our respects to Mrs. Monroe and your family, and our best wishes for your health and happiness; and believe me, with sincere respect Yr. Mo. Ob. Serv.

[5] Apr. 30, 1821, William Wirt, attorney general of the United States, submitted the following opinion to the secretary of war:

"Gen: Jackson's account has, I think, been settled according to law. The act of the 3d March 1815, 'fixing the military peace establishment of the U. S.' retains, in service, two major Generals and expressly enacts that they 'shall be entitled to the same compensation as is provided by an Act, entitled "an act to raise an additional military force" passed the 11th Jany 1812' and the act thus referred to as fixing the compensation provides expressly 'That the major Generals, respectively, shall be entitled to two hundred dollars monthly pay, with twenty dollars allowance for forage, monthly, and fifteen rations per day.' This allowance has been made to Gen: Jackson. The same act of the 3d March 1815, first referred to, provides also that the officers etc. retained on the peace establishment, by that act, should be entitled to the same benifits and allowances in every respect, not inconsistent with the provisions of that act, as were autherized by the act of March 16th 1802 entitled an act fixing the military peace establishment of the United States; by which latter act there was an allowance 'to any commissioned officer who shall keep *one* servant, of *one* additional ration': this also has been allowed to Gen: Jackson; and thus the whole compensation, authorized by the Act of the 3d March 1815, fixing the peace Establishment, has been allowed in the settlement of the accounts of that officer.

"The claim which Gen: Jackson makes of forage for seven horses at the rate of $8 per month, each, and of the pay, rations and clothing of a private soldier of the line, for *four* servants, each, is not sustained by law. These allowances, which were made during the war, did not grow out of the Acts of the 11th January 1812, and of the 16th March 1802, which the act of 3d March 1815 assumes as the standard of compensation; they grew out of subsequent and intermediate acts and regulations, the whole of which were superseded by the act of 1815 fixing the peace establishment, and consequently could no longer give the rate of compensation. The act of the 24th april 1816 authorized these charges to be restored and to be thereafter made, since which period, I understand, they have, in conformity with this last act, been allowed.

"Gen: Jackson is understood to rely on the 9th section of this last act, as looking, retrospectively, to the intermediate period, and authorizing these charges to be allowed through the whole of that period: but I understand the operation of this clause as merely prospective: it does look back, indeed, to the act of the 3d march 1815, and to the regulations in force at the reduction of the army; but it looks back to them, merely, as furnishing a standard which shall, *in future*, govern the subject 'so far as the same *shall be found applicable* to the service, subject, however to such alterations as the secretary of War may adopt, with the approbation of the President'. In short the account could not have been settled otherwise than it has been, without a violation of the act of the 3d March 1815, from which the accounting officer had no authority to depart."

Secretary Adams to Jackson.[1]

Department of State, October 26, 1821.

Sir, I have had the honour of receiving your Letters of 30 July, 26th August, and 1st September, with their respective enclosures, which have been submitted to the Consideration of the President of the United States.

I now enclose copy of a Letter which I have by his direction written to Judge Fromentin,[2] informing him that it was understood and intended that his Jurisdiction should be confined to the execution of the only Laws of the United States which by Act of Congress had been extended to the territories of Florida, namely the Laws relating to the revenue and its collection, and to the Slave trade. In the execution of these laws, which are of a nature entirely distinct, from those of Spain, operating in the Provinces, the President is of opinion that he should be amenable only to the Government of the United States.

I enclose also translations of a Letter from Mr. Salmon the Charge d'Affaires of Spain, and of a Statement by Coll. Callava, relative to the arrest and detention of his person, and the forcible seizure, and abduction, under your authority of certain papers, which were in his possession, with a Copy of the answer given to the Letter of Mr. Salmon.[3] Before an ultimate answer shall be given to the Spanish Minister, upon this complaint, the President has thought it proper to transmit these documents to you, with the purpose of receiving any remarks either in relation to the facts alledged, or to the principles asserted in them which you may think the occasion requires.

Appretiating, as the President does, the sense of duty under which you felt yourself compelled to resort to these measures, and the objects of high and impartial Justice, to which they were in your estimation ren-

[1] Jackson MSS.; printed in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* I. 818.

[2] Judge Fromentin wrote several long letters to Washington defending his position with reference to his controversy with Jackson. They are to be found in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 833-848. Secretary Adams's reply, Oct. 26, 1821, which disposed of the affair so far as the judge was concerned, was as follows (*ibid.,* II. 848):

"I have had the honour of receiving your letters of 20th, 26, and 28th Augt., 6, 8, and 21 Septr. with their respective enclosures, All which have been submitted to the President of the United States.

"I am, directed by him to inform you, that the Laws of the United States relative to the Revenue and its collection, and those relating to the Slave trade, having been the only ones extended by Act of Congress to the territories of Florida, it was to the execution of them that your Commission as Judge of the United States was considered and intended to apply. The President thought the authority of Congress alone competent, to extend other Laws of the United States to the newly acquired territories, nor could he give to the Judge a Jurisdiction which could only be conferred by *them.* There being an essential difference between the nature of the powers, heretofore exercised, by the Spanish authorities in those provinces, which were continued in force, by the Act of the 3d of March last until the end of the next Session of Congress, unless a temporary government should be sooner established over them, and of the laws of the United States, which were extended to those provinces by that law, the President considered it his duty to entrust the execution of each branch, to officers specially appointed for the purpose. In the execution of these laws, in your judicial Capacity the Governor has been informed, that you are considered amenable only to the Government of the United States.

"In the different view which you have taken of the subject, he is persuaded that your motives and intentions were entirely pure, tho' he deeply regrets the collision of authority and misunderstanding which have arisen between the Governor of the Territory and you."

[3] *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 767-779.

dered indispensable, I am directed particularly to invite your attention, to the following circumstances represented in these papers.

1. That Coll. Callava, claimed as of right the immunities, with reference to his person, to his dwelling house, and to his papers, which by the customary Laws of Nations belong to public Commissioners appointed to negotiate or to execute Treaty stipulations between Nation and Nation.
2. That you had transacted business with him in the Capacity of a public Commissioner, as late as the 3d of August, three weeks after the day on which the surrender had been made of the Territory.
3. That the papers finally seized by your orders, had never been officially demanded, and that he had offered to deliver them or give adequate security that they should be delivered, if they should prove to be of the description of papers stipulated by the Treaty to be left in the Territory.
4. That at the time when he was forcibly brought before you, and required to submit to examination upon interrogatories, neither the questions asked of him, nor his answers were correctly interpreted.

It is proper to apprize you that in the opinion of the President, so far as Coll. Callava, could justly claim the rights of a Commissioner for the surrender of the territory, he was entitled to all the immunities, which might be necessary for the execution of his trust, and which the Laws of Nations recognize as belonging to public Ministers. As authority for this opinion I refer you to Vattel,[4] Book 4, ch. 6, s. 75, and ch. 9, s. 125.

A different sentiment appearing from your Letter of the 26th august to have been entertained by you, it would be satisfactory to learn upon what grounds it had been taken up, or if the privileges incident to this immunity had in your view ceased, it is desirable to know the considerations upon which you had so deemed of them, the view taken of them in the Answer to the Note of Mr. Salmon, admitting the right only in general terms, and inferring that they had ceased by the act of surrender, and of reasonable time for departure, as well as by the limitation of the time for the surrender stipulated in the Treaty. . . . . .

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Nashville, November 13, 1821.

Sir, I arrived at this place on the 5th Instant, and have deferred writing you until the present moment, indulging the expectation, that I should, in the mean time, have received some communications of interest from the Floridas. In this calculation, however, I have been disappointed. In consequence of the irregularity of the mails between this and that place, there has been no arrival, bringing any thing of a later date, than that of my departure from Pensacola.

From the National Intelligencer, I have discovered, that a publication has appeared in the Charleston Patriot, purporting to give the substance of a correspondence between Judge Fromentine and myself, with ac-

[4] E. de Vattel, *Droit des Gens* (1758, Eng. trans. 1760, etc.).
[1] State Dept.; printed in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 819.

companying strictures upon the same, and stating, that " detailed accounts of the whole affair ", with copies of said papers had been transmitted to Washington; that they " have been confided to individuals, and are circulated privately ". On referring to my former communications, I do not find that a copy of that correspondence has been forwarded to the Department of State; and believing as I do, from Judge Fromentin'es disregard of truth, that he has secretly circulated it, without the accompanying certificates, for the purpose, if possible, of forestalling public opinion; I herewith enclose copies of all the documents touching the transaction,[2] with a request, that they may be laid before the President; and should it be deemed necessary, to be communicated, for the information of the Congress of the United States. This expose furnishes a satisfactory view of the whole ground in dispute, and incontestably proves, that Judge Fromentine has been guilty of wilfully and wickedly fabricating the most palpable falsehoods. The evidences of such unblushing depravity and corruption should be placed in the possession of the President, and in strict justice, deserves to be exposed to the execration of the whole American people. When an officer of such high responsibility under the Federal Goverment, manifests such baseness and obliquity of heart, it ought to excite our alarm, and stimulate the proper authority to apply the most speedy and efficient remedy.

When Judge Fromentine appeared before me, in obedience to the citation served upon him, and made what I conceived to be a sufficient apology for interfering with my jurisdiction, by issuing the writ of *Habeus Corpus*; and having explicitly and positively promised, that he would not again do any act to impede the exercise of my prerogatives; I was perfectly willing that the affair should here be put to rest, and if possible, be buried in oblivion. With this view alone, I barely required his signature to so much of the proceedings between us, as was absolutely necessary for my own justification, and to shew, that he had granted the writ without petition or affidavit, agreeably to law, and that he did not recollect to whom, or to which of the applicants it had been delivered!

Although the Judge, in the publication referred to, asserts, that our interview and its results were the topics of conversation in the town of Pensacola, for a week after they transpired; I can confidently state, that they never did become the subject of remark where I was present, except on the evening subsequent to his discharge. On that occasion, there appeared to be an universal concurrence of opinion, that the Judge's apology, as made in the presence of several respectable gentlemen, was a correct and prudent measure on his part, and that it was an act of leniency and forbearance on mine, in thus terminating this hasty and indecorous attempt to embarrass the administration of justice. Inasmuch as the instructions and duty of the Judge enjoined it upon him to co-operate with me in the administration of the Goverment, and in distributing justice equally to all, a general surprize was also expressed at the circumstance of his sympathies being exclusively enlisted for the relief of Colo. Calava!

[2] They are printed *ibid.*, II. 820-823.

With re[s]pect to poor Domingo Souza and Fullerat, the Steward, the law was to be permitted to take its course, and although the servile instruments of Calava, they were to be left to their fate! For them, Judge Fromentine seems to have had no bowells of compassion. They might have perished and rotted in prison, before he would have stepped forward, with the sanction of his authority for their deliverance. The fact was, they had no wealth or influence, and the Judge was not, consequently, clothed with the power to issue a writ of *habeus Corpus* for their relief! Agreeably to his principles, the laws of the United States are only made for the punishment of the humble and pennyless; but whenever opposed to wealth and power, they must either remain inoperative, or if enforced, it must be done with great delicacy and respect. This course of proceeding may very well comport with the corrupt and inquisitorial system of former Spanish tribunals; but they are clearly and palpably unjust, and merit the unqualified reprobation of every honest and intelligent American. I can assure you, that so far as I have been enabled to collect an expression of public sentiment relative to the conduct of Judge Fromentine, it has evidently rendered him so odious and contemptible, that his name is only mentioned in genteel circles, to be deprecated and despised. It is considered so flagrant and flagitious a departure from justice and propriety, as seriously to impair his standing, and rather to produce disaffection, than inspire respect and confidence in the American authorities in Florida.

Situated as Judge Fromentine was, I did not anticipate that he would have had the hardihood and temerity to revive this transaction, and make it a subject of public investigation. Good sense, as well as the best policy, would certainly have dictated a very differrent proceedure. After his concessions, and open acknowledgements that he had acted hastily, and without a due consideration of the case, it could not have been expected, that the most abandoned and profligate would have denied the facts; particularly, when those declarations were made in the presence of several gentlemen of the most unimpeachable integrity. The man who could thus prostitute his signature for the propagation of such glaring and barefaced falsehoods, evi[n]ces an effrontery almost without a paralell, and a destitution of principle very incompatible with the character of one selected to administer the laws as Judge of the United States. Elevated as he was, I had hoped, that I should meet with a manly feeling and lofty integrity, corresponding with his honorable station; but I sincerly regret to say, that he has displayed a want of honesty and candor only becoming an apostate priest,[3] and which is enough to suffuse the cheek of depravity itself with a blush. I may, perhaps, express my indignation upon this subject, with too much freedom. If the language is harsh, I am willing to acknowledge, that it does not altogether become me; but I am not convinced, that it is not meritted in its application.

Upon a perusal of the whole correspondence and accompanying documents, and after a mature consideration of the subject, I am induced to believe, that the President will be entirely satisfied of Judge Fromentine's having acted regardless of principle and duty, and that he is altogether unworthy of the confidence reposed in him as a Judicial Officer of the

[3] Fromentin was in earlier life a Jesuit priest.

United States. To communicate the testimony necessary to establish this fact, I have been impelled by the imperative obligations which I feel myself bound to discharge in justice to myself and our common country.

With every assurance of respect and esteem, I have the honor to be,

P. S. Doct. Bronaugh will hand you several depositions and reports in the case of Callava,[4] which I have forwarded, in addition to those heretofore transmitted upon the same subject. It is my desire, that they should be submitted to the President, and if called for, to be laid before Congress. All together, they demonstrate the falsehood of Callava's statement, and how little regard he had to truth, in making it.

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage, November 14, 1821.

Dear Sir, Since Closing mine of this days date I have had the pleasure to receive your favour of the 14th of September. Doctr Bronaugh who will hand you mine of previous date of to day and also this as he goes by mail Stage, cannot remain to permit me fully to answer your letter at present. I can only observe for the present that I am truly wearied of public life, I want rest and my private concerns imperiously demand my attention. It is true my duties have been laborious and my situation exposed me to heavy expense which makes it more necessary that I should retire to resusitate my declining fortune to inable it to support me in my declining years. Doctr Bronaugh carries to you my resignation which I hope you will accept at as an early a period as your Convenience will admit. I have just received a letter from Col Walton of the 15th Ulto. which informs me all things progress in harmony in Pensacola since the Spanish Officers have left there and that the Citizens appear hap[p]y under the Government as Organized. . . . .

To Captain Richard K. Call.

Hermitage, November 15, 1821.

Dear Call. I had the pleasure last evening of receiving your two letters of the 14th ult.[1] nothing can afford Mrs. Jackson and myself more

[4] They are printed in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 823-826.

[1] Jackson MSS., Letter-Book L, p. 249. Jackson had sent the President his resignation as governor of Florida, in a letter of the preceding day, now in the State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

[1] One of these two letters, written from Pensacola, is in the Jackson MSS. It is here quoted: "*My Dear General:* Since fortune has doomed our Seperation permit me to offer an acknowledgement of the generous, and disinterested friendship with which you have honoured me, and to express that gratitude, which I must ever feel for the many favours you have bestowed upon me. At an early period of life it was my happy destiny to be placed under your distinguished command. A stranger without experience, and without the recommendation of friends or fortune with the generous feelings of a Soldier you received me, with the council of friend you directed, and with the care of a Parent you watched over me. Believe me Sir this is not the idle effusion of the moment, it is not the ordinary expressions of regard I offer you, it is the sincerest tribute of a grateful heart. To have followed your fortune through the changes and vicissitudes of war, to have been tutered by your councils and honoured with your confidence is the proudest and the happyest recollection of my life, and however chance or fortune may direct my future destiny be assured my gratitude will only terminate with my existence. That your life may be as happy as it has been distinguished and useful is the sincere prayer of your Obliged and Sincere friend"

pleasure than in hearing from you often, and particularly that you are well, and doing well. Your gratitude expressed of my friendship towards you, shews the godlike virtue of a heart susceptable of friendship. Believe me when I first met with you in the field, your youthfull appearance, your manly and soldier like deportment, attracted my attention, and when mutiny and desertion prevaded my camp, when situated in the howling wilderness surrounded with the savage yell, it was your soldier like and honourable conduct when deserted by your company at this trying moment that drew my particular attention to you, to see a gallant youth of Eighteen abandoned by his captain and company all retiring from the field of Honour, and you left alone, determined to die, rather than tarnish your military fame, by retiring from the post of danger in disgrace. From that moment my opinion was formed of you and I cherished your Youthfull merit for your countries good, and aided in promoting your rank as your merit increased, and your Talents were disclosed to me. I regret our seperation but I still more regret, that injustice and inatention of the executive in not having provided for your agreable to his promise and my expectation. But my Dear Call I have been Tossed upon the waves of fortune from youth[h]ood, I have experienced prosperity and adversity. It was this that gave me a knowledge of human nature, it was this that forced into action, all the energies of my mind, and ultimately caused me to progress through life as I have done—hence this neglect of the Goverment may be of service to you, it has and will bring forth, from necessity, the best energies of your mind, and with your application and industry, you will, nay, you must succeed. Pe[r]mit me to say to you that long experience has made me well acquainted with human nature. It is well to study it as you progress through life—you will find many, professedly, friends, who by, and from their openness of conduct, and specious professions, the inexperienced youth, at once places the utmost relience—when in many Instances these professions are made with a view to obtain your confidence that it may be betrayed. To guard against such impositions there is but one safe rule—have apparent confidence in all, but never make a confident of any untill you have proven him worthy of it, and altho you may have good cause to know and believe that great confidence may be placed in him, never, untill you have well tried him, confide to any a secrete that might be injurious to you if publickly known. This I have found a safe rule and have practised upon it.

I met Miss Mary, on the road between Mr. Lemintons and Magees—in company with her [*mutilated*] uncles and little brother, she is on her way to orleans and will sail from thence to Philadelphia with her uncle; she will rest at the Natchez untill her uncle passes to the Tash[2] and aranges his business on his farm there. On my arival at Judge Overtons, I wrote you which I hope you will receive, since which I have seen Major Eaton, who informs me, he has had a long conversation with miss Mary, that she still bears you in mind as usual, and from which I have no doubt

[2] Bayou Têche, La.

were you now to see her, she would marry. Doctor Mcnairy has written you as I am Told. his Ideas are certainly correct—you and Miss Mary ought to forget each other, for ever, or at once marry. your minds must ever be on the torture, the conduct of her mother to her as stated, has been of the most cruel kind, and if yours and her ultimate object is to mary, the sooner the better. you have friends who will aid you, in this number include me, and with your own exertions, you have nothing to fear as to a support.[3]

I am happy to hear that all is tranquil in Pensacola. Callava has sailed from Charleston for Cuba. The Eastern climate was too cold for his sickly constitution, and it appears he has retired to Cuba for his health. so soon as Judge Fromentine is unmasked before the nation, I think he will follow—it is this apostate Priest, that has been circulating secretly these mutulated details of the circumstances; Having enclosed to the President all the documents through the Secretary of State, they will I hope be in that way laid before congress, and the nation. Should it not appear in this way I will under my own name, should Fromentine be nominated to the senate, bring it before the nation, and fairly shew how the rights of the people have been triffled with by the appointment of an apostate Priest, to execute the laws, and moralise the people. Mrs. Jackson Joins me in prayers for your happiness and wellfare, Easter is with me and well, Doctor Brunaugh has this morning set out for Washington city, Mr. Saml Overton has Just left me, and Lt Donelson Just gone on a vissit to his mothers, all these Gentlemen request to be affectionately presented to you. Have the goodness to present Mr[s]. J. and myself to Capt Shields and family, Mr. Garneer and family, Mr. Davidson and family if still with you, to Mr. Smith and Lady, to Colo. Brook and Lady to Lt Lear and his Lady to Mr. and Mrs. Austin, to all our French and Spanish friends.

Mrs. Jackson begs me to remind you of our furniture, to have it forwarded to orleans as soon as possible with instructions to Capt Scallen to have it forwarded to Nashville by the first Steam Boat—our place looks like it had been deserted for a season, But we have a cheirfull fire for our friends, and a prospect of living at it for the [*mutilated*] ballance of our lives. I have sent on my resignation by Doctor Brunaugh. I recd. from Mr. Monroe last night via Pensacola a letter in which he again presses me to continue as Governor, this I will not do. he intimates that Haywood may be the Federal Judge. As you know I have no thought of continuing, but if I had I should be fearfull of accepting before I saw the Judge to whom I was to be associated least another apostate priest should be found. These perjured immorral monsters in society I allways did abhor, they never have or will be my associates. I will be happy to hear from you often. Present us to Cary Nicholas and Tunstall—To all the officers of the army, and say to Capt Donoho that his young widow is in waiting for him, on this subject I will write him the first Leisure moment. Accept assurances of my friendship and Esteem

[3] Call married Mary Letitia Kirkman.

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Department of War, November 16, 1821.

Sir, I have received your letters of the 17th and 20th September, the first containing a copy of an unauthorized talk held with the Indians in Florida by a Mr. Dexter and Mr. Wanton, the latter a copy of a talk held with them by yourself and of a letter written by you to Genl. McIntosh.[1]

The views which you have taken in relation to the Indians generally, and particularly of those in Florida, appear very correct. I entirely concur with you that it is perfectly absurd to hold treaties with those within our limits, as they neither are or can be independent of our government. This opinion has been frequently communicated to Congress, and altho' they have not yet adopted it, I still hope that they will ultimately.[2] By its adoption both ours and their interest would be advanced, and all of the objections, which may be urged against almost every Indian treaty which has been made, be thereby avoided. As it regards the Indians in Florida, I can entertain no doubt, but that it would be expedient to remove them entirely out of the limits of Florida, for the reasons which you have assigned, and such also is the opinion of the President; but he is of opinion that it would be improper for that purpose, without the sanction of Congress and a special appropriation, to resort to force or to incur any considerable expenditure. Should there appear to be any prospect at the next session to effect so desirable an object, it will be brought before Congress. If, however, nothing better can be done than to concentrate them in Florida, the point which you propose appears to me to be the most elegible. . . . .

Colonel James Gadsden to Jackson.

Washington, November 20, 1821.

. . . . The subject of the next President, has as you will perceive been agitated in our papers. There never was a period which called for the exercise of a sound discretion as to the choice like the present. Crawfords friends are intriguing deeply and in some quarters with success. To elevate him to the Presidential chair will produce a chain of evils and entail a series of misfortunes on our country that will require a century to remedy.

Mr Adams' friends are not so active: and even the quarter from whence he should expect support, appear lukewarm. Mr A's course though it has not been such as would meet with an unqualified approbation has still been such as to render him a decidedly preferable man to the former. It is doubtful however whether he can succeed against Mr Crawford; and should we hazard for him what might prove ruinous, Mr Clinton stands no chance; excepting his immediate party, he is execrated by a large majority of the community. I know not your opinions as to who should be the next President: but believe you agree with me as to the total unfitness as to certain aspiring personage. If in this case you deem me worthy of your confidence will you give me your views on the subject.

[1] John McIntosh of Georgia (1755-1826).

[2] In 1871 Congress enacted that no more treaties should be made with Indian tribes.

You will appreciate my motives on this request; The good of our country requires that all honest men, who are in favour of a settled policy for the administration of our government, characterised by honest independence and a freedom from intrigue, should unite in elevating to the Presidency the man who will be governed accordingly. Mr Crawford is and has ever been a most dangerous and unsettled politician. Ever fluctuating, like a weathercock; he has been wafted about by every popular wind. If he has been steady in any one policy, it is that of a most ruinous character. His administration of the Treasury Department speaks most admonitory lessons.

I write in haste
Your friend

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Nashville, November 22, 1821.

Sir, I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th of October, with its several inclosures; and persuant to your request, I here with submit to you, the considerations which influenced me, in the measures taken in relation to Colonel Don José Callava.

By the 2nd Article of the Treaty, Spain was bound to deliver over with the Territories etc. all archives and documents which relate directly to the property and sovreignty of said provinces. And in the language of the Treaty " the said Archives and documents, *shall be left,* with the commissioners or Officers of the United States, duly authorized to receive them ".

On the 17th of July possession was delivered to me, by the Spanish Commandant, Don José Callava, of the Provinces Fortifications etc. together with what *he* represented to be, *All* the Archives and public documents, relating to the property, and sovreignty of the soil; and which, by the Treaty, he was bound to deliver.

On the 21st of August, I received a note from the Alcade of the City of Pensacola,[2] in which he states " I learn from the most satisfactory evidence, that a number of documents relating to estates in this place; and to suits instituted here; are in the possession of an individual of the name of Domingo Sousa. These papers properly belong to this Office, but were not included in the inventory delivered by the late Governor. Some of the circumstances attending the affair are of a peculiar nature, but as the necessity for obtaining possession of the documents, is urgent, I must defer making a report respecting them, to some other period. At present I must request your Excellency to authorize some one to make a regular demand of the said documents, and to ascertain precisely what they are ".

Upon this information I immediately issued a Commission[3] to my Secretary Colonel George Walton and associated with him Henry M Brackenridge and John Miller Esqr., directing them to proceed to the house of said Domingo Sousa, and to make a demand of such documents, as ought to have been delivered, under the Treaty.

[1] State Dept.
[2] H. M. Brackenridge; letter in *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 779.
[3] *Ibid.,* followed by other papers referred to later in this letter.

The demand being made by the commissioners persuant to their instructions from me, they returned and delivered to me, in answer thereto, a letter from the said Domingo Sousa, in which he admits, there are in his possession, certain papers Boxed up, which had been delivered to him for safe keeping by Colonel Callava.

The first effort to obtain from Sousa the papers sought for, having failed the application and demand was reiterated by the same gentlemen, under my order. They say to him " We do not claim any papers in your possession, or that of any other, relating to the Military tribunals or to the revenue of the Spanish Government, But we are certain that no individual, no matter what office he may have held under the Spanish Government, has any right to retain possession of archives and documents which relate directly to the sovreignty and property of this province etc. and we again make a positive demand of the papers mentioned in our note of yesterday, towit, The documents in the case of Don Nicholas Maria Vidal, and Eugene Siera, also a proceeding against Manuel Bonfay, and Carlos de Ville, and the documents in the case of Peter Guilkes and Thomas Villa Seca. These papers are known to be in your possession, and we demand to know by whose authority, as no person has the right to authorize you to detain them."

Upon this second demand, the aforesaid commissioners reported to me, that Domingo Sousa had exhibited to them, certain Boxes of papers for examination, and That among them were the papers before enumerated, papers by which the right of individuals (some of whom were orphans) to a property of great value in the Floridas, could alone be established; papers which being indispensable to the establishment of right and title to property in the Teritory, ought to have been delivered over with the Archives and public documents, as by the Treaty Spain had stipulated, and the Spanish Commandant was bound to do. Sousa, however, refused to deliver them, and returned them to the House and keeping of Colonel Callava, from whom he had received them. If the papers related to the property and sovreignty of the soil, Colonel Callava had no more right to detain them, than had his Subaltern Domingo Sousa. his functions having ceased by the delivery of the province, he stood, in relation to our Government, in the same capacity, that any other *private* individual would have done. he owed the same obedience to the laws, and was subject to the same punishment for an infraction of them.

That I have never considered Colonel Callava as clothed with any diplomatic powers from the Government of Spain, is, as you have inferr'd from my letter, most certainly true; because he had not only never exhibited to me, any credentials or testimonials creating such powers in him, but on the contrary, when I proposed to him a reciprocal exhibition of our respective authorities, he waived the ceremony. In a letter to me of the 19th of June, to which I refer you, he remarks " I repeat the assureances I have made you in other communications, *of my being furnished with orders,* under the same treaty, to *evacuate* this province, *and give possession of it* to the commissioners or Officers of the United States lawfully authorised to receive it. " Your Excellency expresses also a wish that I would concurr in fixing a day, as early as possible, and to suit the

mutual convenience of both parties, for an interview and exhibition of our credentials. In reply I have the honor to acquaint your Excellency, That in *your quality of Commissioner*, you may when it suits your pleasure, and in the manner you may deem most expedient, exhibit *your credentials*, to *me as the existing commandant of the province*. and I have already told your excellency that I am authorized to enter into arrangements for its being evacuated by his Catholic Majestys Troops and delivered to your Excellency agreeably to the stipulations by our respective Governments.

From the foregoing extract, you will be convinced, I never could have considered Colonel Callava as possessing any powers, in regard to the Treaty, but such as he derived from the Captain General of the Island of Cuba, and by virtue of his Office of Governor of West Florida, nor can you fail to draw the conclusion, that Colonel Callava did not consider *himself*, competent to the exercise of any other powers, duties or privileges, under the Treaty; than those enumerated in his letter to me, towit, the evacuation of the province and the surrender of it to the American Authorities, and even these he did not claim to exercise as *Commissioner*, but says " you, may exhibit your credentials to me, *as the existing commandant of this province*" in which capacity " I am authorized to enter into arrangements for its being evacuated by his Catholic Majestys Troops, and surrendered agreeably to the stipulations of the Treaty ". It had been reported to me by Colonel Forbes the American Agent Charged with the delivery of the Royal Order to the Captain General of Cuba, that he had arrived at Pensacola, on the 9th of June, accompanied by Don Alva The Spanish commissioner for delivering the provinces of East and West Florida to the American authorities appointed to receive them; This information I communicated to Colonel Callava; and for the considerations growing out of it, I proposed to him, as I have before stated to you, a reciprocal exhibition and recognition of our respective Credentials; This he declined as you have seen. I then plainly foresaw that he wished to draw me into a delay of the time, for the delivery of the Country; for if I had refused to recognize him as the Agent, authorized by the Captain General of Cuba, to make the transfer; I must either have submited to a tedious, embarrassing and injurious procrastination of the surrender of the provinces to the United States, or have been driven to the necessity of takeing it by force. And as there was no express stipulation for a formal delivery, I deemd it better to receive the Teritories, of him as the Agent of Spain, acting under Orders, which he *professd* to have received, than to submit, either to the delay, which must otherwise have ensued, or to resort to force, to obtain that for my Government, which Spain was bound by all good faith, under an existing Treaty to put into its possession, amicably and without delay. Having viewd Colonel Callava, then, merely as an Agent, invested with no other powers than a surrender of the Province, and a withdrawal of the Spanish Forces; I regarded him, in the consummation of these duties, as entitled to all the privileges and immunities, guaranteed to such Agents, by the laws of Nations, But, Sir the moment the surrender was made, and the soil and

sovreignty of the Teritories became vested in the United States, my duties as Commissioner ceased, and my functions as Governor commenced; he too, having accomplished all that had been assigned him to do, was bound by the express stipulations of the Treaty, to have with drawn himself from the ceeded provinc[e]. neglecting so to do, no other privileges could appertain to him, than such as attach to every individual.

The faith of Treaties, says Vattel is holy and sacred between nations whose safety and repose it secures, and he who violates it, at the same time violates, the laws of Nations. and if the people are true to Themselves, infamy will ever be the fate of him, who violates his faith. By the 2nd Article of the Treaty, which I have before quoted, all Archives and documents relating to the property and sovreignty of the Country ceeded; was to have been delivered with the Teritories. I would ask then, were not the papers which were secreted and attempted to be carried away, (and which were the cause of his imprisonment) of the de[s]cription contemplated and expresly provide[d] by the Treaty, to have been delivered? did they not appertain to the private property of the ceeded Country? Were they not in *Themselves* private property? If so, was not the attempt to carry them away, not only a flagrant violation of the Treaty, but a larceny upon the individuals, whose property they were and from whom he was clandestinly takeing and carrying them off? And sir, as a proof that the papers were of the description contemplated by the Treaty to be left in the Province, and that Colonel Callava intended to carry them out of the country, permit me here, to make an extract from the deposition of Merced Vidal Palao, taken before Henry M. Brackenridge Esqr. Alcade of the City of Pensacola. She testifyed "That her Father Nicholas Maria Vidal left her by his will one of his heirs, and that he died about the year 1806 possessd of a large real and personal estate. That the will of her Father with the inventories of his real and personal estate, had been for several years missing from the public Archives of Pensacola, having been by some person unknown, withdrawn from the same. That repeated applications were made by her to the authorities then existing there, to compell the restoration of the said papers and documents, as they were and still are necessary to enable her to prosecute her said claim under the said will". That the said papers were finally restored under a decree. "The deponant further states, that a few days before the change of Governments she demanded them of Colonel Callava, who informed her *that he could not give them up as he was oblieged to take them to the Havana.* The deponant further states that said papers relate to property in this country and in Louisania."

In as much as treaties contain promises that are perfect and reciprocal, if one of the contracting parties fail in his engagements, the other may Constrain him to fulfill them. If this is a clear principle of National law, the right to imprison the Spanish Agent would not be in the least affected by the termination or continuation, of his immunities as agent, nor will the right of the united states to compell Spain to a faithful execution of the Treaty be disputed; if then Spain was liable so to be coerced, how much more is he, subject to such compulsion, who is merely her

Agent; an agent too, in whom, we are bound to believe, she reposed the most implicit confidence; one to whom she had entrusted, and from whom she expected a faithful and honorable discharge of the high obligations she had assum'd with the United States.

I have thus sir gone through the principal considerations which governed me in the imprisonment of Col. Callava, and have added a few of the facts that made this course indispensable—from all of which you will perceive that in all my intercourse with him, I have viewed him in no other, nor could I view him in any other light than that of Military Agent of Spain appointed by the captain General of Cuba to deliver over the province and all things appertaining thereto, specifyed by the Treaty to be delivered; which duty being compl[e]te his immunities of exemption from the ordinary process of law immediately ceased. Admiting that he had received any diplomatic powers from his Government, his obstinate refusal to exhibit them, precluded me from the possibility of appreciating them; letters of Credence are the instruments which authorize and establish a minister in his character, and whether he be considered as minister or agent, he could only be received in the quality attributed to him in his credentials, But says Vattel, " a more particular protection is due to agents than to other foreigners or citizens, and some regard in consideration of the prince whom they serve ". This regard was most punctiliously observed towards Colo. Callava until the termination of his immunities as Agent, After which, in his private capacity, he violated the Treaty, the laws of Nations, and the sacred privileges and rights of individuals entitled to the protection of the United States, and over whom I had been placed to administer the laws, to whom, to secure justice, it had now become indispensably necessary to punish him for his perfidiousness and for his contempt of my Judicial authority.

The time limited by the Treaty for the delivery of the country, and the withdrawal of the Spanish Officers and Troops had expired, and his pretence That he remained to await the decission of the two Governments in relation to the Artillery, is a vile subterfuge which claims no consideration or remark. His being permited to remain was a mere act of courtesy extended to him, as a Military Officer of the Spanish Government.

In my letter to you of the 26th of August,[4] I remark Colonel Callavas powers having ceased here, with the surrender of the country; it was only a display and so considered by me, of pompous arrogance and ignorance, in his claiming the privileges of diplomacy which in fact he never possess'd, and his power having ceased, his commission accomplished, the pretence which he sat up was an insult to the meanest understanding. Having as I hope explained to your satisfaction that at the time of Colonel Callavas imprisonment, he could claim no exemption from civil process, by virtue of any commission he then held under the Spanish Government, and believeing too that I have clearly explained and proved to you that he never did exhibit any credentials, which alone could have entitled him to the privileges and immunities of Commissioner, I shall proceed to explain some other points, to which you have directed my at-

[4] Pp. 112-116, *ante*.

tention. It is alledged by Colonel Callava, as well as by Mr. Salmon,[5] That it was necessary Colo Callava should continue in Pensacola, because the cannon belonging to the Fortifications, was reserved for future negotiation between the two Governments, and that in the mean time they were kept under his, Colonel Callavas care. I would ask you sir how could colonel Callava exercise any care or keeping over Them. They had formally been delivered over to and receipted for by me, and the Government of the United States made responsible to the Spanish Government for all that had been delivered to await their respective decission. Mr. Salmon as well as Colo Callava has asserted, what in this respect is not the fact. The language of Mr. Salmon Throughout, is exceptionable and insolent, but he claims this privilege on this occasion, because " His Catholic Majesty had determined to give a new pledge, among many others, of his particular regard for the interests of the United States, *in the permission which he has granted them of keeping in Mahon a deposit of provisions and Naval Stores which they may introduce free of duties*". Then according to Mr. Salmons rule of estimating favours, because His Catholic Majesty has granted this permission to the United States, of introducing provisions and Naval Stores in to Mahon *free of duties* the United States ought on her part to have permited His Catholic Majestys Officers, to have transported from without the United States, any archives and documents which they might have chosen to secrete, *free of molestation.*

The allegation that I had nineteen days before his imprisonment, written him a letter acknowledging his Commissaral character, is unfounded, and cannot be sustained by any proofs he can adduce. I did write him a letter on the 3rd of August remonstrating against his conduct in withholding a receipt, which he had previously solemnly stipulated to give, and which according to his arrangement with me, was to have been given on the 17th of July, the day on which the province was surrendered to the United States. In consideration of his leaving the Ordnance in the Fortifications, I agreed to supply and did supply His Catholic Majestys troops with provisions to subsist them to the Havana, and furnished transportation for their civil officers families and servants, and for the families and servants of the military Officers, all which was not stipulated to be furnished by the Treaty; but for which we were to pass mutual receipts and leave them for future settlement of our respective Governments. These receipts were to have been reciprocally interchanged on the 17th of July, as above, but on that day he plead indisposition and on his sacred pledge of honor I indulged him until that indisposition should be removed

I repeatedly calld on him through Majr. Stanton of the United States Army for a fulfillment of his agreement, (having on my part receipted for the Cannon on the 17th of July). I now Ordered Doctor Bronaugh to accompany Majr Stanton and demand the receipt, and directed them to inform him distinctly, if he did not then comply, I would report the same to my Government and that the receipt I had given him for the Ordnance

[5] Francisco Hilario Rivas y Salmon, chargé d'affaires for Spain throughout the month of October, 1821.

should be considered null and void, in as much as the condition upon which it was given had failed by his refusal to receipt to me for the provisions and Transportation furnished by the United States.

I complained to him in this letter of the 3rd of August of his signal breach of faith "in thus evading on the plea of indisposition the performance of a stipulated promise which was to have been consummated on the 17th of July before the surrender", but which he afterwards refused to fulfill at all. I expostulated with him for his infidelity in thus violating his pledge of honor, wantonly and corruptly; in first failing and afterwards refusing to perform that which he was bound in honor and by the most sacred agreement, to have performed, but which he was permited to delay until his alledged ill health should be restored.

You will therefore clearly perceive, Sir, that this letter merely referrs to what was agreed to have been done on the morning of the 17th of July whilst his official capacity as Agent aforesaid existed and not to any thing which occurred after that day.

It is alledged that I did not call Officially upon Colonel Callava to deliver the papers. to this I would reply that our Official correspondence had of necessity ceased by the termination of his powers as Agent, and by the expiration of the time limited by the Treaty for the delivery of the Country. Sitting as the representative of my Government, in my Judicial capacity, administering laws that know no distinction between the rich and poor the great and ignoble, I could not extend to him any privileges or indulgence, which the laws did not guarantee nor could I debase my representative character or the majesty of these laws by such a condecinsion, to gratify the vanity of a Spaniard charged with being engaged in a fraud upon the rights and property of individuals living within the immediate limits of my Jurisdiction.

The misinterpretation of which he complains will be explained by the documents submited to you, to be falsehood invented and propagated by himself, indeed his protest Throughout is a tissue of wilfull and corrupt misrepresentations and falsehoods; and being sworn to, are absolute and premeditated perjuries, of which I feel no hesitation in believing, you will be thoroughly convinced, by a perusal of the evidence already forwarded to you, and of that which accompanies this communication.

In conclusion permit me to request you sir, to call on Mr. Salmon for the *originals* of his *faithful documents*. if they appear in the form of affidavits sworn to, they are forgeries or John Inerarity[6] has perjured himself, as you will see from his deposition which I have forwarded to you and to which I would on this point particularly refer you.

With Sentiments of Sincere regard and esteem,

To Colonel James Gadsden.

Hermitage, December 6, 1821.

D'r Gadsden. your congratulatory letter of the 20th ult is Just to hand, and from my own fire side I have the pleasure to respond to it.

[6] John Innerarity, a "Spanish gentleman of Pensacola", a member of the house of John Forbes and Co., and of the cabildo of Pensacola, was the defendant to the suit brought by Maria Vidal, from which the conflict with Callava and Fromentin arose.

I had confidence in the good sense of the honest part of the community, that my proceedings in the case of Callava (which has given so much scope for invective against me, by these restless and unprincipled Editors) would be fully approved by the nation as soon as it was fully disclosed to the public. as I before have stated to you, I proceeded in the case aluded to, with a firm but cautious step. the more I review the case the better I am pleased with myself, and altho I am free to admit, that the approbation of the nation would be gratifying to me, yet would I not change the proceedings if to be acted over again to obtain it—my conscience on this subject is perfectly at rest.

I have not seen the advocate of N. Y.[1] But it is the most ludicrous Idea immaginable that he insinuates and intimates. I have never seen Govr. Clinton. I have never recd. but two introductory letters from him, he has never wrote me upon any subject unless that of introducing his friends to me, nor have I ever wrote him but in return and on the subject of his friend, so introduced, and as my recollection at present serves me not more than twice, and then only acknowledging the receipt of his letters, and informing him that there were no offices within my gift that I could besto *upon* his friend. never did Mr. Clinton in his life intimate to me the subject of the presidential election, either by writing, or by verbal communication, nor never has it been heard from my lips that I would support him as such. Therefore on this score Mr. Crawford and his friends may have no fear—nor need they expect any other than Mr. Adams to be supported in this state unless some Southern candidate should arise, and I am certain no man in the South could concentrate the votes of the south and west but Mr. Calhoun, and you are at liberty to say in my name both to my friends and enemies, that I will as far as my influence extends support Mr. Adams unless Mr. Calhoun should be brought forward—and that I have no doubt but Mr. Adams will out pole Mr. Crawford in the south and west, should these two run alone.

I think highly of Mr. Clintons talents and of his great exertions to promote the interest of his state, but his popularity from some cause has greatly declined in the west and if he was to offer could not be elected. you know my private opinion of Mr. Adams Talents, virtue, and integrity, and I am free to declare that I have never changed this opinion of Mr. Adams since it was first formed, I think him a man of the first rate mind of any in america as a civilian and scholar, and I have never doubted of his attachment to our republican Goverment. you may therefore inform the advocate or his friends that (*as usual*) he is again wrong in his discoveries, and that I never have nor never will form a combination with any man or set of men, to carry any thing into effect, that I have an opinion of my own on all subjects, and when that opinion is formed I persue it, *publickly*, regardless of who goes with me, that in all things as far as I have control I please myself by doing that which I believe to be right, and this rule I will strictly follow in my cho[i]ce for the next

[1] The New York *Advocate* had suggested that Jackson had combined with DeWitt Clinton to make the latter President. The suggestion, said Gadsden, was "now going the rounds" through the press.

president. and my dear Sir I feel greatly indebted to you for your friendly, defence of my reputation. That man is not on earth, that can with truth say I ever was engaged in a political combination of any kind, or for any purpose. Therefore the advocate and his friends has stated what is not true. present me to Brunaugh and all friends. Mrs. J Joins me in good wishes

P. S. as to Wm. H Crawford you know my opinion I would support the Devil first.

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, December 30, 1821.

D'r Genl, I have so much business on hand arising out of our Committees, and various letters to reply to that I am afraid my friends will find in me a bad correspondent. It is no easy matter either to make out a letter in hurried moments, where there is nothing to write about; and this has been and yet is my situation. Out of Congress nothing grows of moment or interest: they have done nothing and it is difficult to say whether any thing is to be done, or indeed can be done while all is manouver after the Presidential chair. Already are three (as a sportsman would say) on the turf, ready for entrance as their keepers may pronounce them passed of sufficient fleetness and bottom: they are all from the Cabinet. Not at all privy to any passing intrigue, I can hasard scarcely an opinion of what the result *here* may be.

That Congress will *caucus* and make a nomination I have no doubt, judging from present appear[an]ces; but who 'twill be is a matter quite uncertain. This winter and the next will be mere *feeling,* and attempts to impress thro the members of Congress the public mind in some way. That Mr. Adams is greatly weakened in the number of his frends I have little doubt: his strength is not what it was the last and the previous winter: It is urged that the Eastern federal party, apart from sectional considerations will not support him, while the republicans of the old school are wavering, hesitating and whispering a want of confidence in the *family* of the *Braintree's.* Crawford is and has for two winters been declining. his frends tho are playing him off with all necessary and due diligence, while he is laboring in the vineyard, and seeking to impress the public mind with the prosperous state of his Department, and that in the finance department all is well.

Notwithstanding our flattering acc's it will be questionable if we go hence without a loan; every attempt tho will be made to play off this matter with great dexterity and to sustain the credit of the Treasy. Dept. The member from Missi. (Rankin) has called for information as to what is meant by unavailable funds (western uncurrent money) and how and when it was obtained.[1] I have little doubt but that a good deal of our funds more than is looked for is dormant under this head, too dormant to enter into the current expences of the year. Calhoun is also on the Presidential Carpet and moving on with goodly prospects: report here

[1] Dec. 28. *Annals of Congress,* 17 Cong., 1 sess., I. 594.

is that the Pensyla. members will all support him. Upon the whole the Cabinet counsel have opened a vigorous campaign, and many a fine turkey, Duck etc. will fall victims in the conflict. I assure you upon this subject we have every prospect of a busy session.

Nothing is spoken of now about Calava, all noise and opposition upon this subject seems to have died away; if any assault is meditated a few days more will I suppose shew it. . . . .

To Colonel Edward G. W. Butler.[1]

[Hermitage], January 8, 1822.

. . . . It has been with the greatest pleasure, my young friend, that I have tendered you that advice and counsel which my experience has enabled me to give, and especially when I have believed that I could contribute to your future welfare by impressing upon your mind the importance of morality, and by directing your attention to such objects as were most likely to eventuate in your permanent interest. I have done so with the greatest cheerfulness and an eye single to your good. I trust, then, that you will view me when opposing your determination to join the Russian service and abandon that of your country, as influenced by no sinister motive, but as alive only to those prospects which may determine your reputation and the character to which you may attain as a soldier and a citizen.

You say that you have spent the best of your life in a profession which offers no inducements in your country. Let me ask what is it in the profession of arms in your country that is inconsistent with the character which awaits an officer devoted to its service—prepared by science for distinction in that service, and competent to [*illegible*] or share in its battles and dangers? What is it in the character of your country that is unworthy of your efforts to sustain it? What in its national feeling that cannot claim your participation? Where is the country, besides your own, whose glory is the protection of liberty and those equal rights which have long since been lost in the despotism and corruption of every European government? Where is that love of country which, living even with the chained and shackled peasantry of a monarch, despises all control? And would you renounce this sacred tie for the glory to be won in the uncertain career of a foreign emperor? Can you sacrifice the feelings which should characterize an American officer to the illusions which support royalty and conceal its corruption? I hope you could not. There are many objections, Edward, to your adopting the course which you have named, but which I shall not mention, believing that you will unhesitatingly abandon a

[1] This letter is taken from a pamphlet published in 1857 by Charles Gayarré with the title, *A Sketch of General Jackson by Himself*. The language is unlike Jackson's and, in view of Gayarré's admitted habit of presenting "historical truth set in a gilded frame" (Bassett, *Middle Group of American Historians*, p. 52), we may conclude that Jackson's writing has been liberally improved. The sentiments are probably slightly changed.

Gayarré took the letter from several written by Jackson to his ward, Col. Edward G. W. Butler, who in 1857 was living in Louisiana. He became a cadet in 1816, reached the rank of first lieutenant in 1823, and resigned with that rank in 1831, after serving several years as aid to General Gaines. Gayarré's pamphlet of 1857 was liberally reprinted in *De Bow's Review* (1857), XXII. 549-553. See also *ibid.*, XXIII. 94-98, 333.

scheme which you have formed without reflection. It is true that the blind policy of the last Congress has limited the prospects of reputation and distinction in our army, but things will not always be as they are. The policy must change; and, independent of this, what greater incentive do you want than the persuasion that by improving the advantages which you now possess, you will be prepared to enter with distinction into the service of your country, when it shall need and shall ask for your service and talents. Continue your studies, and your proficiency shall be rewarded. Be industrious and you will not feel the miseries of idleness.

To President Monroe.[1]

Nashville, January 22, 1822.

Sir, I have this moment seen the national Intelligencer of the 2nd of this Instant, where it appears, that a call has been made by the house on you for all information relative to the proceedings against Colo. Callava, and all information relative to the dispute between Judge Fromentine and myself. I hope and trust sir every communication between Fromentine and me and every proof accompanying them may be laid before the house and every document relating to the case of Colo. Callava and all communications thereon, and as I have seen it announced that my resignation has been accepted of, and I am still without any information from you or the sec of state, upon this subject, the mover of this resolution has declared that he has brought it forward with the avowed intention of moveing an impeachment against me. I have to request, and do request that my resignation may not be accepted, untill after a full and final investigation into my whole conduct as Gov. of the Floridas, and untill after I am advised of the result, as Justice to myself and country, may make it necessary that I may have it in my power before I resign, to make an application to Congress. I have to request that on the receipt of this you will make it known to Congress that my resignation has not been accepted of, and at my request will not be, untill a full investigation into my whole conduct as Gov of the Floridas has gone through and every officer of the Floridas. I have the honour to be Sir

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Hermitage, January 31, 1822.

D'r Sir, Inclosed I send you an extract of a letter from Colo. George Walton sect. of west Florida, and charged with exercising the powers of Governor of the same in my absence, with its inclosure. Having recd. from the President of the United States, his letter bearing date the 31rst of December last, post marked at the city of Washington the 9th Instant, notifying me that my resignation was accepted, forecloses me from giving to Colo. Walton any instructions, officially, and have thought proper to refer him to the President for directions as to the proper

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla. On the same day Jackson wrote Adams a long letter in reply to complaints by the Spanish minister referring to Jackson's seizure of official papers in Florida. See *Am. St. Pap., For. Rel.,* IV. 793-796.

[1] State Dept., Terr. Pap., Fla.

course to be pursued with regard to those spanish officers. Colo. Coulon is fatherinlaw to John Innerarity, Guilemand is a verry base and Treacherous man, being the same who pilotted the British Troops up the Byou Beavenue in the year 1815 [2] (then an officer of Spain) when the attempt was made upon Neworleans by Genl Packinham.[3]

I also inclose herewith (marked no 2) for the information of the President of the u states, the certificate of mr Henry wilson, a man of respectability, that goes to shew the fraudulent practices committed, and committing by the officers of spain, with regard to land titles in the Floridas, and forcibly adds to the propriety of adopting the rule I have here tofore recommended, of appointing none to the office of commissioners for the adjudication of land titles in Florida, but those of honesty integrity, and entirely disinterested. should this rule not be adopted, great frauds will be imposed upon the united states.

My resignation having been accepted, I am very anxious to have my accounts closed in your Department, with instructions to pay over the public funds remaining in my hands, and instructed to what date my account for stationary and post office account should be made up to, and what directions I am to give to the public communications I may receive from the Floridas, from Colo. Walton and mr Worthington.

The Public funds in my hands are mostly in the neworleans Bank, in deposit—the ballance in the Branch Bank of the state of Tennessee at Nashville, in neworleans notes, *a special Deposit,* all which are available to the Goverment, and which I am anxious to receive instructions to pay over.

Before I close this letter, permit me sir through you to say to the President of the united states, that Colo. Waltons conduct as sec of west Florida, and exercising the powers of Governor of the same in my absence has met and received my approbation, and having removed his family there at great expence, relying on a continuance of that office, and filling the same, would be a great injury to him, should he be disappointed in continuing in that office. I have only to remark, that the expence of moving his family has been heavy, and his pecuniary means very much straitened, I have therefore to add my solicitations that he be continued.

with sentiments of great respect and personal regard,

[2] It was during the night of Dec. 22, 1814, that the British were piloted up Bayou Bienvenue.

[3] In the letter from Colonel Walton here mentioned, Jan. 7, 1822, is the following information about Coulon (Marcos de Villiers, formerly commandant at St. Mark's) and Arnaldo Guillemard. "A few days ago two of the spanish officers Colo Marcos de Villiers generally called Colo. Coulon, and arnoldo Guilmand, arrived here in a Vessel from Havanna. It was at first intimated to me that they had resigned their commissions in the spanish service; but when arrested by my order and brought before me, they declared they had come with the intention of asking permission to attend in person to the settlement of their private affairs, and the removal of their families; they solemnly declared they had not returned in defience of the proclamation which they had promptly obayed, and that they are ready to submit themselves to any order which should be taken in their case. For the present I ordered them into confinement, but the callaboze being in no condition to receive them, for, excepting the officers room it has no fire place, and as Coulon is a very old man, and his wife at this time extremely ill, I thought it best to confine them in their own houses. The situation of old Coulon was such that it would have been cruel to confine him in the dungeon with the common malefactor, and I could not with propriety make a distinction with respect to Guilmand—they then presented the inclosed memorial in which they threw themselves on the mercy of the Goverment."

To Thomas Jefferson.[1]

Hermitage, February 6, 1822.

D'r Sir. While Doctr. Thos. G. Watkins resided in this state, there was a considerable differenece between him and myself—which I am informed has operated much to the Docts prejudice.

He called on me yesterday at my house for the purpose of reconcilliation. He made such explanations as has induced me to restore him to the standing he occupied in my estimation before the unpleasant difference took place. At his request it affords me pleasure to make this communication. I am happy to learn from the Doctr that you continue to enjoy good health in your old age.

That your health and life may long be preserved for the benefit of society and the litterary world is the fervent wish of your friend and obt. sert [2]

Dr. James C. Bronaugh to Jackson.

Washington, February 8, 1822.

My D'r Sir, I wrote you a hasty letter yesterday immediately after waiting upon the President. To day I learn he will have a cabinet council upon the subject mentioned in your letter. what the result will be is uncertain and I think not materially important, as you are willing whether your resignation is accepted or not, to answer generally to any articles of impeachment which may be prefered against you. The Speaker has recd. your letter, but has not yet laid it before the House and will wait the decision of the President. When all the documents come out the subject will be so clear, that I doubt much whether any thing will be attempted by those who made the move, for they are I believe completely sick of the subject and regret that they have by the publication of the documents placed you upon such high ground before the public.

[1] Copy.

[2] Jackson wrote this letter at the request of John Somerville, of Nashville, who informed him, Feb. 4, 1822, that Dr. Watkins's enemies had revived an old story, to the doctor's prejudice, with respect to Mrs. Polly Davis's will, and appealed to him to grant an interview to Dr. Watkins so as to give him an opportunity to re-establish himself in his, Jackson's, good opinion. Somerville, who admitted that he was once an enemy of Dr. Watkins, concluded his letter as follows:

"He now resides near Mr. Jefferson, whose family Physician he is when at home, and where your name will do him either much good or much harm. There his enemies have against set the story of Mrs. Davis's Will in agitation against him for the purpose, no doubt, of distroying his popularity as a Physician of the first grade of talents. Allow me then, to solicit you most earnestly to save a worthy and deserving man, who has been most falsely traduced, by giving him the hand of friendship and of reconciliation with such letters to your friends Mr. Jefferson and Mr Madison as your feelings will dictate as proper on the occasion. As I have the strongest reasons to beli[e]ve that this reconciliation is not sought through motives of pecuniary interest in his profession, I can assure you that it is desired to give peace to his wounded feelings and increase his pleasure in life by being restored to the good opinion of one whose estimation he has ever valued very highly and whose public services had endeared him to the hearts and warmest affections of the American People."

Jefferson's opinions of Jackson's fitness for the Presidency are usually pronounced unfavorable, and the evidence cited is a statement of Webster's (see Webster's *Correspondence,* I. 371). But, Nov. 2, 1827, Dr. Thomas G. Watkins wrote to a Washington editor, probably Duff Green, saying that, in a communication, which he was about to publish in the Knoxville *Register,* he had summed up what he had often heard Jefferson say of Jackson, Adams, and Clay, and Jefferson's opinion of Jackson was high.

Those who before en[ter]tained a friendly feeling towards you, from a thorough conviction of the pureness of the motives from which you acted, but considered that some of your proceedings in Florida were rather of too violent a character, have since the publication of the first part of the documents expressed the most decided approbation of your conduct and declare that you are the most astonishing man that the nation has ever produced—that you always act correctly let the situation in which you are placed be ever so difficult. Your friends are devoted—your enemies alarmed at your popularity and standing with the nation—they tremble when they see that they can not bear themselves out, with all their ingenuity, in the measures which their feelings would induce them [to] pursue towards you. Whitman and Archer [1] are the only members that have taken a decided stand against you and the latter is cooling off. Williams, Cannon and Cocke are affraid to express any opinion against you, and report says, will vote in your favor should any resolution be offered censuring your conduct. Indeed no man in Congress who is not completely under the influence of W. H. Crawford will be against you. Whitman is his devoted friend and has been exerting all his influence in the State of Maine for the last two years in his favor—he is the violent enemy of Adams—was a Federalist of the Boston stamp—was most violently opposed to the War and altho' not a member of the Hartford convention, yet was its warm supporter.

At the course taken by Archer, I have been astonished. he and myself were formerly extremely intimate and I had always considered him a high minded honorable man, we have had some warm discussions on the Florida transactions and he has cooled down much since his arrival here. He declares that he is perfectly satisfied that you acted from the most pure and patriotic motives, but considers that in your imprisonment of Callava and banishment of the Spanish Officers you violated not only the law of nations but the constitution of the U. States. At first he was most violent in relation to your treatment of the Judge, but has now abandoned that ground and says that he is a contemptible scoundrel and had no right to issue the writ of *H. Corpus*. He pretends not to have a very high opinion of the Secy. of the Treasury but prefers him to the others named for the Presidency. He and Scott were class mates [2] and are upon the most intimate terms, which may have had some influence upon him. But

[1] Ezekiel Whitman, of Maine, member of the House 1809-1811, 1817-1822, and William S. Archer, of Virginia, member of the House 1820-1835, and of the Senate 1841-1847. On Dec. 11, 1821, Whitman moved a resolution calling on the President for information about Jackson's relations with Callava and with Fromentin while governor of Florida. The resolution was adopted and Monroe complied in a message, with documents, Jan. 28, 1822. Although Whitman made two efforts to get the subject ventilated in Congress, the House denied him each time, and he had to be content with an order to have the message of Jan. 28, 1822, and its documents, printed. See *Annals of Congress*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., I. 534, 558, 559, 610, 620, 826, 827, 828, 1157, 1164. See also *ibid.*, II. 2295-2569; also, the documents, in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 799-913. Archer supported the resolution (*Annals, ibid.*, I. 644) and later, Mar. 5, introduced in the House resolutions condemning the President and Jackson in connection with recent Florida affairs. Before Archer could air his views the House cut off his remarks by refusing to consider his resolutions. *Annals of Cong.*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., I. 1195, 1196.

[2] Gen. Winfield Scott; classmates at the College of William and Mary.

the two Gentlemen in his District to whom he probably owes his seat in Congress and who have always been his warmest supporters are Dr. Archer and Judge Randolph who are great admirers of you and are as much devoted to you as any men in Virginia. I am therefore at a loss to account for his opposition unless from Crawford influence.

I enclose you Crawfords report in relation to the examination of Land Offices etc. made in obedience to Cooks resolution.[3] It is a strange production and is made out in the true diplomatic style. It does not contain the information called for and leaves it doubtful whether Mr. Senator Thomas recd. pay or not. The fact however is that he recd. six dollars per day and I believe from the time he left this until his return. Cook has offered another resolution on the subject which will bring out the facts. His friends are much alarmed and attacked Cook most violently in the discussion upon the subject, but he sustained himself well, and the resolution passed almost unanimously. Cook deserves great credit I think for the course which he has taken in this business—he possesses fine talents and is determined to probe it to the quick. He is Son-in-law to Governor Edwards,[4] and your warm friend.

All your acts in relation to the organization of the Government in Florida I understand have been approved by the President and the Scy. of State has written you to that effect. After the receipt of your letter yesterday I called at his house, but he was out. That Mr. Adams en[ter]tains the most friendly feeling towards you, I have no doubt and that he will defend you to the best of his ability I am perfectly satisfied—the more I know of him the more I am satisfied of his perfect sincerity and his devotion to the best interests of his Country. I know no man in the nation so well qualified as he is for the station which he fills. I regret that it is not in my power to give so flattering a picture of the President. the more I know of him, the more I am satisfied of his duplicity and his incompetency to fill the Office which he holds—the day is not distant when he will be universally despised by the american people or I am a false prophet. . . . .

The organization of the Army is making great noise here.[5] I am fearful that our friend Gadsden will be placed in an unpleasant situation—the military committee now have it under consideration. Mr. Calhoun has

[3] Jan. 3, 1822, Daniel P. Cook, M. C. from Illinois 1819-1835, introduced a resolution calling upon the Secretary of the Treasury for information as to persons employed and expense incurred in examining land offices, his suspicion being that needless sums had been paid, especially to Senator Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois. Crawford's report is in *Am. St. Pap., Public Lands,* III. 511-514.

[4] Ninian Edwards of Illinois.

[5] Jan. 21, 1822, the President sent to the Senate a list of nominations of officers of the army, made out in accordance with the act of Mar. 2, 1821, "to reduce and fix the military peace establishment of the United States". Opposition was made to the confirmation of two of the higher officers, Colonel Towson and Col. James Gadsden, the latter of whom had been nominated adjutant-general of the army. The ground of objection was that they were promoted at the expense of other officers of higher rank. On Mar. 21 and again on Apr. 12 the Senate refused to confirm the nominations. Monroe withdrew them and then sent them back with an explanation and supporting papers; but the Senate remained obdurate and disposed of the nominations adversely on Apr. 29. See *Am. St. Papers, Mil. Aff.,* II. 395-414, and *Niles' Register,* XXII. 406-423. Gadsden was an intimate friend of Calhoun, whose political fortunes he supported constantly.

written them a long letter on the subject which you will see in the papers. I think he had better acknowledge that the law was violated and throw the blame where it ou't to rest, on the board of Gnl. Officers. The pruning knife will be applied by Congress to the Army. The Major Genl. or Brigs. the Inspectors and Surg: Genl. I think will go. The military committee have called for Col: Butlers letter of resignation.

The Vice President [6] left this yesterday. I dont think he was perfectly sober during his stay here. He was several times so drunk in the chair that he could with difficulty put the question. I understand he will never return here. . . . .

John Rhea to Jackson.

Washington, February 10, 1822.

. . . . The Speaker of the House of representatives,[1] received a letter from you—he shewed it to me—he has written to you respecting it, and I agree with him in opinion, that it is better not to lay it before the House—the last paragraph of it is rather warm and seems to reflect. if you have a copy of that letter, write all of it except the last paragraph, and then send it to the Speaker of the House, not as a copy but as an original. I now wish that your resignation of the Govt. of Florida, had not been so soon; however, you may be assured that if any attempt be made to affect you by reason of any of your proceedings in Florida your friends here, and I as one of them, will state that you are ready to meet any charge in the same manner as if you had not resigned. Write to me when you receive this letter, in the manner above alluded to, without expressing any opinion, or reflection in regard to any one directly or indirectly—you are I believe on safe ground; make not any inimical to you. accept my best wishes for your health. Sincerly yours

Memoranda.[1]

memorandoms.

[February, 1822.]

The case, of the opinion of the atto. Genl U. S. on which M. was removed.

The charges as the Sec of the T. swindling the Govrt out of 25500 and giving it to the cherokees in violating the consti. in employing a senator to travel over three states to examine the land offices that he might electioneer for him.

[6] Daniel D. Tompkins.

[1] Philip P. Barbour was Speaker. His letter to Jackson, Feb. 9, 1822, was as follows: "I have received your letter, and in reply thereto, have to inform you, that I do not consider myself justified in laying it before the house; because it contains some imputations and reflections upon some of the members. If upon the receipt of this, you think proper to write another letter upon the subject, not liable to the objection above stated, and desire that it should be presented to the House, your request shall be complied with."

[1] This undated paper, in Jackson's handwriting, exists in the Jackson MSS., vol. 117. It seems to have been made early in 1822, but after the receipt of President Monroe's message of Jan. 28.

The charges in the papers vs the Post office department etc. etc. etc. etc.

The conduct of other nations towards their officers contrasted with that of our Govt towards me.

The charges for preserving orleans, the necessity urgent, martial law declared, the country and the constitution saved thereby.

The seminole campaign the conduct of congress in that case, the members mutilated and distorted the evidence their Views and object—particularlise them

The conduct of the committee of the senate the declaration of Eppes that he consented to the report without hearing the Testimony, Wm. H. Crawford charged with aiding in drafting it.

The Sec of the T. being publickly charged with interfeering with the states election of those favourable to his v[i]ews to the Presidency.

The now sec of the Treasury whilst Sec of War, his and Govr mitchels application to Genl merryweather to accept the creek agency, their reasons pressed upon him, his agreeing if it met with the approbation of his family that he would accept and advise mr. C. thereof—congress meets, $85,000 appropriated to pass through the agents hands to indemnify the friendly creeks for the spoliations of the red sticks. Mr. C. transmit the appointment to Genl mitchel then Govr. of the state of Georgia, and when Genl merryweather writes him that he would accept, the Sec answers that it is with extreme regret, that he has to advise him that a few days before his letter reached him he had sent the appointment to Govr. Mitchel—as stated how this 85m. was applied—africans and goods the sec implicated—the opinion of the attorny genl Mitchels removal thereon. Why has not these papers been called for and when called for how did it happen that there was such solicitude and importunity with the mover, that he should desist, and even that Mr monroe should personally interfere etc., etc.[2]

The Presidents late message the manner in which he speaks of Fromentine and myself, when the facts were before him, that proves that his statement was not true.[3] The resolution of Whitman calling for the papers 2nd of Janry[4] the letter of mr monroe, notifying the acceptance of my commission the 31st of Decbr, Post marked the 9th of January 1822, 7 days after the resolution—does this display friendship and fairness, that his letters breath—when my honour and charector was at stake, did not friendship and Justice say as he had not accepted my resignation why not retain it untill the investigation was closed. There was no successor nominated at that day. was it therefore to give the warhawks an opportunity to say on the floor of congress that I had resigned to screen myself from punishment, or was it in the Language of the anomous writer to aid in my destruction.

Why I ask was not these papers laid before congress agrea[ble] to my request made through the sec of state. was it because it would be then

[2] See vol. II., pp. 354, 420, 433-436, 440.

[3] Annual message of Dec. 3, 1821. Richardson, *Messages*, II. 104.

[4] Whitman's resolution was submitted on Dec. 11, 1821; Jan. 2 was the date of its adoption.

seen that the Judge had exceeded his Jurisdiction knowingly—why at least was not the powers to both disclosed with the message,[5] as the subject was touched and then have left congress to have Judged. Why was Fromentine appointed, his immor[al]ity was well known his unfitness was self evident—he had no claim on the goverment, why was Haywood rejected and Fr. chosen. Why I may ask was I solicited to accept after I had refused and when solicited as I was, believing it my duty to yield, when it was thought my services could be usefull, why did it happen, that not one officer that I had recommended, not one in whom from personal knowledge I could have confidence, were appointed. The annonimous letter answers this question. Through hypocrisy and pretended friendship I was to be placed off my guard and sacraficed as a peace offering to the Sec of the T. and thereby crush my influence and bring him to the executive chair.

comment on his reason for his appointments.

When I heard of the appoints had my situation been such as I could have resigned I should. I then determined to comply with my promise and resign. I was guarded in my conduct, I was determined to administer the Govrt. for the happiness of all, and prevent the poor and humble from the Tyranny of wealth and power, this I have accomplished, I trust—and strange to tell, I have never from the first got a single line of instructions from the President—all my measures were reported, none of them that were disapproved of. The Jurisdiction as defined by me to Judge F. was the same as explained to Fromentine in his letter of the day of [6] here inserted. is it possible then that mr Monroe could believe that the Judge thought that he was legally invested with the power he attempted to exercise. This from the facts before him could not be.

note the conversation between Dr. B. and mr Monroe, on the subject of Fromentine, before his message was communicated as stated in Dr. B. letter.

remark on the Political creed of the Richmond enquirer, that I ought to have confined Callava in his own house, but his subordinates in Jail—refer to the marcial law upon which our republican constitution is founded. Deut. chapter 1rst. ver. 17. ye shall not respect persons in Judgt; *but* ye shall hear the small as well as the great; ye shall not be afraid of the face of man; *for the Judgt is gods*: etc. etc.

notice the employment of Laycock[7] by Mr Crawford to receive the Columbia road, he being a contractor. This was a reward for his perfidious conduct as chairman of the senates committee, in pursuing the dictates of mr Crawford there in, and adopting the report furnished him by mr Crawford as his own, and which accounts for the Varience of said report from the Testimony upon which it is professed to be predicated. The public has a good specimen of mr. C. regard for truth in the docu-

[5] Meaning, with the message of Jan. 28, 1822—the papers reprinted in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 799-913.

[6] 26th of October, 1821, Adams to Fromentin; *cf.* with Jackson to Fromentin, Sept. 3, *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 848, 820, or p. 125, *ante*, note 2.

[7] See vol. II., pp. 410, 416.

ments placed before them by Govr. Clark in his pamphlet,[8] his capacity at intrigue, and in this report we have another, and the means mr Crawford employs to reward those who can corrupt to his Views, altho he says in his report that the senator lately employed by him and who was entitled to six dollars pr day etc. would receive nothing, but performed the duty assigned him *pro, bono, publico,*

In the Seminole question we find the parasite of mr Crawford mr mitchel at the city as a witness. Indulged by the committee to answer the Interrogatories at his room for his acts with which mr Crawford has been combined, by the evidence before the attorney Genl, on whose report he mitchel was dismissed, from office, when this proof is set before the nation which it has a right to see, it will afford a clue, to determine by whose influence he was there, and why the Honble. sec mr. C. wielded his puppet Leacock in the manner he did, and as is believed prepared the report for him, and has been since employing him to receive the road that he Leaccock was a contracter in part for—when mitchell was Govr he writes much of the hostility of the Indians, as soon as he is agent, they are quite peacable and the whites to blame, he was then engaged in introducing his africans by Tabler from St augustine.

Dr. James C. Bronaugh to Jackson.

Washington, February 16, 1822.

. . . . Yesterday the 3rd no. of the documents were laid upon the tables of the members. It contains Fromentins correspondence with the Secy. of State and the Secy,s reply. That you will be astonished at the course of the President I have no doubt, as I know that you have entertained a good opinion of him, but his conduct in this affair must satisfy you that not the least confidence is to be placed in his professions of friendship, that he is a base infamous hypocrite. it consigns him in my estimation to ever lasting infamy. Let us for a moment take a review of his conduct—the Secy. of State lays before him Fromentins letters from the 20th of August to the 21st of Sept. in those letters the most billingsgate abuse is lavished upon that man, for whom he has expressed always the most friendly regard, to whom he is indebted for his present elevation and who has rendered his country much more important services than any man now living.

What course under those circumstances would a high minded honorable man have pursued. he would have dismissed him from office without a moments delay and directed the Secy. of State to inform that he considered him a corrupt scoundrel. But what course did the President pursue? He continued him in Office. in his message to Congress he spoke of him in the same manner that he did of [the] man who had rendered such important services to his country and directed his Secy of State to inform him that altho' his view was different from that taken by Fromentin yet " that he was persuaded that his motives and intentions were entirely pure ". I dont know when my feelings have been as much

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 420.

excited as upon taken a view of the whole conduct of the President upon this subject. The time is not distant when he shall be made to feel, if indeed he has any feelings the dishonorable course which he has pursued in relation to this business. For the present I hope you will take no notice of him—let the decision be made by Congress. you will then have it in your power to make such an appeal to the American people as will satisfy them how much confidence ought to be reposed in the President or his Secy. of the Treasury, by whos[e] advice I am induced to believe he acted on this occasion. I understand that Mr Adams was decidedly of opinion that the only notice that ought to have been taken of Fromentins communications was " that he was no longer to consider himself a Judge of the U. States ". That the President can justify his conduct, is I am satisfied, impossible and the more I consider of it, the more disgraceful it strikes me. . . . .

Dr. James C. Bronaugh to Jackson.

Washington, February 23, 1822.

My D'r Sir, The weather has been so bad since I wrote you last, that I have been prevented from visiting Baltimore as I then intended and I was so disgusted with the conduct of the President that I had determined not to call upon him again: last night however I met with Mr. Hay (his son-in-law)[1] at a Ball who entered into a long discussion of every thing connected with the Florida transactions and he came out so warmly in your defence, that I candidly stated to him my difficulty in relation to the conduct of the President and my opinion that it could not fail to produce in your mind unpleasant feelings towards the President. He expressed his regret at the circumstance and said that he had for some time been fearful of that result—that he was satisfied of the Presidents high regard and friendly feeling for you and appeared I thought to attribute his course to timidity. He declared that he very seldom conversed with the President on subjects connected with the Govt. that in consequence of the free manner in which he was in the habit of expressing his opinions of men and measures when those subjects had been introduced that the President very rarely broached them in his presence but that he had taken the liberty on several occasions to give him the opinion which he entertained both of you and Fromentin and that in strong language. And declared that altho' he could not boast your acquaintance, that there was no man in existance for whom he entertained so exalted an opinion.

This morning the President sent for me—he appears uneasy—made a long speech on the subject of the important services which you have rendered your country and the obligations which he considers himself under to you—hoped that you never could for a moment have doubted his friendship for you—declared that it had never known any diminution, that he considered your glory as intimately connected with that of the country and that his object had always been to place you on the highest possible ground. That in the approval of the motives etc. of Fromentin

[1] George Hay of Richmond.

it was only in relation to his issuing the writ of *H. Corpus* and that it would give him extreme pain if he supposed it could possibly be construed into any kind of sanction of the improper language used by him in relation to you, that he thought it best not to appear to crush him, as by a contrary course he would be enabled to come out more strongly in your favor and have it in his power to cover the whole ground—desired that I would explain this to you—that he was so conscious his motives and conduct towards you had always been pure and friendly that he could not for a moment suffer himself to think that they could be doubted by you, and that for him to enter into a vindication of them to you would appear awkward and unpleasant. He then informed me that on Friday he should give the Spanish minister a Dinner and invited me to attend

I dont think Congress will do any thing on the subject—the number opposed to you is very small and but little talents among them—you need give yourself no uneasiness, if a discussion should take place, you will be ably defended. I hope for the present you will remain perfectly silent. I think it will be best for you not come to express your opinion to the President on the subject—his friends will be compelled to defend you. Now is not the time to act. Perhaps after the adjournment of Congress, it may be necessary to come out. more of this when we meet

yr. friend

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, February 25, 1822.

. . . . I am waiting for some information from the city, on the progress of the 2d edition of the Seminole campaign, but my enemies it is said, appear silent since the papers were communicated to congress. as yet, or I mean at the date of the last advices, they had taken no step in the business. they are at a loss what to do. their precipitancy, and relying on news paper information and Mr Fromentine, they find does not correspond with the proof. To move for a vote of thanks to me, would be too magnanimous a course and a direct censure upon Fromentine. what course they will adopt I know not, I will be silent untill they unmask themselves, when I intend speaking out. . . . .

Dr. Thomas G. Watkins to Jackson.[1]

Jonesboro, Tenn., March 13, 1822.

. . . . On my return here I found several letters awaiting me from Virginia, two or three from Characters intimately acquainted and connected with some of the leaders of our Virginia policy. The next presidential election is a subject which occupies a prominent part in some of these, and I learn from them, that there the public mind seems as yet entirely unsettled, the question is considered premature, and there appears to be an unwillingness on the part of the state to stir a question, from which so much discord and diversity of opinion is likely to arise, the can-

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] Dr. Watkins lived at Milton, Albemarle Co., Va. See p. 145, *supra*, note 2.

didates are so numerous, and no one standing preeminently superior to the rest, that, as yet the public opinion can scarcely be said to be directed to any definite point. Some, perhaps unfriendly to the present incumbent, say, that these numerous candidates are encouraged to get the nation so completely bewildered, that they will agree to his reelection as the only means of allaying the ferment—and that this is his expectation. Be this as it may, I believe, that the reelection for a second term has become so completely a part of the constitution from custom and public opinion, that no one will dare in future to suffer himself to be named for a third, and if he were I am sure he wou'd be rejected with disdain.

I am satisfied that in the presence instance Virginia wou'd not for that reason (if no other existed) support the present incumbent upon a new nomination—besides this, however, there is in his native state, a powerful party as yet without a head, or in array—silently but decidedly disapproving the aberration (from the old republican principles) which has manifested itself for the last five or six years—The excessive accumulation of offices, profuse expenditure of public money and annual increase of the national debt. The affectation of european and princely etiquette, where the president if he chooses can so decidedly give a tone to manners—the lust of office and the pride of power, about the seat of the General government, so utterly repugnant to the true sinews and spirit of our institutions, have sunk deep into the minds of both federalists and republicans of greater original simplicity of manners and principles. any circumstance which wou'd embody and array this party, wou'd call forth and display an opposition, as powerful as it wou'd be unexpected. it composes the soul and body of the State. If we wou'd preserve the original simplicity of our institutions and perpetuate this grand republic, we wou'd choose our presidents not for the splendour of their manners, but their simplicity and plainness—not for the eloquence of their haranguing, but the soundness of their judgment and their decision of character, not for their pliancy and amiable accomodation of the ten thousand particular wills and wishes that assail them on every side, but a firm, dignified and commanding resistance of every thing not founded in *right,* and plain solid *republican utility.*

I trust that the people on this momentous subject will take the business into their own consideration, and transact it among themselves. On such occasions if they do not learn to think and *act for themselves* they will be betrayed. but my enthusiastic nature and feelings have hurried me on farther than I had at first intended to have obtruded my thoughts on this interesting subject upon you.

The servant man I had thought of selling you I find we cannot dispose of untill we get back to Virginia—when his mistress is willing that I shou'd sell him. then I cou'd also furnish you a likely young woman slave 16 years old also, and if you cannot more readily supply yourself with the whole number you want, I wou'd engage to purchase them for you carefully in my neighbourhood and upon the best terms they cou'd be had, and deliver them to your agent and order without any charge but their original cost. in this way you might procure those known to be good

and upon much better terms than of the traders. Wagg[ons re]turning from Baltimore might take them to Knoxville. It will give [me much] pleasure if I can serve you in it. If your agent chooses to take the [slave I] offered you can have him for the 500 dolls. Tennessee money still—off which [if I] sell him in Virginia to you his expences out to Knoxville shall be taken. I shall be happy to hear from you at "*Milton Albemarle Co. Virginia*". with my friendly respects to Mrs. Jackson I am with great respect yr. friend and Obdt. servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, March 14, 1822.

D'r Genl, I have this evening recd your letter of the 10th instant by the hands of Mr crawford. I have duly observed its contents, and with the advice of Mr James Jackson have employed Mr Egbert Harris, to proceed forthwith and take charge of my hands and farm.[2] Mr. Harris, made the proposition, saying he had nothing to support on now, but his labour, and he was determined to persue any employment that would yield him a support. Mr Jackson says he is a good farmer and industrious, and has no doubt but he will do well. I could not get Powers and from the letter from Sharrock handed me by Mr Crawford, I find he will wantonly lie, he says my negroes were and have been all sick with the epidemic pleureuces, bad colds etc. etc., and that he found them naked and bare footed. this last I know to be false, and is stated to form an excuse, and to raise an account for new shoes. he still has his stud there contrary to my express orders. this must take a hand, or if he attends to him my business is neglected. when an overseer begins so early to lie and to deceive, it is time to drive him off. he has just turned out as Mr Carren of Franklin wrote me he would. I have wrote him and left it open for you and Mr J. Jackson to read, you must turn him out and give Mr Harris possession. I enclose you his receipt for the negroes tools, stock etc. etc. etc. you will see that they together with the pork and bacon are delivered to Mr Harris. I have (to prevent Mr Harris from any contracts for tools or any thing else) directed him to call upon you and if any one wanted you will have them got for me. I have got Mr Jackson to lay in for me one hundred yards of Linnen for the negroes summer cloathing. you will direct Mr Nicholson to deliver to Mr Harris the little bed two chairs and the table, and such table furniture as Mr crawford left there and have a pair of Blanketts bought for the bed. Mr Crawford having taken the blanketts. I think by keeping Mr Harris from any trading he will do well. he says he will plant the old ground in cotton, and from eighty to one hundred acres in corn, and put up my ginn house if I can get the loggs hewed. Mr Crawford has agreed to do this and to hew the whole timber for the press as soon as he is done surveying. I am determined to have my ginn up this fall, for should I fail herein I fear I will not afterwards be able. I have directed Mr Jackson to have the timber for the running gear and boxes sawed at Mr Clappers mill, I wish Mr Kemper to give the bill and

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Near Florence, Ala. General Coffee and James Jackson lived on plantations in the same neighborhood.

direct that it be sawed out of good post oak timber. will you have the goodness when you see Mr Kemper to get him to make out the bill, and let him know that I rely on him to have my running geer for mill and ginn ready by the first of October. I rely on him cutting the mill stones. I am determined to push that farm for a livelihood. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

March 20, 1822.

D'r Genl, On the 16th instant Mr Egbert Harris set out to take charge of my plantation, near Florence. I had wrote you by Mr James Jackson who was to have been in Nashville by promise of the 15th but had set out on the evening of the 14th. the letters were brought back and forwarded by Mr Harris. The letter Sharrock wrote me and which I inclosed to Mr James Jackson, has convinced me that he is a villain. I hope and trust before this reaches you he has been turned out neck and heel. whether Mr Harris has stability enough I cannot say to superintend a farm but Mr Jas Jackson thought he would answer. if my health will permit I shall be out in the latter end of April or first of May. will be glad to hear from you. with my best wishes adieu.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, March 21, 1822.

Dear Andrew, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt of your letter of the 12th Instant, my letter to you will have advised you of the safe return of George. I am happy you have commenced your course of study with Mr Berry [2] and that you are comfortably situated in lodgings well adapted for study and retirement. Having a good library, you will loose nothing by the vacation of lectures, your mind will be better prepared when they commence to be benefitted by them. you can amuse yourself occasionally with history—amonghst which if to be had, I would recommend to you the history of the scottish chiefs. I have allways thought, that sir William Wallauce as a virtuous patriott, and warrior was the best model, for a young man. In him we find a stuborn virtue, which was never overcome by vice, it was too pure for corruption—we find in him the truly undaunted courage, allways ready to brave any dangers, for the relief of his country or his friend. In him we find true greatness of soul capable of true friendship, and in his enemies, a lesson from the want of it, necessary for every virtuous high minded youth to be acquainted with, that he may be guarded against that vile hypocricy, and deceipt, that often lurks beneath a fair exterior which is cloathed with power. and my young friend let me now tell you, that in our republican Goverment—(where it ought not to exist, and nothing but integrity and virtue in its officers be found) you will find, hypocrisy, duplicity, and the lowest kind of intrigue, practised by those in power to agrandise them-

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] As to A. J. Donelson's education, see Jackson to Donelson, Feb. 24, 1817, vol. II, p. 275.

[2] This is probably William T. Barry, professor of law in Transylvania University, afterward postmaster general under Jackson, 1829-1835.

selves, those who think the object is worthy of the means to obtain it, let those means be ever so Treacherous or base—hence then the propriety, of young Gentlemen coming into public life, to study mankind, and to view them as they are, not what they ought to be in a republican Goverment. In the history of sir William Wallace you will see the great contrast between virtue and vice, between the high minded honourable man, and the base treacherous deceiver—from which, as you progress thro life, you may greatly profit by knowing that in all whom that have fair exteriors you ought not to confide. . . . .

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, April 1, 1822.

. . . . I am pleased that you have attached yourself to the senior class of the university. the advantage of mr Hollys [2] instruction, his manners, and Easy delivery, will be advantageous to you. I view him one of the most accomplished men of his day. Please to present me to him respectfully. On the subject of the purchase of the negroes, I have to observe, that I still intend to make the purchase contemplated at or in the neighbourhood of Lexington, but altho my health is improving I have not as yet been able to get to Nashvill to enquire of the exchange. I see from the Louisvill paper that the paper of Kentuckey is still depreciating and if I can get forty percent advance on our paper will purchase the fellow you name at $700, or I will give the man $500 in Nashville paper for him. perhaps he would rather take our paper at 40 percent advance than the Kentucky paper say $700 in as much as we can get specie here at 17 pr ct advance and in Kentucky the paper is at 70 for sp[ecie] however you can advise me on this subject, and if the fellow is not more than 22 years old, if he is not subject to runaway and is healthy and stout I will remit to you seven hundred dollars in Kentuckey paper or $500 in our Nashville paper for him any time after the 23rd day of next month. I want two or three girls about fifteen or Eighteen years old. inquire if such can be bought, and at what price in Kentuckey, and what in Tennessee paper, and advise me thereof.[3] Your aunt and the little andrews Join me in love to you, and believe me to be your affectionate uncle.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[2] Rev. Horace Holley was a Unitarian minister, a Yale graduate; from 1809 to 1818 he was pastor of the Hollis Street Church in Boston. In 1815 he was elected president of Transylvania University at Lexington, Ky., but the election was recalled on account of dissensions among the trustees with which he had nothing to do. In 1817, being again elected to the same position, he accepted and served with great success until 1827. See A. F. Lewis, *Higher Education in Kentucky*, p. 58.

[3] Writing to A. J. Donelson again, Apr. 12, Jackson said: "On the subject of the purchase of the three negro girls, and a boy, If you can make a contract for them at $450 each, our paper, do so, for the boy say from 15 to 20 years old likly sound and sensible I would give five hundred dollars—for the girls from 15 to 20 I would give 450 each. If an engagement can be made as above, do so and I will send the mony any day after the 23rd of may—or if an engagement can be made for two only, I will send. If they cannot be engaged at these prices say at what the[y] can be and you will oblige."

To Egbert Harris.[1]

Hermitage, April 13, 1822.

D'r Sir, I recd your letter of the 2d instant on last evening, which I have read with great attention. I have full confidence you will do every thing that was left in your power from the lateness of the season when you commenced, and I have no doubt from your experience, but your plan of planting the crop is well judged of, and will be the best, that could have been adopted. I sincerely regret the bad conduct of the negroes in running away. Guilbert is not heard of here; nor do I expect that he would attempt to come this way, never having been here. If he has left the neighborhood of his wife he has attempted to go back to Carolina or Virginia, from whence he was brought. should he not have been heard of, when this letter reaches you, have him advertised, in the Florence Gazette,[2] and get Genl Coffee to forward one to Huntsville there to be published, and the editor of the Gazzet to forward one to Knoxville Gazzett, and say to him to forward one to me, and I will have it inserted in the Nashville papers. I still hope he is lurking about his wife house. I have wrote to Mr James Jackson who I know will have him examined for in that neighborhood, and if he can be got, I wish him well secured with irons, untill an opportunity may offer to send him down the river, as I will not keep a negro in the habit of running away. should you want more horses advise me and I will have them sent out. The plan you have adopted with the bull is a good one, and I think I will try to adopt it with mine here.

I will certainly see your friend Mr Sanders and your sister, and give them the information desired. I have but little doubt but Mr Sanders will go out to Huntsville to court. I will endeavour, my health permitting, to go out to see you in the month of May next. my dear sir, altho you will find some of my negroes at first hard to manage, still I hope you will be able to govern them without much dificulty, I have only to say, you know my disposition, and as far as lenity can be extended to these unfortunate creatures, I wish you to do so; subordination must be obtained first, and then good treatment. I am in haste your friend,

Colonel James Gadsden to Jackson.

Washington, April 13, 1822.

. . . . I have another request to make you. You know you promised me as an inheritance your public papers books documents etc. These though valuable may not contain all the matter relating to your campaigns which live only in your recollection. I wish you therefore at every leisure moment to throw together in a book, it matters not as to arrangement,

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. This letter is directed to "Mr. Egbert Harris, General Jackson's Farm, south side of the Tennessee river Alabama near Florence". See p. 166, note 2.

[2] Persons interested in Jackson's spelling will notice that in this letter he spells "Gazette" in three ways, which shows how indifferent he was to correct spelling. It was to such indifference, rather than to ignorance, that his bad spelling and other errors in writing were chiefly due.

your recollection of all important events of your life public and private. Your early career, the difficulties you had to struggle with in the world—Facts relating to the early settlement of Tennessee Indian hostilities etc—The important events of your creek and Orleans campaigns; the difficulties encountered in both—your plans how far executed; and your views generally which must have been known solely to yourself, of the operations undertaken and your confidence in success. It is impossible to enumerate all that I could wish; write therefore every thing in this great depository whether of private or public nature which you think would be interresting. Fail not to mention what you know of Burs operations. etc. etc. etc. etc. . . . .

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, April 26, 1822.

. . . . it was with great regret I parted with you at the time I did, or that I could bring my mind to consent that you should be so far from me—but I could see no beneficial prospect for your study of the law here, or at Nashville. In short there was no legal charector of sufficient standing in morality and law knowledge, who was in the habit of taking in legal students, under whom I could have placed you, to have received those benefits I wish. I hate a quack of any kind, and another thing, the scriptures tell us, ' a prophet has no honour in his own country '. These Ideas, with the information I had of that institution, determined me to send you there. I still flatter myself it was a prudent choice.

I wish you to advise me when it will be least injurious to your study, to vissit me and I will send you a boy and horses—we will be happy to see you, but not thereby to injure your study, as I hope in Eighteen months, you can return to enter into your profession, and remain with us. I have a great desire that you should turn your attention to writing on various subjects, nothing tends more to expand the mind, and improve the intellect, than writing and investigating various subjects; it gives to thought a wide range, and when your mind is habituated to writing when young, you acquire a facility in managing a subject, that is hard to acquire when of mature age, or the meridian of life. writing is a good deal machanical, and is only to be acquired by habit at an early age. . . . .

To Colonel James Gadsden.

Hermitage, May 2, 1822.

D'r Gadsden. On yesterday I had the pleasure to receive your two letters of the 10th and 13th ult. It affords me sincere pleasure to find that Mr. Monroe has renomenated you, and has with that firmness and energy, due to himself, the nation, and the army explained to the Senate the causes that lead to your appointment. Your renomenation with the reasons assigned will convince the Senate, that the President is determined, to support his own constitutional powers, and will not be awed to the silent acquiescence, of a faction, whose object has long been to demolish

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

the army regardless of the injury which must inevitably result to the nation thereby. It will afford me great pleasure to read the Presidents communication on this subject,[1] and I shall anxiously await the arival of the news of your confirmation by the Senate.

I am happy to learn that my letter to Mr. Monroe of the 19th of March last under cover to you, has been delivered to him. from the friendship that existed between us, upon mature reflection, I did believe the course I have adopted, was the only magnanimous one that I could pursue, consistant with that friendship I allways had for Mr. Monroe, and I am happy to learn from your letter, that he will answer it with that Frankness that I have exercised toward him. When I first received the anonymous letter [2] I had doubts as to who was the writer or from what source it could originate. My belief is and I have but little doubt now but that it was written by the conivance of William H. Crawford or some of his parasites, because it details some facts that could only be known to myself and family; or Mr. Monroe and his Cabinett. This trick is in unison with the information given in 1818 to the Editor of the Georgia Journal, 'that the Cabinet was divided on the subject of my arrest' which Mr. Monroe told me (when I produced to him the letter of my friend from Georgia enclosing Doctor Moors (brotherinlaw of the editor) certificate that Grantland the Editor told him that he recd. the information from Mr. Crawfor[d] or Mr. Cobb, but he believed from the former)[3] was as positive a falshood as ever was fabricated, is pretty much of a peace with the anonymous letter and affords strong presumptive evidence, of it originating from Mr. Crawfords fertile genius or intrigue. I know he is incapable of writing such a letter, still I believe it was written through his agency. If it had been as it states from a friend of mine, he would have come out and produced proof of the hypocrisy and wickedness of those professing to be my friends; and whose views was to destroy me. I am free to confess to you, that there are misteries in these things that I cannot fathom, when I view Judge Fromentines communications, he being selected as a Judge, devoid as he was known to be of legal knowled[g]e, as well as moral principle in preferren[c]e to Judge Haywood who was recommended by me, and not an officer appointed that I had recommended or could have confidence in for the want of a knowledge of him and the attachment that is alledged to exist between Mr. Munroe and Mr. Crawford. after Mr. Monroes knowledge of the baseness of this man, and the willfull lie he propagated in 1818 to injure me by forstalling public opinion in which if it had been true he violated that pledge of secrecy as one of the Cabinet, for which Mr. Monroe ought in Justice to himself to me and the nation to have removed him from his cabinett, as an unworthy member, however I have never let those things take deep root in my breast, still hoping that Mr. Monroe would be able to explain satisfactory to me those things that have tended to my injury, and of the

[1] Message of Apr. 13, 1822. Richardson, *Messages*, II. 129-136.

[2] This anonymous letter, and the copy of Jackson's letter of Mar. 19 enclosing it to Monroe, have not been found by the editor. The anonymous letter is doubtless the one referred to in the "Memorandoms", *ante*, p. 150.

[3] See vol. II., pp. 417, 420, 424.

injustice of which, I had a right to complain. I therefore suspend any opinion for the present and await his answer. There is no fear ought to be entertained that I shall ever be led astray from the support of Mr. Monroes administration, as long as he persues principle; I love my friend and will support him, as far as he pursues the principles of our constitution, and acts Justly to all with the sole view to the public good, and I never can believe without good proof that my friend will abandon principle, for the base and unworthy motives of self agrandizement but I would abandon any man who for selfish motives would act unjustly abandon principle, with a view to enhance his own popularity or his own views, that were seperate from the public good. I hope and trust Mr. Monroe never has or will do this, and as long as he takes Justice for his guide, public good his end, I will, as I have heretofore continue to support his administration.

Dear Gadsden I would to god my health and other circumstances combined would permit me to take with you the proposed Tour to the north and East. The pleasure of travelling with you would be sufficient inducement, but there are many opposing obsticles—first, my present strength would not Justify the attempt at such a Journey—my private concerns require my attention, when my health will permit it, being much deranged from my long absence. The state of our paper money would preclude the Posibility of procuring Eastern funds without a great sacrafice. I have my little sons including Lyncoya, at school, and their education has been greatly neglected in my absence. Justice to them, require my attention when I have health to give it. in short Sir I must take rest or my stay here on Earth cannot be long. for four months I have been oppressed with a violent cough, and costiveness, which had determined me as I wrote you to spend a few weeks at the (Herrodburgh)[4] springs in the month of July next. I have been recently vissitted by my old bowell complaint, which has weakened me very much, having a constant flow, in the last twelve hours, upwards of Twenty passages. my cough has nearly subsided, altho I continue to throw up great quan[ti]ties of flime. If I can moderately check this loss I am still in hopes of getting my health again, and be relieved from the cough. to these I might add other cogent reasons but those I trust already named will suffice. Present my thanks to Mr. Calhoun for his friendly offer. My public papers I have long since given to you, I will have them carefully colated and Boxed for you, and if health permits will make a memorandom of those things requested. there is no man, I have more confidence in than you and I resign to you my papers with great pleasure; with this request that they be preserved and returned to my adopted son when you are done with them, that he may peruse them when of mature age.

In my last I named to you that I had not shewn your letter to Colo. Butler. I have since seeing him determined that I will not. Colo. Butler assures me in the most positive manner that he never wrote but the one letter to the military committee of the house of representatives, that he has never written to any member of the senate upon that subject and re-

[4] Harrodsburg, Ky.

quests me to say to you, if such a statement has been made to you, that it is a positive falshood. I have no doubt but he despises both Benton and Williams as much as any other man.

I am much pleased that Genl Houstons account has been allowed, it is Just, and well supported by law. Houston is a noble minded fellow and should he be returned for congress at our next election of which there is but little doubt, I expect him and Colo. Williams will see each other. The latter has shunned him it is said for some years.

Your mare will soon bring you another Pacolet or Pacolets, her appearence would evidence the latter, and I hope you will have better luck with them. contemplating a vissit from you this Spring I was looking out to be prepared with a good horse for you. I have not seen Colo. Hays since I recd. your letter—he is to be in here in a few days, he has moved to the forked Deer. I will endeavour to have the business eranged for you with him. I am so weak I must close for the present. Mrs. J. Joins me in best wishes for your prosperity and happiness. believe me your friend.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, May 20, 1822.

. . . . one of my objects in placing you at Lexington was that you might become acquainted with the young gentlemen from various parts of the south and west—that when you enter into professional life, which may be a prelude to political; you may be known—for I will not disguise, I look forward, if you live, to the time when you will be selected to preside over the destinies of america. I therefore wish you for the present to steer clear of all political broils. I do not mean that you should be silent on political subjects, but when you speak on them do it with reflection, embracing general remarks unless where it may becom[e] necessary to give an opinion, then, if necessary give it agreable to your opinion of the subject before you, agreable to your ideas of right, and Justice, regardless of consequences, allways keeping in view principles, not men, the public good, seperate from individual agrandizement—constitutional and legal rights, seperate from individual views—in short, *measures* that will promote the public good, reguardless, of individual views, or the agrandizement of party purposes. . . . .

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.

Hermitage, May 29, 1822.

D'r Doctor. Last night I recd. by mail a letter from Mr. H. Niles[1] of Baltimore, with one to you inclosed, with a request I should forward it to

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[1] Hezekiah Niles, editor of *The Weekly Register*. June 1 Jackson wrote again to Dr. Bronaugh, saying that in writing his first letter he had forgotten that Edward Rutledge aspired to the position desired by Samuel Niles, and that he withdrew his support of Niles in favor of Rutledge. He said quite characteristically: "When benefits are to be bestowed my friends are seldom out of my view, and as I never forsake an old friend, for a new, or abandon a well tried faithfull servant for one untried, I hasten to write you, and my friend Overton to whom I wrote on the subject of Mr. Niles that the Justice which I think due to Mr. Rutledge may be extended and, my letter in favor of Mr. Niles, withdrawn."

you wherever you might be. Mr. Niles has a great wish to obtain for his son, Samuel Niles, the appointment of Secratary to the board of commissioners for the decision of land claims in florida, and requests my aid in obtaining it for him. I have wrote Mr. Overton on this subject. I have no acquaintance with Genl Preston, or Mr. Ware, and have to request that you will lend your aid, (if not committed in behalf of any other) in behalf of young Mr. Niles with them, as I believe the welfare of our country in a great measure depends on athwarting the views of those, who wish to bring W. H. C into the Presidential chair, and if young Mr. Niles is appointed Secratary he will have it in his power to become acquainted with the real charector and standing of Wm. H. C. and communicate it to his father, who I believe is an independant, virtuous Editor, and who I believe will support no man for office, and particularly the Presidential, unless he believes them honest and virtuous, and this he cannot do, if acquainted with the real charector of Mr. C. and on his son he will confidentially rely.

at the request of Mr. Niles I enclose to you his letter, enclosed to me.

I have Just received the proceedings of the senate, the injunction of secrecy having been taken of. Gadsden, and Towson, are both again rejected—Fenwick etc. etc. I do not find that the senate have acted upon them. The offices of course remain vacant untill next meeting of the senate. Gadsden is gone to Charleston, I suppose second to Mr. McDuffie.[2] I hope I shall see him here this summer. The report of the military committee, is very severe, and places the board of Genl officers, in a very aukward situation. In short I cannot foresee, how the President permitted himself to be lead astray by this board, or why he had not made a transfer of Colo. Gadsden from the Inspectors office to that of the adjutant Genl. This he had a right to do, altho he had no right to make new appointments.

I can see the hand of Crawford in this report, the whole is intended to effect Calhouns popularity. I hope he may be disappointed, and all his parasites, and satelites. I see in the papers, announced, strictures, on the military report of the senate, I have not seen them, but am anxious to see them—make my compliments to Call and Easter, to Shannon Walton and Miller etc. etc. etc., and all my military friends and believe me yours.

Felix Grundy[1] to Jackson.

Confidential.

Nashville, June 27, 1822.

Dear General, It will not be in my power to pay you the promisd visit. The absence of Mrs Grundy, who has gone to see our daughter at Gallatin, prevents my leaving home. The subject to which I wish your attention is this, Your friends, wish to know, whether there is any cause, unknown to them, which would render it improper in them to exercise their own discretion and Judgment, in bringing forward your name in

[2] George McDuffie, M. C. from South Carolina, fought a duel with Col. William Cumming.

[1] Felix Grundy, since 1807 a lawyer in Tennessee, was afterward U. S. senator, 1829-1838, 1839-1840.

such way as may be thought best, for the office of Cheif Magistrate of the U States at the approaching Election. The Genr'l Assembly will meet on the 22nd of next month. Then is the time, to take a decisive step. I have latterly been so much engaged in my professional pursuits, as not to have attended to political matters of this kind at a distance or in other parts of the Union. But I think I know the people of Tennessee. Of the Unanimous vote of this State, no doubt need be entertained. Indeed, I beleive the anxiety of many on this subject is increased by the consideration, that it will afford the Citizens of this State an opportunity of refuting the Slander which has gone abroad, That, " You are not popular at home; by which the people of this State are indirectly charged, with ingratitude and insensibility to your public services. Will you deliberate on this subject, and when you come to Nashville, I will call on you, etc.

yr friend

To Secretary Calhoun.

Private

June 28, 1822.

D'r Sir, Being absent vissitting my little farm near Florence, when your letter of the 16th of May reached Nashville, I did not receive it untill the 22d instant the day of my return, and will account to you for the delay of my acknowledging its receipt.

It will at all times afford me Sincere pleasure to interchange with you my sentiments on any, and all Subjects that may be interesting to you, or in which the interest of our common country may be involved. There is no ones, welfare and prosperity, I have more at heart than yours, This was the reason, I have wrote you with the Frankness I have done, and hastened as soon as advised to lay before you, the conduct of Genl Jessup [1] at Pensacola. I believed you, like myself, to have held in estimation the Genl free from duplicity or, dishonourable conduct. from information recd some time since I was fully convinced of my Error and I am happy you are now guarded with respect to him—he is unworthy of confidence, and capable in my opinion of betraying it. As to our mutual friend Gadsden, you may rely on it, there is neither deception or duplicity in his composition, the longer you are acquainted with him, the more you will be convinced, that I have formed a Just Estimate of him.

It is certainly true, that the Military committee of the Senate have and will be wielded by the present Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Monroe must have long since known of his intrigue, and I do assure you his best friend has viewed with regret and astonishment, that he still retains him in his Cabinet. Mr. Crawford if I mistake not, has not abandoned his intrigue and it is probable, the Military committee may at the next session of Congress renew their attack against Mr. Monroe, Their object to effect you, and draw the attention of the nation from his corruption, and intrigue. his friends well know they can neither justify or defend him, and it is plain that this is their course from the game that is played by the red jackets through the city Gazzett.[2]

[1] Thomas S. Jesup, quartermaster general.
[2] The Washington *Gazette.*

The right mode is to meet an enemy with his own weapons, and if Mr. Cook could meet with that support that virtue ought to elicit and at the next session call up the report of the committee on the subject of the employment of Senator Thomas, unfold Mr. Crawfords conduct fully, and his false statement to the Chairman of that committee, on which the chairman founded his eroneous report—it will put the Sen. and his friend down forever. Mr. Crawford will not in my opinion get a vote in this state. I have said that I am induced to believe, that Crawford, through the military committee of the Senate, will at the next session of Congress, make another effort against the Executive, to injure you, Colo. Benton [3] will wield Williams and Crawford will wield them both like a shewman does his puppets. I know they men well, and from a front view can well judge of their interior. Benton has laid a resolution on the table calling for information whether Colo. Butler has resigned etc. etc.[4] This is not acted on, but is left for further operations, at the next session. If these men expect any thing from Colo. Butler to aid their views they are widely mistaken—he is too honourable a man to have any thing to do with such men.

I must be frank, it behoves you and Mr. Monroe to act with great caution, and give to those men no opportunity of advantage by any act that you may do, that relates to the army. you have no adjutant Genl, this will create for you great labour. Should you detail one to perform the duties, and allow him compensation they will endeavour to assail you for having applied the public money, not appropriated by law, alledging that the fault was with the President in leaving the office unfilled, and if Colo Gadsden should be detailed it will be handled by them as a contemptuous conduct of the President to the Senate, that body having rejected his renomination. Permit me to remark Colo. Gadsden is too valuable to the army and his country for his services to be lost, Permit me to sugest a course, that will disappoint your enemies, silence them and bring Colo. Gadsden into the adjutant generals office, his feelings untouched, and the President free from blame. let it be remembered, that the military committee contend, that the adjt Genl office of right ought to have been filled by Jones or Butler. Butler has tendered his resignation, which as yet has not been accepted, he is under permission by Genl Gains to remain in Tennessee or untill he receives information whether his resignation is accepted of or not—in point of law he is still in the army and the P. in pursuing the intimation of the military committe by reappointing Towson paymaster has shewn an inclination to adopt the course pointed out by them. Let Butler then be ordered to the city as adjt Genl, he will obay the order, and continue to perform the duties to the next meeting of Congress with an understanding that he is permitted then to resign, and that Colo. Gadsden be nominated by the President to the Senate to fill the office of adjutant Genl. This will silence the opposition of the military committee

[3] Now senator from Missouri, 1821-1851.

[4] Resolution of Mar. 8, 1822. *Annals of Congress,* 17 Cong., 1 sess., I. 474 (executive proceedings). The reference is to Col. Robert Butler, who had resigned Nov. 16, 1821.

and insure Gadsden an unanimous confirmation by the Senate. I well know that Colo. Butler will make this sacrafice of absence from his family, to secure his friend Gadsden the appointment and his country his services and to relieve the administration from the present embarrassment believing as he does that Mr. Monroe will provide for him by giving him the appointment of Survayor Genl of the Floridas when that appointment is made. Major Eaton reached me last night, The sugestions I have made to him which he approves. Colo. Butlers account goes on by this days mail addressed to Maj. Vandeventer.[5] Should these sugestions be approved and adopted his account can be suspended. I pledge myself, for Colo. Butlers compliance with the arrangement above sugested.

Present me to Mr. Monroe and say to him I have recd his letter with the inclosure which shall be answered so soon as I have time to peruse with attention the inclosure

in haste I am sir with great respect yr mo ob servt

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, June 28, 1822.

. . . . I found my business in alabama not so flattering as I expected, I have a tolerable prospect of Cotton,[2] but from the cause of the absence of my negroes, four having ran away, I found but a poor prospect of corn. I was fortunate in regaining my negroes, and although I hate chains, was compelled to place two of them in irons, for safekeeping untill an opportunity offers to sell or exchange them. . . . .

P. S. present me to Mr. Ficklin, say to him I have recd his letter, and will reply when Leisure permits. I have been engaged in answering letters recd from mr. Monroe and mr. Calhoune and mr. Adams.

Have you seen Jonathan Russells letter on the subject of the negotiation at Ghent,[3] and the meritted chastisement and Lashing, given him by mr Adams. what an accomplished Villain this Jonoathan must be—a fit

[5] Christopher Van Deventer, chief clerk of the War Department.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[2] Jackson's farm in Alabama, in the "forks of Cypress", was about ten miles north of Florence, in Lauderdale County. The management of it gave him much trouble, and the business did not prove profitable. In 1822 he sold that part of the farm that had improvements on it, and the remainder was sold not long afterwards. See Jackson to A. J. Donelson, Nov. 27 and Dec. 13, 1822. Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[3] May 7, 1822, some of John Quincy Adams's opponents got through the House a resolution calling on the President for a letter written in 1815 by Jonathan Russell, one of the American peace commissioners at Ghent, dissenting from the action of his colleagues, one of whom was Adams, with respect to the provisions of the Treaty of Ghent concerning the navigation of the Mississippi, and the right of Americans to participate in the northeastern fisheries. The purport of the letter was that Adams advocated the concession of the free navigation of the Mississippi in exchange for the right to dry fish in Canada. Monroe sent the correspondence to Congress on May 4. Its publication led Adams to write, May 3, 1822, a pointed reply in justification of his own conduct. Then Russell wrote a reply, and Adams made rejoinder. All of this commotion was due to a desire to make Adams unpopular in certain parts of the country for being willing to give up the navigation of the Mississippi in order to promote a New England interest. The correspondence is in *Niles' Register*, XXII. 198-221, 296-304, 327-336; and the first-mentioned letters of Russell and Adams in *Am. St. Pap., Misc.*, II. 938-956. See also J. Q. Adams, *The Duplicate Letter, the Fisheries, and the Mississippi* (Washington, 1822).

subject to be turned to the Trade of making wooden Nutmegs, to impose upon the world with. This exposure by mr. Adams, of mr. Russell Touches more than *Jonathan*, and has done mr. Adam[s] much credit, and instead of destroying his popularity in the south and west has increased it. Mr. A. Strictures upon Russells letter I recommend to your attention

A. J.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, July 5, 1822.

. . . . the conduct of Kentucky with regard to her Judiciary is to me the most alarming and flagi[t]ious, and augurs (if presisted in) the destruction of our republican goverment—for let me tell you, that all the rights secured to the citizens under the constitution is worth nothing, and a mere buble, except guranteed to them by an independant and virtuous Judiciary, and should the Demagogues of Kentucky succeed in destroying that independance, the[y] place the Judiciary in the hands of these designing demagogues, and the Judiciary will be become the mere tools of oppression of the people, and wielded by these men for their wicked purposes. I hope the enlightened freemen of Kentucky, will assert their rights, and preserve the independance of the Judiciary unimpaired by faction, or the designing demag[og]ues of the day— ? which side of this question does Mr. Clay take.[2] . . . .

Dr. Thomas G. Watkins to Jackson.

Glenmore near Milton, Albemarle Co., Va., July 6, 1822.

. . . . I frequently see Mr. Jefferson—since April his health has beene bad and himself very feeble, but he has lately much improved and yesterday I thought looked as well as he has done for several years. He expressed much satisfaction at the account your letter gave me of the improved state of your health, and desired me to request the favour of you (if convenient) to send him a copy of Mr. Overtons pamphlet—in "Vindication of the measures of the Presidint etc",[1] which he said affords some of the best arguments against the censures thrown out on that occasion—he had and kept the pamphlet sometime but has been some how deprived of it.

Mr. Jefferson feels great interest in the speedy and successful operation of the University of Virginia—some further support of the Legislature of Va. is necessary to this important object. The great mass of Intelligence and liberality attached to the state is with this institution and they will prevail untimately if not certainly next session, but there are several partial Interests combined against it which have been sufficiently power-

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[2] The Kentucky supreme court had declared unconstitutional the replevin law made by the relief party to protect debtors. Thereupon the judge who had given the decision was cited before the Kentucky house of representatives, where a vote for his removal failed of the necessary two-thirds majority by four votes. This was the beginning of the long course of judge-breaking in Kentucky.

[1] John Overton, *A Vindication of the Measures of the President and his Generals in the Commencement and Termination of the Seminole War* (1819).

ful to impede its more rapid progress. You might I think render a service to this object as well as to yourself, by some judicious remarks in its favour, which might find their way into the papers at Richmond at a suitable time, as an extract of a letter from a gentleman of distinguished standing, while the more prominent characters among us would know the source. *These* remarks will be unknown to any one but yourself. if any reasons suggest themselves to induce you to think it best to avoid the subject—no reply touching it will be necessary. My motive for making the intimation *seems to me* in every respect to be founded upon correct principle, nor shall I ever question yours, if any reasons, proper to yourself, induce your silence on the subject.

The Boy I offered you in Tennessee, has lately had a severe attack of the breast and bowels—indeed since he was sick at Genl. Overtons he has inclined to a cough which I confidently expected when I last wrote you wou'd yield to the warm weather, and I did not mention it. If an opportunity offered to send him, therefor, to Knoxville, I cou'd not safely recommend him as being sound and healthy—and I think you had better not rely upon him, though if you or a friend choose for you were satisfied upon examining him, I wou'd still be willing to take the $500 dollars Tennessee money. Mrs. Watkins unites with mine her friendly and best respects to Mrs. Jackson

I am with great respect

I cou'd not get on to W. City last winter before the rise of Congress but wrote to Mr. Eaton my desire to see him if he cou'd return this way. I have not heard from him. I shou'd be very glad to see him on his way to Congress next fall, and if he will give himself time to stay a few days, I know he may spend them agreeably and make some desirable acquaintances

Postage Account from February 8 to July 16, 1822.

Genl Andrew Jackson

To the Post Office Nashville Dr

To Postage on Sundry letters and packages from February 8th to July 16th 1822			$16.13
To Ditto on Washington City Gaz From Feby 1st to Aug. 1st. 1822			1 17
To Ditto on Floredian	Do	Do	39
To Ditto on Florence Gaz	Do	Do	26
To Ditto on American Farmer	Do	Do	39
To Ditto on Louisville Paper	Do	Do	78
			$19.12

Nashville July 17th 1822 Received payment in full of the above for R. B Currey

B. F. Currey

Mr John Sommerville will please pay the above postage in specie, obtaining it on the best Terms for Nashville paper and oblige

Andrew Jackson

To Dr. James C. Bronaugh.

Hermitage, July 18, 1822.

. . . . I sincerely regret the disagreable situation of the Territory from the absence of the officers appointed to carry the organization into effect given to the Territory by the late act of Congress; but one thing is certain, that the existing authority continues, untill the officers appointed under the late regulations arive and are sworn into office, and the idea of an interregnum which I see afloat in your country is intirely ideal. The conduct of Mr Monroe in appointing councillors, not inhabitants of the Floridas at the time of the appointment is inconsistant with (my recollection of) the act of Congress, for that act if I mistake not conferres the selection of the council from amonghst the then citizens or residents of Florida.[1] It is very strange that he has not filled the vacancy in the Judiciary of West Florida by the non-acceptance of Mr Brown, but not more strange than his appointing him when he knew he would not accept the appointment; I am of the opinion he does not intend to appoint our mutual friend Brakenridge if he can get any body in North Carolina to accept it—for my part I cannot understand him, he has wrote me a very cou[r]teous, and studied answer in which he takes no particular notice of the anonymous Letter; I have not replied to it as yet.

It affords me much pleasure to hear that the Gov [2] has reached you, and that he has been well received by the people, this argues well, but I know the people there, and you may look out for feuds, and party, and unless the Gov shapes his course at first, and firmly pursues an undeviating policy, he will get himself in dificulty, the council (if united) will be his eficient prop, but Colo. Barnett will raise a party in opposition to the views of the Governor, except he goes with Barnett which I am certain he will not—nay that he cannot, if he pursues a course, to produce the best results to the interest and prosperity of the country. and say to Govr. Duval to have his eye upon the Colo. he is arch, and cunning, and if he can, will intrigue. By pursuing an energetic, steady, course the Governor will succeed in keeping down party spirit, and administring the Goverment, both, to the happiness, and harmony, of the people, as well as to the benefit of the country—but to effect this he must at once take his course with energy, and convince those spirits of party, that he cannot be shaken. I have not the act of congress before me, but I am of the opinion the Legislative council can by law point out and establish the mode of electing the delegate, and if it is found from the lateness of the season, that a law authorising the election of the delegate by the people, cannot be passed and promulgated in due time for an election before congress meets, it strikes me, that the council can, temporarily, appoint the delegate untill an election by the people can take place—but not having the law before me, I cannot, nor do I, pretend to give a deliberate opinion upon this subject.[3]

[1] "from among the citizens of the United States residing there". Act of Mar. 30, 1822, sec. 5.

[2] William P. Duvall.

[3] "The said delegate shall be elected by such description of persons, at such times, and under such regulations, as the Governor and Legislative Council may, from time to time, ordain and direct." Act of Mar. 30, 1822, sect. 14.

I hope you will have nothing to fear from the opposition of Colo. Barnett. Should not Mr Worthington of East Florida be a candidate, I will write him, and I expect he will support you, Should he, with the interest of the Govr. you will have but little to apprehend. from Mr W. farewell adress, I was apprehensive he was preparing the way for some favour from the people.

I am happy to find from letters from Capts Call and Easter that all my old friends will support you, I knew Major Bowie was a snake in the grass—he is opposed to you. I hope Mr Austin will support you. Say to Colo. Watrous I cherish for him the sincere feelings of friendship, he has my best wishes. I would write him but I am really oppressed with answering letters. in the last quarter my postage amounted to $54, this is equal to my cotton crop, give my good wishes to all my friends. I shall write Overton, Call and Easter and Brakenridge tomorrow. Mrs. J. and the andrews Join me in good wishes, you will see from the papers that my name has been brought forward—every application to me, I give the same answer that I have never been a candidate for any office. I never will. But the people have a right to choose whom the[y] will to perform their constitutional duties, and when the people call, the Citizen is bound to render the service required. I think Crawford is lost sight of, and his friends are about to bring forward Mr Clay. Calhoune (Eaton says) at Congress is the strongest man. I am told Mr Adams at present the strongest in this state. accept my Dear Sir, of my best wishes. adieu for the present [4]

James Jackson to Jackson.

Forks of Cypress, near Florence, Ala.,
July 24, 1822.

Dear Genl. I duely recd. yours of 27th ulto. and would much sooner have written you, but my new business added to my other conserns has pestered me much, and perhaps leaves every thing badly done. of all the business I ever was engaged in, being a Candidate is the most disgusting. most of those who wishes a man to become a Candidate, think they have done him a great favour—every scrub in the Country considers himself entitled to take what liberty He pleases and those opposed will manufacture little insignificant stories, unworthy of notice but still calculated to have an injurious effect. A man who is determined to be a successful Candidate, must be all things to all men, never express his opinion freely and learn the nack of geting round every subject that presents itself. The popular opinion, no matter how wrong, is not to be met by a candidate. There is so much in this business to disgust and so little that gratifies that I think my first effort will be my least [*sic*] and to mend the matter, there is some probability that I'll either be beaten by or associated with a Hog Thief. I still think I'll be Elected, should that be the case and I find Mr. King [1] to be the man He has been represented to you, He'll not visit Wash-

[4] This was perhaps Jackson's last letter to Dr. Bronaugh, to whom he was deeply attached. Yellow fever was then prevalent in Pensacola and the Doctor did not spare his efforts in behalf of the sufferers. He was seized himself, and died Sept. 2, 1822.

[1] William R. King was senator from Alabama 1819-1844, 1848-1853.

ington City as Senetor with my consent, If better can be done. I have not yet had any posative information of my Negroes, but am inclined to the opinion that they aimed for Nashville. I wrote Mr. Thomas Martin to have one hundred Copies of my advertisement striken off and forwarded from Nashville in every direction. . . . .

To President Monroe.

Hermitage, July 26, 1822.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 30th of May reached Nashville by due course of mail, being absent on a short Tour to my farm in alabama, I did not receive it untill late in June, and have been prevented by various causes (ill health included) from answering untill now.

Nothing could be more painfull to me, than to have cause to complain of the acts of one who I considered my friend. The principles upon which I have allways acted toward my friends, induced me to write to you with the candeur of one when the occurrence happened which induced the belief that the act was not only injurious but unfriendly to me, and not warrented from the facts of the case or the rules of general Justice to all. my letter to you was dictated by these considerations, and whether an injury has accrued to me by the communication as made to congress, as you now tell me and which I had allways believed that you are utterly incapable " of doing unjustice to any one intentionally ", This suffices. The thing being done without intention of producing injury—if injury hath acrued, the intention being absent, no breach of friendship is, or can be ascribed with Justice.

I have seen with great regret the embarrasments, with which you are surrounded during last session of congress—some of which I anticipated from the moment I saw placed on the Register of the army the recommendation of the board of Genl officers. This I well knew would give to a certain party an opportunity to bring the army in review before congress, and if possible destroy its usefullness to the country by reducing it, and from matter growing out of this investigation, strike, if possible a blow at the rising popularity of the secratary of war. it was this view of the subject that induced me to write you from Pensacola with the freedom and candeur that I did. The indecorous phraseology of the report of the committee of the Senate, too plainly marked the intention of its promoters, and has destroyed that effect upon the public mind it was expected to produce, and must recoil upon the makers.

I have read with great attention and much interest your message to congress on the subject of the constitutional right to adopt, and execute a system of internal improvements.[1] Your reasoning I think Just, and the conclusions well drawn, and must be satisfactory to the nation. My opinion has allways been that the Federal goverment did not possess the constitutional right, that it was returned to the States,

My health is not good, nor have I much hope of regaining it, retirement and ease, may prolong my life, but I fear never can restore my

[1] Message accompanying the veto of the Cumberland Road Bill, May 4, 1822.

broken constitution. Mrs J. requests to be kindly presented to you and Mrs Monroe and your family, to whom, I pray you, to present me respectfully—and believe me to [be] with great respect

your mo obdt, servt,

Egbert Harris to Jackson.[1]

Franklin, Alabama, July 27, 1822.

Dr Genrall. On my return from Huntsvill I receaved yours dated 15th. In answer I can say to you, that I left your farm on the 16th and returned to my Business on the 26th which I had entrusted to the care of our mutial friend Mr John Caffery, and feel highly gratifyed in saying that during my absence he conducted the Business much to my satisfaction all thing's going on smothly, as it respects the farm. I am sorry that the Old man Mr Upchurch, as I am informed, is unable to worke. I immediately gave Mr Crafford, fore hands for the purpose of finishing the logs for the Gin House, as we requiered 8 more to have engouh. he is employed in getting them at this time, and will I hope compleate them in a shorte time. I have seaded your turnip patch, begging new seed, from my Acquaintances, as there was not half enough provided by your friend. I should be glald to seed eight or ten Acres more if seeed can be procured. I have my strong hands employed in getting logs for the crib, and gin House the Weomen grubing arou[n]d the Houses as you requested for turnips and tatos [potatoes]. I can say I beleave this is tanteomount of my Business and I beleave it is disposing of the hands as you requiered.

I shall detain the Horses which I had preaviously determined to send for purpose of getting the timbers together, so soon as I can spare them I shall starte squire up with them. Speaking of Capt. Kemper I can say nothing as I have not seen him in purson. I called at Col. Jones's for that purpose but was informed, that he was on the Opposite side of the River. Mr Crafford I beleave has seen him but unfortunate for me, in conversation on such subjects as appears to have been entrusted to his direction I can learn but little, and as it appears to have been made a seperate apartement, I feell some delicacy. I have haed no positive Instructions about engageing the reasidue of the plank, and I know not whether it is engaged or not, Mr Crafford if I understood him, said he would engage it, if so I presume it is safe. Mr Hover, has not delivered the stuf for the wheat, at the river but I presume he will when requiered. I have been informed that Kemper, finds considerable fault of the logs stateing that they should not have been Boiled. this was the positive instruction of Genrall Coffee, when he delivered your note's which Instructions I have Obsearved delligently and beleaved it the most expeditious mode of curing them, as I had but little time to season the logs and I feare they will not be perfectly seasoned. his Objections are maney and I fear from reporte, he is not desposed to do your worke. Should you discover from your friends that this is his determination I am resolved that you shall not be disappointed, provided you say to me, in proper authority that you wish

[1] Harris was overseer of Jackson's Alabama plantation, situated near Florence. General Coffee and James Jackson lived on plantations in the same neighborhood.

your Gin up and runing say when you can be able to pay for the runing geer, provided it is done in Workemanlike manner. I hope you are aware that I will if it is left to me, make myself responsible, for it's performance, but I hope you will not throw aney responsibillity on me for that parte managed by Others. I feell no hesitation in saying when I am Authoerised to build your Gin, that I can have it compleate by the first day of October, or before. Use your pleasure I will follow your Instructions if I am able, but trust you will not involve my situation as it respects my Crop. I know if it is left to my own management I can compleate the work with ease, say that an insermountable obsticle should be removed. By my conduct to you as my first friend I expect to stand or fall. I hope you will answer this as I conceave it all important. I would not say that these things could be effected without I am positive. I presume my crop will pay for gin provided we have men that will worke. I will deliver the Oxen to your Order, and pursue the Instructions.

My Friend as it respects my Family, I have sen my darling Babes and will with your consent Bring them down, so soon as I can. mrs Harris says she is not disposed to live with [me] as man and wife, and I am determined to use no coersive measures.

Present my Respects to Mrs Jackson, in the most feeling language.

I Remain yours, with Gratitude,

PS since the sealing of my letter the wagon has returned without corne, or so little it is no[t] worth mentioning. the Boy states there is no more there for me save too loads for meal. Please to say what is to be done. I must have some or my Oxen and Horses will perish

yours etc.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Nashville, August 6, 1822.

D'r Andrew, Since my last respects to you, I have the pleasure to acknowledge your two letters of the 22nd and 29th ult. which are now before me.

I did not vissit murfreesborough[2] as was anticipated, nor do I intend; casually, it being hinted to me, that it was intended by some of my friends to bring my name before the nation, as a fit person to fill the Presidential chair, by a resolution of the Legislature, I declined going to the Legislature at all, well knowing if I did, that it would be said by my enemies, that such a resolution was produced by my procurement. never having been a aplicant for any office I have filled, and having long since determined that I never would, I intend in the presence instance to pursue the same independant, republican course, They [the] people have the right to elect whom they think proper, and every individual composing the republic, when they people require his services, is bound to render it, regardless of his own opinion, of his unfitness for the office he is called to fill.

I have recd many letters from every quarter of the united states on this subject; I have answered none, nor do I intend to answer any, I shall

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.
[2] Murfreesborough was the capital of Tennessee from 1819 to 1825.

leave the people free to adopt such course as they may think proper, and elect whom they choose, to fill the Presidential chair, without any influence of mine exercised by me; I have only one wish on this subject, that they people of the united states may in their selection of an individual to fill the Presidential chair, do it with an eye solely to the prosperity of the union, the perpetuation of their own happiness, and the durability of their republican form of goverment, unbiased by the intrigues of designing Demagogues; if left free, to decide for themselves, uninfluenced by congressional caucuses, I have no doubt but they will make a happy choice. If they should permit themselves to be dictated to by a congressional caucus, then, as great a scounderal as william H Crawford might be elevated to the executive chair—contrary to the wish of a great majority of the people. Believe me my Dr Andrew that I never had a wish to be elevated to that station if I could, my sole ambition is to pass to my grave in retirement, But as the Legislature of my state has thought proper to bring my name forward without consulting me,[3] I mean to be silent—and let the people do as it seemeth good unto them. my enemies had at the city of washington circulated the report that I had no popularity in my own state, the resolution of the Legislature, will inform the nation with how much truth this has been circulated, and I suppose this, with other reasons, prompted the move to bring it forward, and has determined me to be silent. I have no business with it, it is now the province of the people to pronounce upon it, and this they shall do without any agency of mine.

I have no doubt but it has alarmed some of the Kentuckians; and some of their great men, in their nightly dreams see the gosts of arbuthnot and Ambrister, and are frequently alarmed by the Indian prophets, and exclaim " save them their religion, save them their prophets ", and preserve to me the Presidential chair for which I have been intriguing, for many years, and when these Demagogues see the Public Journals throughout the union their fears and alarms will doubly increase, whilst I am, perfectly at ease, regardless how they people may decide, having but one wish, that that decision, may prove beneficial to their own happiness. I am fast going out of life, but my fervent prayers are that our republican goverment may be perpetual, and the people alone by their Virtue, and independant exercise of their free suffrage can make it perpetual.

Present me affectionately to Crittenden and Butler, and when you receive the letter from him it will give me pleasure to be informed of the arkansa publication. you remember Call wrote to Crittendon on the subject of a scurrilous publication in the arkansa Gazzett—I never heard of the result. . . . .

To Colonel James Gadsden.

Hermitage, August 9, 1822.

Dear Gadsden, I have had the pleasure to receive your letters of the 16th and 17th ult. with the inclosure of the 17th and on yesterday laid

[3] The resolutions passed July 20, 1822, by the (members of the) Tennessee legislature are printed in Bassett's *Jackson,* I. 328.

your letter before Colo. Butler. the inclosed note from Colo. Butler will inform you of his feelings and wishes on this subject; his letter I have therefore committed to the flames. I feel happy on the termination of those unpleasant feelings which had been excited by groundless reports between two friends which I had a right to believe cherished for each other, that pure friendship, which prevades none but the real virtuous breast. The late conduct of Colo. Butler when I sent you, to make known to him the project proposed to the Secratary of war, the object of which was to enable the Executive to bring you again into the Adjt Genl office, when disclosed, will convince you of his friendship for you—you say to me in yours of the 16th that Mr Calhoun has not recd the letter I adrest to [him].[1] This to me is unacountable, I wrote him on the 28th of June the same day I wrote you, and inclosed the one to you under cover to him (and as I believe under the same cover). Colo. Butlers letters were placed in the post office on the same day by me, with those to you and Mr Calhoun but for reasons after the mail had closed—the one to you and Colo. B. to the Department referred to in mine were recd, it is strange that mine to Mr Calhoun miscarried, it was a private letter and marked private, and I believe under the same envelope that inclosed mine of the 28th to you. When I have the pleasure of seeing you, we will converse this thing over between ourselves.

On taking a full view of the report of the military committee, seeing it contends that Butler or Jones were Legally entitled to fill the adjutant genl office and on this ground you were rejected, that Colo. Towson had been as well as yourself repected, and the President had given evidences of his intention of yielding to the wishes of the Senate, by bringing Colo. Towson into the pay department again, a way was opened as I believed for the Executive, to bring you into that office by the unanimous vote of the senate, and to have destroyed the intention of his enemies by their own weapons. Colo. Butler had tendered his resignation, which had not been accepted, he was by the report of the Senates committee Legally adjt Genl. it was only necessary therefore to have ordered Colo. Butler to the city as adjt Genl, at next session of Congress, this arrangement to have been laid before the Senate. Their own report debarred them from raising any objection to it, its confirmation was certain. So soon as that was done, Colo. Butler had the right to have resigned, as soon as he pleased, (which he certainly would have done) and the Executive had the right to bring you before the Senate to fill the vacancy occasioned by B. resignation. Under these circumstances those who had objected to your nomination upon legal grounds before, would have been under this circumstance compelled to approve, and having in the case of Colo. Towson Yielded to the wishes of the Senate as expressed in the report, I could see no impropriety in Mr Monroes yielding to it in the case of the adjt Genl; It appeared to be the wish of Mr Calhoune and Mr Monroe to continue you in that appointment. I therefore after consulting Major Eaton and he approving, and Colo. B giving me assurance that he would conform to my wishes, I adressed the project to the Sec of War, with the assurance that Colo. Butler would, if ordered obay, it being understood that he should be per-

[1] P. 164, *ante*.

mitted to resign as soon after the meeting of the First Congress as it could be convenient for him under existing circumstances to do so.

I had written a letter recapitulating my letter of the 28th of June, which on the recpt of the answer to the letters by Colo. B. I destroyed and would not forward believing that the project had been received and not approved. I wish to see you, when I will fully unboosom myself to you, indeed I cannot understand, the modern course pursued by the Executive. I cannot foresee any plan but the one I proposed by which you can be brought into the office of adjt. Genl, and I am aware that Benton and Williams intend reviewing the investigation at the next meeting of Congress, their object to injure Calhoun. I inclose this to the care of Genl Gains at Louisville Kentuckey, and hope to see you shortly and believe me to be with great respect your real friend

Egbert Harris to Jackson.

Franklin, Alabama, August 13, 1822.

D'r Genrall, I receaved yours yesterday dated the 3 of this month. I was abead and unable to ride with a heigh feaver of course could not go in purson to see Kemper, but my friend Jonhn Caffery mounted my Horse for the purpose of seeing him for me. when mr Caffery reachd the River, he met mr Crauford who stated to him that it was unecessary to see him as he had in the most positive language stated he could not commence your worke untill first of October if then, and that I had better Employ other Workemen. this is from mr Crawford to me, who is here at this time and the message sent by him to me from Kemper, which is tantamount to the conversation which passed between Kemper and me, a few days since. If my Helth was such that I could in Justice to myself ride as fare I would see him again though I deam it unecessary as he stated to me he did not conceave the contract a postive one, that he could not weight all the year for your work, he Expected to have done yours first—if at all and that he should commence major McKenlys.

Speaking of your press timbers you say that I will find hughers among your hands. I can say in answer this job is a particular one and requires good hands. I have tryed argile and Lampson, the Old man who engaged to get the logs was sick and could not get them as soon as I wished to raise the House. I goot mr Crawford to assist in compleateing the Job, there was Only 8 to get. I gave mr Crawford 4 good hands he compleated that Job in too days, when the Old man did one day with another git 3 without aney assistance, if this suits you It shall hereafter me. the too days in hughing with 4 hands besides himself and one day and ½ in raseing the Body of my gin House is all the assistance I have receaved from mr Crawford since you lift me. mr Crawford alone, commenced to day the drawing of the poles gotten for rafters. I state these facts that you may not be deceaved as I Judge from your letter that you think I have receaved aid from mr Crawford. I thought you knew mr Crawfords disposition. I looked upon him as your friend whom you wished to remain here for purposes I knew nothing of. this Lot is one he engaged

of you and not me. Or I should have had the roof framed the same time I rased the Boddy, mr Crawford had nothing Else to do, for too months, this would have saved me trouble and Expedited your Business.

These facts I state to you as my first friend that you may not be deceaved. I deam it a duty that I owe you, I will discharge that duty however disagreeable it may be to my feeling. when he will finish the roof You can Judge, there has been no excuse for the want of meterials and shall be none so fare as I am autherised. the Old man I fear will not be able to worke in some time but I have gotten mr Caffery to assist too of my Boys in getten the shingles which I will compleate in a shorte time, long before they can be Used. I can Engeage a Workeman who will if the Carpenters worke is done have the Gin and Press up in due time, and in a workeman like manner. But sir say when your roof will be compleated I cannot. of course my workem[en] if engaged cannot be in fault for the neglegence of Others. I have Advised mr Crawford to hire hands and compleate the House. As to plank he told me he had Engaged 900 feet at Fugans [?] mill. I suppose he thought it would be enough, and I presume he is a Judge. so soon as I receaved the Boat, I had it knocked to peaces and halled to the House where he had evry Oppertunity of measureing and seeing the plank, the sise of the House was known to him, I say nothing more at preasent. I have had a sevear attact of the feaver, mary is sick. But none of us dangerious. I can see my hands Occasionly. I am yours in the heighest turms of Respect

Egbert Harris to Jackson.

Franklin, Alabama, August 24, 1822.

D'r Genrall, I have this moment receaved yours dated 16th, 19 wherin you express some dissatisfaction on the parte of my not stateing positively whether or not I had engaged a workeman, who would compleate your runing geer to the gin by the first of October. I can say to you that I stated to you the fact, I had not at that time made aney Positive engagement, But I have on the condition's of your letter made, a Positive Contract with mr John Secress who will commence the worke the first of September, and says he will have it compleate together with the Press by the fiftenth of October. The Purporte of the contract with mr Secress is this, That he will Execute the worke in the time specifyed provided neaver the less, that he together with his hands should not be sick all of which are at preasent in good Health, and that the worke when done he is willing It shall be if you require it, Valued by such workemen a[s] may be Judges, and be paid such prices as are custimary, the payments as stipulated in yours to me. this sir is the Postive contract with mr Secress, and me as your agent. On my Parte you will be the better Judge when you come out. to afford you satisfaction is my object. If I succeed It will afford me satisfaction, should I fail, I must submit to that cup which is near filled. My statements are Corect and can be attested by Others, I hope Sir you will recollect the pleadg that I made you of conducting your Business as though it was my Own, I shall proceed to do so as I have before. what can be will be, to the best of my skill.

Maney of [us] have been a little unwell but I hope we have taken our share. Be so good as to Preasent my respects to Mrs Jackson.

I am yours Respectfully

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, August 28, 1822.

D'r Andrew, I have Just recd yours of the 19th instant, and you may rest assured, that the Presidential election, will not give me either trouble, or pain. I have not, nor do I mean to interfere in this thing, it is the act of the people by their Legislature in which I had no agency, and I mean they people shall pursue their own course, uninfluenced by me. I have no urgent business in which you could be employed usefully to me, I am lonesome at times, and could you receive the same benefit by reading here that you can there, it would be a great pleasure to have you with me, but as your education is my great object, I wish you to be the Judge, where you can derive the greatest benefit, and there, untill you finish your Law study I wish you to be. I wish you to decide this point for yourself, and on mature reflection advise me, and should you be of the opinion you can close you study with equal advantage here, I will send for you. on the 20th instant I remitted you Two hundred dollars one hundred in each letter, Nashville paper, which I hope has reached you, and which will cover your present wants. It will at all times afford me pleasure to remit to you such sums, as will be necessary to finish your education. But my young friend, you must now reflect, that I have no means by which I can be in the receipt of money, but from the product of my farm, or the sale of my negroes. I name this to you that you may adopt oeconomy, but not parsimony—that your expences may be within my means. . . . .

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, October 11, 1822.

. . . . I hope your Lectures have commenced, I would like to learn the mode of Lecturing—from which I could form an opinion of their usefulness. I have no doubt the Litchfield institution,[2] from the age, and great experience of its professors, and the mode of Lecturing, is superior to yours, but as you are there, and I wish you to be with me in the spring and next summer, I wish you there to continue untill the present session is complete. I am sure you can with due diligence and application improve yourself much. mr Barry and Bledsoe[3] are both men of talents—it is

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[2] The "Litchfield institution" was the noted law school at Litchfield, Conn., founded by Tapping Reeve in 1784 and conducted after his retirement in 1820 by James Gould and Jabez W. Huntington. It had during its career more than a thousand students, among them John C. Calhoun, Levi Woodbury, Henry Baldwin, John M. Clayton, and John Y. Mason.

[3] William T. Barry and Jesse Bledsoe were professors of law in Transylvania University, Lexington, Ky. Barry was considered an eloquent speaker and had a political career. In 1825 he was made chief justice of the "New Court", with Francis Preston Blair for clerk. Jackson made him postmaster general in 1829. In 1822 he served on a Kentucky committee to prepare a plan for a common school system for the state. See p. 156, *ante,* note 2.

true they both have been taken with the Bank-mania, which has realised the adage that there are no great men without their weaknesses. But as lawyers, unconnected with Politicks, they are both men of great talents. It is sheer Legal knowledge, abstracted from Politicks, that I wish you to learn—not the absurd doctrine that the Legislature is the people, when every child in politicks does know, that the Legislature is as much the agents of the people, as the executive and Judiciary. The Legislature are created by the constitution, their powers defined by it, and whenever it transcends its powers expressly given, its acts are void. The Judiciary being the check, their duty becomes imperious as the faithfull agents of the people, so to declare it. The Legislature are no more the people, than any other department of the Goverment established by the people, by the constitution for the benefit of the people, to do their business agreable to their letter of attorny, to[w]it, *the constitution*. But notwithstanding all this as lawyers, I think them men of great talents. . . . .

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, December 3, 1822.

D'r Genl. Altho I have reached the City in safety, and been here for four days previous to the commencement of the Session so little of Courtly etiquette falls to my lot, that not yet has any the grand ones been visited; it grows out of no feeling of disrespect, but because in a place where all things are brought to standard value, I knew not if strict rule would sanction a frendly visit until the doors of Congress should be formally opened; except therefore from information derived thro others, it is not in my power to say to you, how your old friends and acquaintances in power may be. Rumor however proclaims them well; and while *he* who now fills the halls of the white House is slowly closing his eyes upon the *rich* trifles of the world, like an old father he stands surrounded by three full grown sons, each seeking the inheritance on his departure. Jno. Q. from the favours bestowed by the old man in his life time, has been deemed a favourite always: J. C.[1] however from being possessd of a sanguine temper sets up also pretensions to the inheritance. William[2] and the old gentleman you know, it has been reported are constantly disagreeing in opinion and are hence not quite so frendly, as father and son should be; be this as it may, it seems pretty well settled that the *Virginia estate* if not already done, will be *apportioned* to the Latter.

Nothing like management and intrigue is yet begun, there has not been sufficient time; that we shall have a *little* of it is quite probable enough. To day we shall amidst a fast falling shower of snow, receive the Message, our text book for the winter. It will apprise us we are told, that the state of the Treasury is full and flush; which if true will be very bad news to the radicals, the reformers of the abuses of a much injured people; the whole ground out of which to raise pitious lamentations before the nation will at a most desirable moment be quite taken away. Thus far have I scribbled merely by way of beginning, not having any thing necessary to be written about. . . . .

[1] Calhoun.
[2] Crawford.

ROBERT JACKSON TO JACKSON.

BRIGHTON TOWNSHIP, BEAVER CO., PA.,
December 5, 1822.

Dear General and freind, I am happy to inform you I am as Well as Can be Expected a man of my age Can be Supposd: I think I Was about 17 When Your Father Started To the Land of Liberty: If you be the man [who] Was Born in Waxa Settlement South Carolina, Son of Andr[e]w Jackson and Elisabeth Hutchison his Wife, they had one Son Hugh (for his Grand father) they had one Son Born at Sea, Named Robert, the 3d Son of my Brother Was yourself (If you are the man I imajine). I had 3 Letters from Carolina before my Brother Died: Since which I Never Received Any: Tho Since I Came To this Country I have Wrote To you; But I Suppose In the Various Scenes you have Been Engaged You Never got them: I agan Write Hoping you Will Answer Immediately If you Receiv it: and Let us know What family you have and Where you are fixed and generaly Reside? I Live Within 1 mile of Beavertown the County town and about 30 from Pittsburg, I have 2 Sons Andrew and James, Both marid, and 2 daughters Elisabeth and Jane Both marrid also (I Live with Jane) Shes is Married To my Brother Hu Jacksons Son his name is James: Andrew Jackson James Hu and Robert myself was the names of the Jacksons I Belong To and If you are of them, I want you To be So Kind as Immediately To Write the first oppertunity that Business Will permit you To do So: When you Write dirret To Robert Jackson near Beavertown pensylvania; To the Care of Thomas Henry Sheriff of Beaver County: I Remain Dear, General your freind etc [1]

MCCOY AND COMPANY TO JACKSON.

NEW ORLEANS, December 13, 1822.

General Andrew Jackson,
Nashville, Tennessee,

Dear Sir, Your Esteemed favor of 27th ulto. address'd to Our late firm, was duly received, And we regret, prospects being such, as not to Afford us more room to Offer You encouragement for the shipment of Your Crop for this market. The Very best selections from choice prime *Louisiana* Cotton, will not Command over 14 or 14½ Cts. but it must be something superior to command exceeding 13 or 13½ Cts. second quality may be quoted at 12 or 12½ cts, and 3rd at about 8 or 11 cts. None of the new Crop of Tennessee has Yet reached market. The best of the Old now remaining on hand will not command over 8 cts, and inferior from 6 or 7 cts. The prime and best put up of the new crop would not now (if in market) command over 10 Cents to class, And Common crops not more than from 6 or 8 cts. As to an Advance or decline in price, there appears to be a Great Variety of Opinions. It is true, there must be an immense Amount of Produce of various kinds at market during the present season, Which, connected with the Circumstance of money being unusually scarce, one Would Argue no favourable results from shipments to that

[1] It is to be regretted that Jackson gave no intimation of his opinion of this letter. It is indorsed, but not in his hand, "Robert Jackson, claims relationship to General Jackson".

Market. Yet, believing as we do, that the demand must shortly increase, we Cannot Anticipate a further decline, On the Contrary, believe that if a change takes place, it must be favourable. After comparing the foregoing with the Offers You have had, You Can best judge of the propriety of a shipment. We Can Only pledge Our best exertions in the promotion of Your interest should you Conclude upon it. With Great respect, we remain,

JAMES STEWART AND COMPANY TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, December 17, 1822.

Genl Andrew Jackson

Dear Sir. Your esteemed favr by Mr Donnaldson is at hand.

Since we last address'd you [1] we have Receivd advices from our mutual friends Wm Kenner and Co of the most discouraging kind in relation to Cotton. Their advise is not to exceed Six Cents, for best Tennessee Cotton. But as we have engagements to meet to the Eastward we are in some measure Compelled to purchase.

We would therefore propose to purchase your Cotton in this State and Alabama on the following terms if they meet your views. We will give you 8 cts pr. lb for the Cotton in Alabama and 8½ for what you have at home, The Alabama Cotton to be deliverd to us on the Tennessee River by the 15th of Jany, That part which you have at home as soon as practicable. We will Pay you $1000 between this time and the 20th of next month and ask of you 6 months time to pay the Balance. Our reason for requiring this indulgence is that one of our firm will go on to Philada. to purchase goods in the Course of the winter, and some little Credit would be a matter of great accommodation.

If the above propositions are acceed[ed] to, you will please inform us, and draw on us at any time for *$500.* We remain Your Obt. Serv.

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.[1]

HERMITAGE, December 21, 1822.

. . . . What do you do with your cotton this year, do you ship it, should I not sell, will you have mine shipped with yours. I have said to Mr Parsons when the cotton is bailed advise you, and you will order what is to be done with it. I have wrote some time since to McCoy and Scallen, but have recd no answer yet. If I can sell below for eleven cents, I will ship. exchange at Nashville is rising, the holders of our baggs will have to bid up or they will get no cotton. I do not believe we ought to take less than 12 cents in these baggs that are depreciating daily. however I shall write you shortly, on this and other subjects, in the mean time if Mr Parsons gets the cotton ready, and is about to move in make him deliver at the river in some warehouse, or deposit on the bank under cover. what will Rapier and Simpson give. enquire and write me. say to them I have requested the question to be asked. . . . .

[1] On Dec. 10 the firm offered Jackson the Nashville price for his cotton, a little more than eight cents a pound. A letter dated Dec. 25 informs us that they bought Jackson's Tennessee cotton at the price named by Jackson, and thought they would take the crop on his Alabama plantation.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, December 27, 1822.

D'r Genl, I wrote you by Mr Barksdale, but a letter this moment received from Mr Parsons asking me what he will do with the cotton when bailed, induces me to write you again. I find from Mr Parsons account of the cotton, Mr Harris must have very much deceived me. Harris stated that there were thirty thousand in the house. This I did not believe, but I supposed there was twenty thousand and thirty in the field. Mr Parsons says he has all ginned and bailed that has been picked, in all seventeen bales, which cannot amount to more than seven thousand, which would be in the seed about twenty five thousand. I do not suppose, will get out more than six or eight bales. I have wrote Mr Parsons to apply to you for instructions what to do with it when bailed. I may sell, if I can get ten cents for it. I wish you however to ship it with little Andrew J. Hutchings if an opportunity offers, unless you should receive farther advice from me, before an opportunity of shipping offers, and instruct the house to whom you ship (I suppose Bedford) to sell the first markett that offers at ten cents advising him that it is Andrews J. Hutchings and to do the best for him. I believe I can get ten cents here for it, giving to the first of June next. advise me whether I ought to take it, by the next mail after the receipt of this. your friends are all well. Mrs J. Donelson, last Monday got an unfortunate fall, sprained her ancle which has confined her, she has suffered some pain with it, but I hope will soon recover from it. Mr Eastons little ones, are well, the infant growing finely. Mrs J and myself tender to you, Polly, and the family, the joys of the season, with our best wishes. your friend

Jackson's Farming Implements.

Hermitage, January 8, 1823.

1 Dagon Plough, 5 Single Ploughs, 2 Double Ploughs, 1 Colter Plough, 3 pare of Streacher, 1 half inch augur, 1 two inch augur, 1 five quarter augur, 1 Chissel, 1 Crosscut Saw, 3 Scythe and Cr[a]dle, 1 Stone augur, 1 augur and wheel, 1 ramer, 3 Clevises, 1 two rule, 1 foot adds, 7 Single trees, 6 pare of haymes, 10 axes, 2 mattux, 9 hoes, 1 Ploughhoe, 5 Pare of trases, 1 hansaw, 1 Crowbar, 1 Sledge hamer, 1 hand hamer, 1 Pare of wegges, 1 mortisin axe, 1 drawing knife, 2 pare of lockchains, [1] horned cattle 39 head grown, and four oxen, 23 calves, 63 head grown sheep, 115 head of Hoggs.

recd January 8th from Andrew Jackson as his overseer, to be carefully kept and supperintended as such—the within farming utensils and above stock, and plantation Tools.

Alex Barksdale

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Memorandom of farming Tools etc. etc. and stock recd by A. Barksdale as overseer, for 1822.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] From this point to the end the memorandum is in Jackson's handwriting. The whole is written in column, but is here consolidated in print.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, January 10, 1823.

Dear Genl, I have just received your letter of the 1st instant and regret to learn that your two youngest has the whooping cough, but as it appears here of a mild kind trust in god that they will speedily recover from it. permit me to recommend a free use of cotton seed tea, it is the most sovereign and safe remedy that can be applied. I never knew it to fail of a happy effect when applied. the seed must be put in a bag to prevent a mixture of the lint with the tea, a little bruised, and well boiled.

I regret much the delay of Parsons and the hands there. they are much wanted here to prepare for another crop, particularly as all there cabins will have to be made after they come in, as I find it as much as my hands does here to get firewood, feed the stock and bale the cotton. I would thank you to write a line to Mr Parsons, to leave the crop if it is not housed before this reaches you, as I wrote him to let Mr Winston have it on shares for picking out, which I suppose his overseer would not agree to take or he would have advised me of his being on the way. I want him here as I cannot attend to the hands in inclement weather. I cannot sell my cotton there to any merchant here on terms that I think would be doing justice to my little ward, have made an agreement with Major George Martin that he is to have the cotton, or the proceeds thereof, at orleans, he being accountable for the exchange at the time the cotton is sold, on such exchange as you and him may think is equitable in the month of March next. it is now in Nashville at 25 pr cent premium. should cotton rise in price exchange will decline, if cotton declines, exchange will still rise. My object is to contract with the Major on fair terms, so that he will loose nothing and justice will be done to my little ward Hutchings.

I feel a desire from a full exposure of his situation and that of his mother and brother, to let him have the use of the proceeds of this cotton to the first of June next, and still longer should it be in my power to let him have it longer. it will be the means to establish his credit in Philadelphia for punctuality, and make him progress with his mercantile views with safety and advantage. I leave it with you and him to determine to whom to ship it at Neworleans. I should prefer to have it sold from on board the boat as the drayage, warfage and storage is a very great deduction from the present prices. I leave this to you and him to erange as the more it neats the better for him as well as me and the sooner he can use the proceed the better for him. The Major will secure the payment. you have not said whether your assembly has risen. if it has, Colo Winston is at home, and will I suppose be prepared to deliver the negroes, and in due time take up his notes. The negroes I have determined to deliver over to Mr Nicholson for A. J. Hutchings, you will please to have them vallued by such men as will be satisfactory to those I have to account. I will risque the suit of old Bennett, and endeavor to be prepared to purchase in the land when sold that has been forfeited. I hope Colo Winston will be punctual as part of the money I will need to finally close my accounts here. I will be happy to hear from you as soon as you hear from Colo Winston,

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

and can advise me of the prospects of the payments by him. I write in haste, will write you again shortly. Major Martin will out in a few days. I hope my cotton will be all ready by the time he reaches you. . . . .

To Henry Baldwin.[1]

Hermitage, January 24, 1823.

D'r Sir, I had on last evening the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 2d instant. upon the Subject to which it refers I have hitherto avoided speaking, and should still have continued in that course but for the frankness of your letter.

The course ever pursued by me and which I have allways thought congenial with the republican principles of my country, was on no occasion to solicit for office; but at the same [time] not to decline any public demand made upon my services. I have heretofore pursued this course and I am now too far advanced in life, to attempt any differrent one. For the efforts it has been in my power to make for my country, and which have in some respects I hope proved beneficial, I have nothing to ask—nothing to claim: satisfied that on all occasions my principle object was fully to perform my duty, I shall be amply satisfied, if my exertions shall be so appreciated, as to enable me, to bear with me in retirement the confidence and good opinion of the virtuous and well deserving of the comunity.

I might venture the assertion that my portion of public service has been performed, If twelve years exposure to fatigue and numerous privations can warrent the expression [and that] Under this sentiment I had gone into retirement with a desire rather to be a spectator, than actor in the passing scenes of life. The Legislature of Tennessee have ventured to present me to the public as one to be voted for at the next presidential election: in this they did not consult me: it was but a further manifestation of the regard which on more than one occasion they have shewn me, and from a knowledge of my political creed that the services of every man belonged to the country, when that country demanded it, they inferred that while none should solicit, so none should decline when called to act. Under this view I could not complain, that my name was submitted by them to the consideration of my countrymen, or entertain the thought of refusing a situation where my services might by possibility be deemed usefull.[2]

At whatever period my country may require my services they shall be, as they ever have been, freely extended. It is the principle upon which I have uniformly acted—one from which I shall never depart.

I am Sir with sincere regard, and great respect, your mo. obdt. servt.

[1] Draft. Henry Baldwin was M. C. from Pennsylvania 1817-1822, associate justice of the Supreme Court 1830-1844.

[2] In his letter, dated Jan. 1, 1823, Baldwin had said: "It is unnecessary for me to say how fully the general sentiment in this part of the country coincides with mine or with what pleasure I shall contribute my most active efforts for your success. will you then permit me to ask you whether your friends may calculate on your acquiessence in their most earnest wishes and your consent to their exertions. Your answer shall be considered confidential or otherwise as you may think proper to direct me." But see also Edward Patchell to Jackson, p. 263, *post.*

To Brigadier-General Richard K. Call.[1]

Hermitage, February 3, 1823.

Dear Call. I have just received your letter of the 23rd Decbr. last and yours of the 15th of the same month accompanying one from Mr. Manuel with his memorial and affidavits. These I have preposed to forward to Major Eaton although I have just received his letter advising me that he has recd one from you on the subject of those claims and stating that it is useless to forward them.

In looking over the letters and reports of Sept. October and November 1814 and Col. Bentons communications who in Sept. and October commanded at Ft. Montgomery Capt. Boyles and Mr. Collen come up under the pretext of buying cattle; about that time all the cattle in the neighborhood of Chrispo cowpens west side of the perdido were carried away by Indians and great quanities from Alabama river above Ft. Montgomery.

Two persons asserted that Mr. Collens and Boyles were endevouring to obtain supplies for the Indians and British—Boyles was confined and sent to Mobile, and I believe Collens was also detained and it was reported that he was a contractor for furnishing Pensacola with Beef.

On my march to Pensacola a fresh trail of cattle was discovered diverting its course toward Pensacola. The Spanish Guard at Capt. Boyles was surprised and captured and six Indians killed and Boyle taken by me as a guide. Then we received information that this drove of cattle had been secreted in a bend of the perdido on the east side. A detachment was sent after them with orders to pursue the trail collect and bring them in. This order was executed—the cattle returned to the contractor with orders to kill for the Army such as might be fit and to spare it to the army on proper returns, to keep the marks and brands and pay the owners for the Beef Slaughtered and return the Stock Cattle to the proper owners. The greater part of those Cattle were claimed by Citizens of the United States returned to them and the slaughtered paid for by the Contractors or reported to me.

These cattle having been drove from the territory of the U. States there trail followed and regainded, should any of Mr. Manuels Cattle have been found with them, and slaughtered, the contractor having got full returns for the beef and ordered to pay for it, will have to be looked to for renumeration. all these facts are before congress, if the call is made, and Col. Benton in the Senate. Therefore I have no idea that the claim will be admitted. Major Blue Commanded the Indians. I never heard that a solitary horse had been brought away by them, and indeed it is not likely that the red sticks would leave any horses west of the escambia when they had so much need for them and when they had sole contract and possession of that country so long. From these facts you can say to Mr. Manuel, all I can do is to send them to Major Eaton, my report of these facts, are in the hands of the Government.

Before this reaches you, you will have been advised that King and Kelly are elected Senators for Alabama, I regret that our friend, Coll King

[1] Sold in Stan. V. Henkels's sale, 1922. See *Catalogue* no. 1316, item 103. Call was now brigadier-general in the Florida militia.

could not have been brought in. Walkers resignation was kept secret and Kelly only heard of it and rejoined to the Assembly and arrived there only three days before the election.[2] The plan to favour the views of the Secretary of the Treasury has failed, but it was a hard contest—still I believe many votes were given for Crawford and McKinly [3] by men not in the support of the Sec. of the Treasury. . . . .

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, February 8, 1823.

. . . . I should have replied to your letter containing a report of the action of debt prosecuted by you and recovered before the moot court, but I have been waiting for the report of the second case promised. I would barely remark here, that your arguments would have been conclusive, and well founded, had Kentucky have been an independant goverment;[2] then she (the people) would have had not only a right to have made any constitution of Goverment the[y] pleased, and to have made any thing mony the people authorised the Legislature under their constitution, but it never ought to be forgotten that the state of Kentucky is only a part of the people of the u states who has formed a Goverment for the whole in which constitution it is declared, "that no state shall coin mony, or make any thing a tender in the payment of debts but gold and silver coin". I will barely ask under this expressed declaration of the whole, can Kentucky as a part of the union, make *paper money*; again, what is the bills of Kentucky admitting the state had the power constitutionally to emit them—*are they mony,* or only evidence of a debt, as all promisory notes are.

The State of Kentucky in Issuing these bills, do it in their corporate capacity, and if a suit was brought against the State on one of these notes, the action of debt would well lie, because the state in its corporate capacity, has promised to pay so many dollars, which is the legal currency of the U States, and its vallue certain, but quere—when a corporate body Issues their promisory notes can the notes thus Issued be considered as mony—or in any other light than promisory and negotiable notes by an individual, and would an action of debt be sustained in strict parlance of law, against B, who had promised to deliver to A by writing under seal, the

[2] The first senators elected from Alabama (1819) were William R. King, afterward elected vice-president with Pierce, and John W. Walker. King was re-elected, as here indicated. Walker resigned in December, 1822, and William Kelly was elected in his place. The Colonel King to whom Jackson refers was Col. William King, formerly commander of the 4th Infantry, who had been "honorably discharged" June 1, 1821. See p. 123, *ante*, note 4.

[3] John McKinley, afterward senator, 1826-1831, associate justice of the U. S. Supreme Court 1837-1852.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

[2] At this time Kentucky was in the midst of her "relief" agitation. This movement was a wild plunge into fiat money and was carried through over the protest of the courts. It resulted in the bankruptcy of one state-of-Kentucky bank and dominated Kentucky politics for nearly a decade. It is well discussed in a brief compass in W. G. Sumner, *Life of Jackson,* ch. VI. The relief movement got a foothold in Tennessee in 1820, but in the following year it encountered the opposition of the state's supreme court and disappeared. Jackson was consistently opposed to this form of "relief".

promisory notes of C, for one hundred dollars, would not covenant be the proper action and if without seal an action on the case—and if B, had placed in the hands of A, one hundred dollars of the notes of C, and taken his note for safe keeping and delivery, an action of detenue. These are merely hints for your reflection upon the case decided, which will lead you to enquire into the political situation of our country, its constitution, and its laws, and also in what cases debt, detenue, covenant, or case, may be the proper action. Kentucky being a party to the social compact of the union, cannot pass laws inconsistant with the fundamental terms of that compact (constitution) but is bound by it, and any act of Kentucky in contradiction to the express terms of that compact is void, not voidable, but absolutely void—hence her attempt to make paper, *mony* is void, or to emit bills of credit forbiden by the constitution of the united states, which all Judges of the State are sworn to support, and bound by that oath to declare void.

I have only given those hints with a view that you may keep them in mind untill we meet, when we can converse at large on this subject—least the wild speculative notions of the past and present day of Kentucky, might lead you into political error, before your mind was properly prepared to form a Judgment for yourself with which you would be pleased with, on mature reflection. I am sincerely gratified to find that the good sense of the people of Kentucky are looking back upon their proflicacy and folly, and uniting the wisdom of the state, in a grand effort to restore themselves to that exalted state that it ocupied nine years ago. It will take twenty years to regain that exalted station as a state which it has lost by the new fangled projects of wild speculators and unsound politicians. . . . .

Isaac L. Baker to Jackson.

New Orleans, February 14, 1823.

Dear General, Mr. Clays friends a few days since made a most desperate effort to have him nominated as president of the U. S. by our Legislature. Notice was formally given that on a particular day a motion for a recess would be made with a view to nominate a successor to James Monroe. Your friends who are quite numerous and very respectable prevented any thing from being done, for the mover when the day came only found three or four of his own way of thinking and declined the affair entirely. Your friends for the present will not advocate a caucus. Before the People of this state you have nothing to fear from the result should you continue a candidate and for the present the opinions of the present members are so difficult to get at, that we think it rather unwise to risque a cau[c]us untill we see our way more clearly. Mr. clay's friends are in despair and talk with less confidence than two weeks ago. . . . .

Secretary Adams to Jackson.

Department of State, Washington, February 19, 1823.

Sir, I have the honor of transmitting to you, by direction of the President of the United States, a commission as Envoy Extraordinary and

Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico. Should this appointment meet your acceptance, the credential Letter and Instructions will be prepared in such time as it may suit your convenience to proceed upon the mission. Such arrangements with regard to the payment of the outfit will be made, as may be agreeable to you. Permit me to express my own hopes, that our Country may on this occasion have the benefit of your services, and to assure you of the high respect with which I am, Sir, your very humble and obedt. servt.

To President Monroe.[1]

Hermitage, February 19, 1823.

Dear Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the recpt. of your letter of the 30th ult. which has Just reached me, advising of my nomination to, and confirmation by the Senate of the United States, as envoy extraordinary, and minister plenipotentiary to Mexico. I shall allways view this as an aditional proof of your friendship towards me, and as a further proof of my countries confidence in my integrity as a public officer, and as such I duly appreciate it, altho I cannot accept of the appointment conferred for several reasons. Some of which I will state. Under the present revolutionary state of Mexico, caused by the despotic acts of Iturbide whose tyranic yoke the republicans under Victoria are endeav[oring] to shake off, it appears to me that the app[ointment] of a minister from the United States at [present] would prove detrimental to the cause [of] freedom in that country, and might [aid] Tyrant Iturbide [2] in rivitting the chain [of] Despotism upon his country. I never can [be]come the instrument, however innocently, [of] Tyranny to oppress a people who of right ought to be free, and whose freedom is so important to the United States. was I to go there my feelings would be so different from the Emperors, that it would be impossible for our sentiments to accord, and evil instead of benefit to my country might grow out of it, and I have made it a uniform rule of my conduct never to accept a public station where it did appear to me I could render no benefit to my country. Added to this Mrs Jackson could not be prevailed upon to go to that country; to seperate again from her for two, or more years, when the interest of my country does not imperiously call upon me to make this sacrafice, when this trust can as well, if not better, be performed by another, all which will I hope be considered by you and my country sufficient reasons for declining it.

Under all circumstances, it is no small gratification to me, to find from your letter that there is no obligation on me to accept, otherwise than may be alltogether in accordance with my own views, and wishes, the appointment being made without consulting me. Major Eaton had advised me of your consultation with him on the subject of nominating me to the Senate, and your friendly views; My answer to him will have shewn, that I fully appreciate your friendly intention [a]ltho I could not accept the appointment, [wh]ich he will have made known to you.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Monroe MSS.
[2] Agustin Iturbide, crowned emperor of Mexico in July, 1822, deposed in March, 1823.

I have recd a letter from Mr Poinsette [3] [giv]ing his views of the present disturbed [sta]te of Mexico, which fully confirms other [ac]counts from there; and shews the propriety of the view I have taken of it, and confirms me in the idea that it might prove detrimental to the republican interest by sending out a minister under existing circumstance, and Mr Poinsetts ideas, I think, well worthy of your mature deliberation.

Mrs. Jackson begs through you, to present to Mrs Monroe and Mrs Hay, her affectionate regard, and believe me to be with sincere friendship and respect,

Yr most obdt. servt.[4]

To H. W. Peterson.[1]

Nashville, February 23, 1823.

Sir, Your letter of the 3d instant, with the Harrisburgh paper entitled the Commonwealth, containing the address you have alluded to, has been this day received. The complimentary manner in which my fellow citisens of Pensylvania have been pleased to notice my military services, and their voluntary expressions of respect and confidence in me, has excited on my part a proper sense of gratitude.

As a member of a Committee appointed to draft an address to the People of the U S on the subject of the next Presidential election, *and by the request of that Committee* you ask to be informed " whether I can or do approve of my " name being used at this time as a candidate for the Presidency of the U States " [2] I shd have consulted my own feelings by continuing to avoid speaking on the subject but the respectable source from whence the inquiry emenates, prohibits any but a candid notice of your communication. My undeviating rule of conduct through life, and which I have and shall ever deem as congenial with the true Republican principles of government, has been neither to seek, or decline public invitations to office. For the services which I may have rendered and which have, it is hoped, proved in a degree beneficial to my country I have nothing to ask. They are richly repaid with the confidence and good opinion of the virtuous and well deserving part of the community. I have only essayed to discharge a debt which every man owes his country when her rights are invaded: and if twelve years exposure to fatigue and numerous privations can warrant the expression: I may venture to assert that my portion of public service has been performed and that with this impression I had retired from the busy scenes of public life: with a desire to be a spectator merely of passing events.

[3] Joel R. Poinsett, M. C. from South Carolina 1821-1825, minister to Mexico 1825-1829, Secretary of War 1837-1841.

[4] On his refusal of the appointment to Mexico Jackson had this to say in a letter of Mar. 3, 1823, to E. G. W. Butler: "I have declined the mission to Mexico. I could be of no benefit to my country there, and in the present state of revolution, a minister from the United States to present credentials to the tyrant Iturbide, might strengthen him on his tottering throne, and aid him in riveting the chains of despotism upon the Mexican people. I can never do an act to aid tyranny and oppression—I have therefore declined." (See Gayarré, *Sketch of General Jackson by Himself,* 1857.) James Gadsden confirmed the view that Jackson refused because of Poinsett's advice (*De Bow's Review,* XXIII. 94-97).

[1] Copy. Seems to be the handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis.

[2] Peterson's letter of Feb. 3, 1823, announced that "a few days since" a meeting at Harrisburg, Pa., had unanimously nominated Jackson as a candidate for the presidency.

The office of Chief Magistrate of the Union is one of great responsibility; as it should not be sought by any Individual of the Republic: so it cannot with propriety be declined when offered by those who have the power of selection. It is interresting to the American People alone and in the election they should exercise their free and unbiased judgement. It was with these impressions I presume and without any consultation with me, that the Members of the Legislature of the State of Tennessee as an additional testimony of their confidence in me: thought proper to present my name to the consideration of the American community. My political creed prompts me to leave the affair uninfluenced by any expression on my part: and to the free will of those who have alone the right to decide. Yr

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Hermitage, March 5, 1823.

. . . . The course you pointed out was precisely the one [that] was recommended to Daniel by me, and for this purpose consulted his grandmother, and was advised by mr Saunders, that she disapproved of his going to Yale College, if he left the m. academy. In my last, I advised you I had personally seen her and she appeared quite willing to aid me in giving him the same education that you have recd and is now receiving, but mr Saunders was silent when consulted by me, observing that he hoped he had concluded to remain at the m. academy

On the subject of the sale of his land if it had been necessary for the completion of his education I perfectly accorded with you, but knowing as I did that his grandfather was bound of record to give him a liberal education I did think it was not fair, that Danl should be compelled to sell his land to do that, that, I would have cheerfully done for him, had he been left under my care where he had been placed by the consent of his mother, and before I would resign him even to his grandfather, in whom I had every confidence, I had a record made that could not be altered, and I did know that your father was by agreement with your grandfather entitled to 1280 acres of land where he settled, and the 640 acres bequeathed to you and him was as little, as could be. It was this that gave rise to my expressions in my letter, and to be plain I was determined that he should receive a liberal education without the sale of his land—if I paid it out of my own means. I know the vallue of a real education, I set out that you all three should receive it, and nothing but the want of means shall prevent it, and I trust in a kind providence that he will not deprive me of the means to carry into effect such a praiseworthy object.

I have recd no answer to my letter from Daniel, I cannot account for this. I wish you to write him, to write me freely his wishes, if he is still disatisfied at the m. academy tell him from me, that he shall be supported at Yale college, and from the military school to go direct there, where I will remit him the means to remain there. still I would be grati-

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers. Daniel was a brother of Andrew Jackson Donelson. His grandmother opposed his desire to leave the academy at West Point to enter Yale College. Jackson got her consent, but it was given reluctantly. The letter shows Jackson's interest in education.

fied if he could remain contentedly at the M academy. I believe it the best school in the world, but without he is contented there, it is useless to keep him there, discon[ten]ted he cannot improve his mind. write him freely and frankly what I here request you. I urged him to answer my letter on its receipt—this he has not done and I fear he has taken up wrong impressions, that is to say, that, I, wish him to remain there fearfull of the pittance that would be required to finish his education at Yale College. assure him that this is not the fact—my whole advice was bottomed on his future wellfare and when he sees his grandmother she will thus inform him. . . . .

Rebecca Bronaugh to Jackson.

Abingdon, Va., March 7, 1823.

. . . . I would not sell Dick for ten times his value unless he is unwilling to return to me, and I would not separate him and his wife on any consideration. My dear and much lamented son mentiond in his first letter from Pensacola that Dick had married a wife and as he could not bear the idia of parting man and wife he had bought her. I have as many servants as I have any use for but as it was the wish of my beloved child that I should have his servants I will take them if they wish to come to me, and I leave it entirely to yourself when to send them and in what manner. . . . .

John Rhea to Jackson.

Washington, March 7, 1823.

Dear General, I received your letter of the 17th of last month, and on the day I received it I went to the president and agreeably to the liberty you gave to me, I put it in his hands and he read it. he told me he had written to you on the subject. that letter I suppose you have received. I think you have done right in not accepting the appointment.[1] You might however have visited that Country and returned when you pleased. I however do approve of your remaining in Tennessee, and more so because I believe it is most agreeable to Mrs Jackson, to whom be pleased to remember me in the most respectful manner. I am hastening to get through with business of my constituents, that I may get away from here. accept my best wishes

your friend and servt

[1] Dr. J. C. Bronaugh died in Pensacola, Sept. 2, 1822. Dick was his personal servant. This letter illustrates one phase of the relation between slave and master. Jackson took charge of his deceased friend's belongings and forwarded them to Mrs. Bronaugh.

[1] In connection with Jackson's refusal to be minister to Mexico, the following letter from Abner L. Duncan, of New Orleans, to James Gadsden, Jackson's intimate friend, July 5, 1823, is interesting to students of political methods: "The Mexican Govt owes me some 80 to one hundred thousand Dollars. The wise ones say, now that Genl. Jackson has rejected the appointment, it will probably be offered to Louisiana. Some of my friends say you understand the three languages, that is, French English and Spanish. You have contributed to the Independence of that Govt. You would be gladly recd. as Minister and although you are not much of a democrat the folks at Washington might be disposed to confide in you. Could not my friend Gadsden sound our worthy friend Genl. Jackson on the subject?"

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, March 10, 1823.

. . . . I find from a letter recd from our friend Mr James Jackson, that he begins to see the combination of parties, between Mr Crawford and Clay. the latter, through his friends made great exertions to obtain a nomination by the Louisiana Legislature. my friend writes me, when the day came there was but three could be mustered in his favour, and posponed the meeting. my friend also writes me, that Governor Carroll has been writing to some members there, that Clay will get a unanimous vote in Tennessee. I mean the first opportunity to shew the Governor this letter, which is all the notice I mean to take of him. his friends shall also see it, and I suppose the individuals of Tennessee will inquire by what right he attempted to give the lye to the expression of the Legislature of the state. should the people take up the subject in the south, and west, as they have in Pennsylvania, they will soon undeceive Mr Clays friends. if the people of Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, follow the example of Pennsylvania, they will place Clay and Crawford where they ultimately will be, *Dehors the political combat,* but their intrigues are united, and their friends are industrious.

It is true I was appointed Envoy extraordinary and minister to Mexico, but it is equally true that I declined excepting it. In the present revolutionary state of Mexico, no good could be brought about for my country, an american minister going there and presenting his credentials to Iturbide at present, might add much to his strength and enable him to rivet the chains of Despotism upon that part of the country, and I hate bowing to a Tyrant. again I am not desirous to treat with ghosts, and I hope ere this Iturbide has lost his head, for these and other reasons which I named to Mr Monroe I declined. . . . .

To Secretary Adams.[1]

Hermitage, March 15, 1823.

Sir, I have received your letter of the 19th ulto, and with it the commission as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to Mexico.

While I recognise in this act of my Government a further proof of its approbation of my official conduct heretofore; and of a continuation of that confidence, still for various reasons, which have been communicated in a letter to Mr Monroe, I cannot in justice to myself or country consent to act on this mission.

The present unhappy revoluntionary state of Mexico; with an oppressed People struggling for their liberties, against an Emperor whom they have branded with the epithets of Usurper and Tyrant, convinces me that no minister from the U States could at this period effect any beneficial treaty for his country, and of the impolicy of a Republican Representative at a court, which might be construed as countenancing the Empire in opposition to a Republic. The People of Mexico in their honest efforts

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] Copy.

for freedom command my warmest sympathies, and their success is intimately connected with the ultimate and general triumph of these liberal principles for which our Revolutionary worthies bled, and which now form the pride and boast of United America. With these feelings and wishes and which I believe to be in unison with my fellow citisens; you may readily conceive that my situation at Mexico would be embarrassing to me independent of the conviction that I was rendering service to my country. To render service could alone constitute any motive for again acting in a public capacity.

The President has been kind enough to say that not having consulted me before he made the nomination it is not oblicatory on me to accept: but that I will act as meets my convenience and approbation. The reasons stated above will shew that in consulting my own feelings I have not been uninfluenced by considerations connected with the best interests of my country. Yours

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

Washington, March 30, 1823.

My dear Sir, Incessant application to official duties since the commencement of the late session of Congress compelled me to suspend wholly my private correspondence, which I hope you will accept as an apology for not acknowledging your favour of the 12th Decr. last, at an earlier period.

I find few with whom, I accord so fully in relation to political subjects, as yourself. I have a thorough conviction, that the noble maxim of your's, to do right and fear not is the very basis, not only of Republicanism, according to its true acceptation, but of all political virtue; and, that he who acts on it, must in the end prevail. The political gamblers will fail. The cause of the Georgian is, if I mistake not, rapidly declining. It has no foundation in truth, and can only be proped, by false pretenses. Should he fail in New York, as I think he must, he will have not the least prospect of success.

Mr Clay, I think, is not advancing on this side of the mountains, tho' his friends speak confidently of his strength to the West. They expect him to be nominated in Louis[i]ana, during this session.

Our news from Europe has been interesting, and I expect will be still more so by the next arrival. It is not improbable, that a mighty contest has commenced there not for commerce, or territory, but to crush any vestige of liberty on the continent of Europe. In its progress, it will probably approach our shores, as Cuba will be involved in all likelyhood in the course of events. That England looks to that Island; and will be ready to seize on it, if a favourable opportunity offers, can hardly be doubted, and that such an event would be full of danger to this union, is not less clear. I deem the moment important, and do think the country ought to be prepared for the worst. Without Cuba our confederacy is not complete; and with it in the hands of the English, the best line of communication between the entrance ports, would be intercepted.

Say to Col Gadsden, if you please, that I will write him in a few days; and that the President has selected him to treat with the Indians in Florida, which I hope he may find convenient to accept. I think his chance of being confirmed as adjutant genl at the next session is good.

With sincere respect and esteem

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, April 15, 1823.

. . . . Inclosed I send you a production sent from the neighborhood of Mobile to a friend of mine in this state who has inclosed it to me with a view to its insertion in a Nashville paper. I think it better calculated for the meridian of Alabama, and if you think proper you can hand it to Mr Fulton for his inspection and publication if thought worthy of a place in the Florence Gazette. The eastern papers team with the Presidential question and pennsylvania has taken her course. The public journals their stand, and disect, disapprove, and approve of the character and conduct of the different candidates at pleasure, and with great freedom. Virginia as yet has not declared for any, a new paper has been established in Richmond in opposition to the enquirer and in opposition to Mr. Crawford.[2] Virginia will not support Clay. if he cannot get New York or Pennsylvania to support him he must withdraw. Pennsylvania will not, and New York it is said will follow in her wake, some say she will support Mr Adams, this I think the most probable. I have been expecting Mr James Jackson for a long time. I have a great desire to see him on our private business. Darby has, and is still using his quill with much severity, he has brought down the anger of many in Nashville, but stands well with the people.[3] some (I know not who) has brought him out before the people for the assembly, this has alarmed some, and put Judge Overton in a great state of fretfulness. I have heretofore witheld Darbys pen from the abuse of the Judge, nevertheless he said the other day it was thought by the people that I was patronising him, that I had lost Grundys friendship, or at least Grundy would be silent. in the mean time Judge Grundy is professing great friendship to me, and proposing great plans to which I gave no countenance. I mean therefore to say to Darby I have nothing to do with you, in either controling your pen or advising you how or what way to pursue your course, that my name is not to be coupled with any of your investigations and abuse, and let them and Darby manage their business their own way, and I do expect Darby will down the whole. he has got hold of some things that is well qualified to injure the Judge and to identify him with a verry corrupt combination to destroy Darby and change the uniform decision of the Supreme court on the subject of the statute of Limitations. This I have had influence enough over Darby to have laid to sleep heretofore, but Darby having as he says got fresh proof and the Judge as he says continuing his secrete plans to injure him, that unless the Judge does disist from interference with him he will expose him in the

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] The *Constitutional Whig* (afterward the *Richmond Whig*), publication of which was begun early in 1824 by John Hampden Pleasants.

[3] Darby had lately succeeded T. G. Bradford as editor of the *Clarion*.

papers. therefore I have determined hereafter to let each take their own course. I have given the Judge the advice of a sincere friend he may adopt it or not as he pleases and I am done. he cannot suppose that Darby will tamely lay himself down for a few to trample upon without resistance, and the Judge will find that the people will support Darby, if he confines himself to facts, and makes out his case. Darby says that he has advice that the Judge drew the law at Nashville, enclosed it to Mr Miller at Knoxville before the meeting of the Legislature. Haywood writes a member that the Judges must be put down (that is those who decided contrary to him, Judge White and Emerson) or that they would put down the people. the law is passed judges are selected and to be catichised to know how they will decide before voted for.[4] If he proves this combination, he will make them all wish they had let these things alone. I have heard of packing juries before, but an attempt by few to inveigle a Legislature to pack a court, I never heard before. Such are the pictures of matters here. . . . .

Isaac L. Baker to Jackson.

St. Martinsville, La., May 3, 1823.

. . . . I wrote to you from Natchez that all was safe and so it was as far as a poor set of poor devils could be relied on. The day after my return to the Legislature notice of another caucus for the next day was given. Overton Davezac and myself turned out at once and counted noses. We could not have asked a more favorable result for it appeared out of about sixty members we had at least forty with us. Next morning to our great surprize we found two or three who had always been with us had gone over to the Enemy's camp. We then made a severer scrutiny and found our majority still large. at night when we met things had changed a little, tho we were still strongest by ten or twelve. Mazurau[1] and all your Enemies had been hard at work all day. Many of them spoke the language of a large majority of the members perfectly, Knew better how to opperate on them and did all they could. Davezac in a most able speech opposed the Caucus. He spoke in English and was followed by Mazurau on the other side in French. I rose to answer him, but the instant I got up the opposition started their resolutions round the Tables to get signatures and by dint of persuasion and persecution got some twenty odd signers. In the preamble to the Resolutions in favour of Clay there was a vast deal in your praise with the view solely of deceiving your friends. This trick

[4] In 1821, in Harris and Holmes *v.* the Lessee of Bledsoe's Heirs, the Supreme Court of Tennessee (Judges Whyte and Emmerson, Haywood dissenting) construed an act of 1797 respecting land titles in a sense adverse to many doubtful claims of residents of Tennessee as against more regular claims of non-residents. In 1822 Judge Emmerson resigned. The legislature chose a successor holding the more popular view and added temporarily a fourth judge, and in 1823, in Barton *v.* Shall, the unpopular decision was reversed. 1 Peck 214, 234; Clayton, *History of Davidson County*, p. 104.

[1] The writing is not distinct. Probably Étienne Mazureau is indicated. Maj. Auguste Davezac was with Jackson in the defense of New Orleans in 1815 and continued his loyal friend afterwards. General Overton, whose son John is here mentioned, was one of the old citizens of West Tennessee and a firm friend of Jackson.

got them some support. For two or three days after they made every exertion in their power to get more signatures and at last wonderful to relate they got thirty four. These names are sent forth upon the world as the deliberations of members in caucus. They were no such thing. In the caucus if a vote had been taken in the usual manner mr Clay would not have been nominated. They broke up the meeting of their own accord, and no vote was taken notwithstanding the pompous signatures of their president and secretary. It was all a trick. Overton told me he had long since written a letter to his father (or some other friend in Nashville) giving an account of the whole which I hope was published. Overton and I made some publications in the Orleans Gazette which was sent which placed the transactions in their proper light. In this state it makes no impression. The people know nothing of mr Clay and are not for him. Of twenty seven Americans in the Legislature there are only six or seven who were prevailed on to sign his resolutions. It is hard to say how the French will go but the Americans are decidedly against mr Clay.

Rouffignac (by Duralde's influence) is for Clay, but he is your friend and after clay will be warm for you. Duncan Livingston and Grymes did nothing in your favour.[2] It was not right in them, but as it was they did not choose to act. Davezac is true and the only one of the French members who sticks to you thro good and evil Report, if we except Rost a fine young man from Nackitosh [3] who was not present at the caucus. General Overton ought to be proud of his son John. He is a man of fine genius, as yet a little too wild, but one who will come out exceedingly well in the end. He was as true as steel to you throughout the whole year.

In this poor state of Louisiana we have so many rascally adventurers who will do any thing for office that they only look to who is strongest to declare themselves. Should Clay and Crawford compromise as you think Crawford cannot get any vote here. I do not believe twenty men can be found in the state favorable to him. He is generally and justly detested. I certainly heard it said often before the Caucus as coming from Governor Carroll [4] that Clay would get the vote of Tennessee. Those who reported it may have done so for electioneering purposes but when I recollected the old John R. Bedford business I was strongly inclined to put faith in it. Should Pennsylvania declare for you you will stand the best chance for if there is a chance of success; the people are so strongly against you that all the west will be yours and most of the south.

For the part I have taken in this state I have been much assailed in public and private, but it matters not. I glory in such calumny. You have been a warm and useful friend to me and as long as I can serve you you shall not find me seeking shelter under the standard of your Enemies as some others do who have perhaps more regard to their interest than reputation Do me the favour to write to me often. Since I begun this I have been so often interrupted that I have delayed till the post is starting with-

[2] Abner L. Duncan, Edward Livingston, and John R. Grymes; but Rouffignac, Duralde, and Rost have not been identified.
[3] Natchitoches.
[4] Governor William Carroll, of Tennessee.

out touching on many points Events justify the view you took of mexican affairs. The republicans have prevailed and Iturbide is a prisoner. The american people may thank you that our government never paid court to the scoundrel. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, May 24, 1823.

Dear Genl, I rcd by the hands of our mutual friend Capt Savage your letter of the 7th instant enclosing four hundred dollars in United States notes and four hundred in Tennessee notes the amount paid you by Colo Winston on my account for which receive my thanks. I had sat down to write you about two weeks ago. I commenced my letter with the information of my fine prospect of my cotton crop, this was on saturday. whilst writing I was interrupted by company who remained with me untill Tuesday, which days were cool and cloudy. I resumed my letter on Tuesday, but thought before I would conclude my flattering prospects of a cotton crop I would view it, and I never saw such ravages committed as had been on my cotton for those three days. I cast my letter into the fire with determination not to write untill I could see the real stand. Mr Parsons has got over the greatest part of my cotton the second time, it has just began to grow, the most part from six to eight leaves, and I believe I may now venture to say I will have a tolerable stand, part stands well, and some is thin. I think that now the worms will cease and the cotton quit dying, if so, I may with a favourable season, hope for a good crop. My corn is good, Mr Parsons has gone over twice with the plows and hoes the *old ground*. the new ground not planted, but all ready once cooltered, and twice plowed, this is intended for a pumkin crop, as well as corn. My plantation is in good order 160 acres of corn mostly knee high, not as good a stand as I could wish, the crows squirrells and pigeons has been very bad. I must say that I think Parsons one of the best managers I ever saw, he has more system and gets on with more ease than any overseer I ever had. I am happy to hear that the weather with you is good, and your hopes of good crops, flattering. My health has not been so good for about a fortnight, I am better, but I have had to loose a good deal of blood, and to take Harrodsburgh salts [2] every other day for a fortnight, my cough has abated but I am a good deal pestered with it yet. the paign in my breast, side and left shoulder was unusually severe. I intend to vissit you in July with Mrs J and spend a few days with you, the travel may be beneficial.

I could not detain my friend Savage but one night. I gave him a letter to our friend Simpson Harris, with a request that he would introduce him to his daughter Mrs DePriest. he appeared to express a desire to become acquainted with her, and it gave me great pleasure to be the instrument of making her acquainted with go good a man. I think our friend has some thought of changing his situation.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] Magnesium and calcium sulphates.

The pension business has created considerable feeling (I am told) about Nashville and through the country. I have verry little doubt but it will be the means of electing Darby to the Legislature. his enemies could not have added more to his popularity than by the measures and ways they have adopted. another piece against him in the wigg [3] containing another anonymous letter would send him to congress, or make him governor of the state; This with Mr Grundy on the court of inquiry has roused public sentiment, believing there is a combination between the secretary, Bank directors, and pension agents, to put him down. it matters not whether this is true or not, it is enough that they people think so. It was unfortunate for Mr Grundy that he had anything to do with it; it will loose him votes and that many.

Mrs J with our little ones and Mrs Donelson join me in our best salutations to you, your lady, and amiable family, to whom present us, and believe me your friend.

MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT WITH WILLIAM T. L. HARWELL.

June 11, 1823.

memorandom of an agreement entered into between William T. L. Harwell and Andrew Jackson both of the county of Davidson and State of Tennessee witnesseth, That the said Harwell representing himself to be a rough Carpenter understanding the art of hewing timber, framing and covering houses, making doors, and windows and laying floors, and erecting the runner Geers of a ginn, and post and railing, gate making and the like—The said Andrew having a barn to repair a mill and ginn house to remove and erect, gates to make and post and railing to do on the farm whereon he now lives, has employed the said Harwell for one year to do and perform the abovementioned Labour and macanic work, which the said Harwell has undertaken to do and perform in an industrious and faithfull manner, or any other work and labour that the said Andrew Jackson has to do about the improvement of his said farm for the space of one year from the thirteen day of the present month for which the said Andrew is to pay him the sum of three hundred dollars, in the following manner, and to find him in Board and washing, and a negro girl to mend his cloaths if needed—that is to say in merchandize to the amount of what cloathing he may want for himself—a good horse and saddle and the ballance in current Bank notes of Nashville at the end of the year. on the said Harwell having performed his labour in a faithfull and industrious manner, In witness whereof we have interchangeable set our hands and seals this 7th day of January 1807.

P. S. If the above parties cannot agree about the Vallue of the horse, then the horse is to be Vallued by Frank Sander of Davidson county.

[*signatures*]

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] This 11th June 1823 then settled with Wm. T. L. Harwell and gave him a due bill in full for his labour to this date and in full of this agreement.

WM T L HARWELL

[3] The *Nashville Whig*, established in 1812.

Colonel Charles P. Tutt to Jackson.

Locust Hill, Loudoun Co., Va., June 24, 1823.

Majr. Genl. Andrew Jackson

D'r sir, I arrived safely at home about the middle of April and should have much earlier apprised you of the safe arrival of Doctr. Bronaughs property,[1] but have been prevented heretofore from doing so by a variety of circumstances, having now however a leisure moment I avail myself of it to give you the necessary information. I directed Dick to proceed from Lebanon to Bean's Station—the small boy and riding horse I took with me through Kentuckey. on my arrival at Bean's Station, I found that Dick had not arrived, although he ought to have been there several days before, he however arrived that night—he then informed me that he could not possibly travel more than twenty miles a day. my anxiety to reach home would not permit me to travel at that rate, I therefore employed a waggoner to take charge of them and deliver them in Winchester which he did from whence they got safely home. the cariole gave out entirely shortly after they entered Virginia. the balance of the money in my hands after defraying the expenses, to wit, about $174 and some cents which as Mrs. Bronaughs rect. is not before me, I cannot exactly state, was paid to her order.

Our Congressional Elections here have terminated very much as I expected with the exception of Genl. Alexer. Smyth, whom I had no doubt would have been left at home. from all I can see and learn it appears to me that Virginia will support Mr. Crawford for the next Presidency, not from any great love or regard they have for him but because he has pleased in some way her delegation in Congress. as to yourself My Dear sir I need not say that you are universally esteemed by the people and if the election was by districts the result would be different. Your enemies too are very industrious, they have labored hard to produce an impression, that you were a man governed alone by Passion and impulse. cannot something be done to counteract their Views—your personal acquaintances and friends do all they can but they are not sufficient in number to turn the scale. Be pleased to remember me most affectionately to my friend Genl. Houston. Accept my thanks for your civility and kindness when at your house.

With best respects to Mrs. Jackson

I am most Respectfully

General Richard G. Dunlap to Jackson.

Knoxville, Tennessee, July 2, 1823.

Dear Sir, I am aware, from present exigencies, that you have been troubled, with *this* kind of letter politeness — judging as I do from the usual *arts* of man. But as I am now, what I have been, since you have had a cause before this nation, I claim an exemption, in the matter, to which my letter shall relate, of all motives, tending to my personal intrest.

I will give you a brief statement, of the rise and progress of things, in *this place,* to enable, you more easily, to understand the object I have in

[1] See p. 191, *ante.*

veiw. I came to this place in the summer of 1819 and found the place, in commotion, which rose out of a struggle between your friends and enemies. The former have been faithfull and vigilant and grown, to an appaling sise, in the sight of the latter, who have weakened as rapidly, as their dark designs and duplicity have vanished, when the light of truth exposed thier deperviety.

The first object of your friends here, was, to rescue your reputation from calumny and place it, (where it before, stood) above the reach of the malevolent. This was done, by scurging those, who vilely assailed your character, under the cover of the coward's shield; and long before your nomination to the presidency by the Tennessee legislature. Among those who aided to prostrate, Colo Williams, and his idle W. H. Crafford [1] who dared to satiate the vengence of mean souls, upon your *paid for,* reputation, W. G. Blount was the first and last.

Your nomination to the presidency, has been of subsequent origin and in fact was viewed of minor importance, to the warding off, those deadly blows which were aim[ed] at your standing: and now can be use[d] as a means by which, pay can be had for former injuries. "A change how sad!" Though not to me, its truly melancolly notwhthstanding. "Anguish rends the heart" but still your friends feel a *soothing comfort.*

To be or not to be, is the awfull struggle with the colo, and not *to be,* is what I'm for.[2] Things seemed to have been, under the guidance of heaven, all going on smoothly, for the defeat of the *horse shoe* Colo.—until the ancient and late hon. Mr Rhea diclined a reelection in his district, *without a vale dictore,* which to me bespeaks a spliting of friends. My great anxiety for success, may have so tortured my immagination, that it has wrongfully begot this difficulty. But should it exist, it ought in my opinion to be *checked in the bud.* Mr Rhea is considered superanuated and will not be near so strong as W. G. Blount in East Tennessee. the same objection will hold good in the west. Mr Blount has long been spoken of as a candidate for the senate, and in this county the test of the present election, is somewhat, between the Colo. and him. Should Rhea be a candidate, your advice, for him to retire, will not only save him from the pain of defeat, but will secure the Colo, in his fair claim to retirement, tho not with the same honor.

Your friend

I do not request an answer.
N. B. I have not shewn this letter to any person.

R. G. D.

Colonel James Gadsden to Jackson.

St. Augustine, July 30, 1823.

. . . . I am happy to hear of the prospects in the Political world; though I do not rely so much on the influence of newspaper articles as

[1] *I. e.,* idol W. H. Crawford.

[2] Col. John Williams was senator from Tennessee and was up for re-election. He was conspicuously opposed to Jackson, whose friends felt it necessary to defeat him. It was finally decided to run Jackson against him as the only man in the state who could put Williams down. The scheme succeeded. On this election see W. B. Lewis's account in Parton's *Jackson,* III. 21-23.

you appear to do. The men most assailed and with most justice often succeed best politically. It arises either from the effect of political excitement which blinds the judgement and induces a population to follow their leader right or wrong; or from a total absence of virtue and patriotism in the community. Those under the latter denomination have been appropriately designated as Radicals. Men who are for themselves; who fight under no banner: who regard not the good of their country but only look to their individual agrandisement. To such Mr C———d has appealed and with effect; for there is no man who in any way contributes to his elevation that does not expect an equivalent in return. His friends, with all the disclosures which have been made, are still confident: vigilant and active. They have in view their single object: their party is well organised and they move in concert. There is no doubt that the party opposed to Mr Crawford could triumph if they were united: but we find them divided between yourself: Calhoun and Adams. There ought therefore to be an understanding between the friends of you three so as ultimately to unite on the one whose election can be secured. You are gaining strength da[i]ly: and could the appeal be brought directly to the People I entertain no doubts of your election. The Politicians however are not so friendly and for the obvious reason you have made them no promises. There is a want of virtue among these men; I know not however that is peculiar to our country we find it every where and has been the cause hitherto of the destruction of governments. . . . .

Secretary Calhoun to Jackson.

War Department, July 31, 1823.

My dear Sir, Such is my confidence in your judgement and character, that I am always happy to be put in possession of your views on any point connected with the publick interest. Your knowledge of the Indian character enables you to speak with great certainty of the probable effect of any measure on them; and with this impression, the whole of your suggestions in relation to the pending treaty with the Indians in Florida, would have been carried into effect, if there was sufficient time. As the treaty will be held in Sept. it will be impossible to move the troops from Baton Rouge to Tampa Bay, as you suggest. All of the other points will be attended to. I have great confidence in the Comrs, particularly our friend,[1] and I am very solicitious for their success. . . . .

I have no doubt that your impression of a mutual sympathy between the friends of Mr Clay and Mr Crawford is correct. The latter calculating on it, is using all of his art to persuade the former to withdraw in his favour, by which means if it can be effected, he hopes to obtain great additional strength in a Congressional caucus, to which his hopes are almost exclusively directed. No one can exceed him in management, and if the election can be made to depend on a caucus, he will be formidable. I do not think, that Clay has any strength on this side of the mountains. He cannot take Pennsylvania; and has but a very slender prospect in New York. His strength, however, and Mr Crawfords' combined would

[1] The commissioners who made the treaty of Sept. 18, 1823, with the Florida Indians were William P. Duval, James Gadsden, and Bernardo Segui.

require some effort to defeat. I do hope that we shall never present the example of coalition, intrigue, or management advancing any citizen to the highest honor of the country. The influence of such an example would be pernicious in the extreme. If the people can be cheated, they will not be served. Virtuous servants would be discouraged and the unprincipled only would thrive. In this point of view, I consider the crisis as an all important one. I cannot doubt the result. As far as my experience extends the good sense and virtue of the people may safely be relied on; and I feel a confidence that the result of the present struggle will tend to confirm in a virtuous political course, and repress the opposite.

I will at all times be happy to hear from you.

Sincerely

To Secretary Calhoun.

Hermitage, August, 1823.[1]

Dear Sir. I have had the pleasure to receive yr. letter of the 31st Ult., from which I am happy to find you have given to the commissioners appointed to Treat with the Florida Indians all necessary means that was in the power of the Goverment to ensure success. This I hope may enable them to concentrate and locate the F Indians at such a point as will promote their happiness and prosperity and at the same time, afford to that Territory a dense population between them and the ocean which will afford protection and peace to all. The result of the investigation in Mr. Cantrills case has terminated as I expected from the facts disclosed, and altho I sincerely regret, that any man in Mr. Cantrills situation should so far forget the golden rule to do unto others, as, he would the[y] should do unto him, I am happy we have an administration, that where its officers act improperly it will apply a corrective. our society has been much demoralised, by our paper banking system, and its corrupting influence has been no where felt more seriously and banefully than in this country. the result of this enquiry will be beneficially felt in a moral point of view.

Mr. Crutcher is a very honest man, and the only reason why I did not sugest his appointment was, that he was Treasurer of the state,[2] and our constitution declares, that no individual shall hold two lucrative officees at one and the same time; and I did believe if the letter of our state constitution, in his appointment and acceptance was not violated, the spirit was infringed. I therefore sugested the appointment of Mr. Dun, knowing him to be an honest man and in no wise connected with banks, he lives about a mile or a mile and half from Nashville, acted for many years sheriff and has allways settled his publick accounts promptly.

I much regret to see the Gloom that hangs over the affairs of Spain,[3]

[1] The letter is without date, but it is in reply to Calhoun's dated July 31, 1823.

[2] Thomas Crutchen, since 1803 one of the two treasurers of Tennessee. Calhoun gave the appointment (for paying pensions) to him.

[3] The Spanish revolution of 1820 aroused much enthusiasm in the United States. By 1823 its fate was sealed through the action of France, supported by Russia, Austria, and Prussia. On Apr. 7 a French army entered Spain. May 23 it occupied Madrid, and by Oct. 1 it was triumphant with the surrender of the liberals to the king. Then began a period of severity and vengeance on the liberals which shocked the friends of self-government in all parts of the world.

but I trust her leaders may be faithfull to the constitution, and if so, all the bribery of the holy alliance cannot put out the spark of freedom there lighted. The Castilian spirit will shortly electrify the whole nation and unite them, if this happens, from Mina's [4] position, the French army must be destroyed. I rejoice to see the independent spirit that prevades the Cortes, should they be able to keep up the spirit of resistance three months longer, the Spanish nation will be safe, the Tyranny and opp[r]ession of its enemies will unite them, and rouse the spirit of the nation to a successfull resistance—but Should I be mistaken, should the Spanish nation succumb to the will of its invaders we must prepare for defence, we will not be left in the peacefull and undisturbed enjoyment of our liberties; america has given birth to civil liberty, and from it, the whole globe will ere long be electrified, unless the combined efforts of the Despots in urope can extinguish it in america, as well as else where. The King and nobility of England in heart and wishes unite with the other despots, and will only give aid to Spain when coerced by the strong current of Public opp[in]ion there. should spain be prostrated it is not Cuba alone but south and north america, that will be placed in a critical situation and we ought to prepare for defence. Cuba should not be permitted to fall into the hands of any uropean power. our aid can prevent it, and we ought not to hesitate on this subject it is too closely allied to our own safety and prosperity as a nation.

The view I gave you of the understanding of Mr. Clay and Mr. Crawfords friends, I thought was correct, but the former will not openly now withdraw in favour of Mr. Crawford, and if he was, he could not strengthen the latter in the west. Mr. Crawford can have no hope of success but in a congressional caucus, and even then the western people could not be brought to act in concert with it, I do believe that a congressional caucus would destroy the election of any man whose name is before the nation. Mr. Clay has no chance of being elected as it is believed by the best informed, and Mr. Crawford has no interest that can benefit him, west of the mountain.

I have great relience on the good sense and virtue of the people, and I hope with yourself that coalition intrigue and management will never place a citizen in the highest office in the gift of the people to bestow. But from the exertions that has been and are still making in favour of Mr. C. we have a right to believe that coalition and intrigue is sta[l]king abroad through our land, with manly strides and the whole exertions of the virtuous portion of the people will be required to put it down, in their exertions I have full confidence at present, and therefore feel satisfied that Mr. C. with all his intrigue and patronage that the Treasury has aforded him cannot succeed, and this will be a happy result for the nation. But altho I have great confidence in the virtue of the people, still from local precedants we have a right to fear that the people in some parts have become degenerate and demoralised, in the county in which I live one of the most flagitious charectors of his day has been returned to represent us

[4] Don Francisco Espoz y Mina, who commanded for the liberals in Catalonia. He was compelled to surrender to the French.

in the State Legislature, once a fugitive from Justice. This was owing to his wealth and to the Bank influence; arguing from thence, what might not the influence of the Patronage of the Treasury produce.

a str[a]ightforward course, taking virtue and independence for our guide, leaving the people to themselves, uninfluenced by any thing but their own reason and they will allways decide right. I hope they will in the next Presidential election. I am very respectfully yr friend

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, August 22, 1823.

. . . . I have just recd your kind letter of the 18th instant and thank you for the information it contains. I have this moment addressed a letter to Doctor Bedford on the subject.

A few days after my return I was vissitted by Mr Bolton merchant from New York just from Neworleans, who informed me the bagging at orleans was plenty and had fell to 23 cents per yard at six months credit and if I was to address the house of Kenner and Co it would furnish me. I have wrote accordingly and ordered 500 yards, if I get this I will not want for myself, but for Andrew. I have thus wrote the Doctor. If I am disappointed, I have said to him if he will call on me on his journey to Lexington I will make erangements with him for a supply.

I regret the drouth with you, it has rained constantly here since my return, cumberland up and also stones river, and the fodder much injured by the continued rains.

I have been so crowded with company since my return that I have not had leisure to attend to anything and now snatch a moment to write you. will you have the goodness to say to Nicholson laying every thing else aside, as soon as his cotton is open to push all the hands at picking it out.

I have noted the insolence of Bell, should you see him, just say to him it is probable I shall be out in all Decbr and if he wishes to serve a writ upon me about the well I will come out that he may do so, as I have a great desire to expose his wickedness and villainous attempt to cheat and impose upon the orphant. such a villain ought to be drove out of any country. If you see Mr Nicholson and he should get water, say to him not to permit Bell to draw a drop from the well nor to come within his enclosures. . . . .

Colonel Edward Ward to Jackson.[1]

Nashville, August 25, 1823.

Dear Sir. I have just this moment rece[i]ved your Letter by Genl Houston. I am very sorry I missd of an opportunity of conversing with you relative to the propriety of Parson Hodges's return. I had just as I left home received a Letter from the Parson, in answer to one I some time ago wrote to him on that subject. I wrote to him that I thought he ought

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] Col. Edward Ward was Jackson's near neighbor. This letter shows that the two men were interested in the support of a church in the neighborhood of the Hermitage and that plans were in mind for building a church. See letter to Mrs. Jackson, Dec. 21, 1823, *post.* See also p. 117.

to return, that our neighbours in general wishd it, and that I was of Opinion, that a more liberal spirit, for the support of the preaching the Gospel, prevailed with us now, than did when he left us. I shall again write to him as soon as I reach my Farm to the same effect. I feel much at a loss what to say about the best mode of raising a Salery for our minister. I fear we should make but a small progress that way by selling Seats. I cannot think of more than 12 or fifteen persons that would purchase Seats, and from the very good neighbourhood feelings that prevail with us, there would be no competition excited in the sale of them. The consequence would be that the Seats would sell, just for as little as each person would think proper to bid for them. I am fearful that a plan of this sort is not well calculated for the Country, particularly in a thinly populated neighbourhood like ours; further more I should fear that it would not be generally pleasing, and might frequently operate against the attendance of persons, not immediately interested in, or connected with the Church. I on the whole am of opinion that it will be best, to pay our parson thro private subscription. A Church being built, and a parson engaged regularly to preach in it, will draw from our neighbours a liberal contribution. Whatever plans may be adopted by the neighbourhood for the support of the preaching of the Gospel, I will with promptitude subscribe to. As to the Rye you want, with pleasure I will furnish you, and wish you to be at no trouble to procure it by way of returning, that quantity will produce no inconvenience with me. I know not whether any is thrashed out; but it will be prepared for you when calld for. Inclosed is a note to my Overseer on the Subject.

With great respect and friendship

JOHN MCNAIRY TO JACKSON.

NASHVILLE, September 3, 1823.

Confidential

Dear Genl., Our mutual friend Mr. Joseph Phillips rests with his Fathers and I entertain no doubt, but that he enjoys the blessings, promised by the author of all good to peacemakers. his kind offices (as you know) has afforded me the opportunity of writing you this note. Unanimity and friendship is all important to all goverments, but more especially to this republic, and gives the highest relish to private life, your magnanimous mind puts the highest estimate upon it. Will you therefore, Sir, permit me to use my feeble efforts, to bring about a reconciliation between you and Colo. John Williams and thereby united not only him, but all his amiable connections in the sweets of harmony with you [1]

I know I am medling with a very delicate subject, being totally unauthorised, and cool calculating prudence would have forbidden me to write, but I concluded that if it did no good, it could do no harm, and I assure myself that you will not ascribe to it any improper motive. On another subject I have *some* reason to believe *now,* that I can do something towards a compromise of the law suit with Colo. Erwin; and if it is agree-

[1] Judge McNairy's effort to effect a reconciliation between Jackson and Williams was doubtless made in behalf of the prospects of Colonel Williams in the election. See p. 200, *ante,* note 1.

able to you I will make the effort You and myself began life together, time rolls on apace, we shall soon cease to act, untill then and afterwards may you be happy.

Your friend

BENJAMIN LUNDY TO JACKSON.[1]

GREENEVILLE, TENNESSEE, September 4, 1823.

To General Andrew Jackson—As we have no personal knowledge of each other, and having for my part very few acquaintances in the section of country in which thee resides, I am under the necessity of introducing myself preparatory to stating the object of my troubling thee with this letter.

I am the editor of a periodical work entitled the "Genius of Universal Emancipation," published in this place, and devoted exclusively to the subject of negro slavery as it exists in this Republic. This subject is of a nature purely political; and in treating upon it I conceive it to be my duty to take into view the whole scope of general politics in which the nation is concerned. It will therefore follow, of course, that the election of civil officers, in the higher departments of the government, comes fairly within the limits marked out by the rules of propriety for me to take an active part, if I shall consider it necessary to do so. But I am no factionist; I proceed upon independent principles; and if I know myself, have nothing but the good of my country in view. Let the world go as it will, I wish to see justice done on every hand, believing that this, alone, will preserve us, as a nation, amid the agonizing pangs and convulsive throes of corrupted, diseased, and expiring Empires.

It is understood that thee will be a candidate for the Presidential chair of the United States, at the next election. And as I consider it a matter of great importance that our chief magistrate be a man who is disposed to use his influence in bringing about a gradual abolition of slavery in every part of the Republic, I would be glad, if it is not inconsistent with thy views, to know thy sentiments on the subject. I am not about to make any promises of efficient support, etc. even if thee should satisfy me on this point; but I will just observe that influential persons in some parts of the country (free states) have requested me to inform them whether thee is, or is not, a friend to *universal liberty*; and could I be authorized to state that thee would be inclined to aid in carrying this principle fairly into effect, it would make a powerful diversion in thy favour. The present is a time of internal and external tranquillity with us. It is a very favourable period for bringing into view, and putting in practice those great and fundamental principles of genuine republicanism which tho' deemed of vital importance, by the founders of our government, were considered too nearly allied to political perfection to be carried completely into effect ere the mass of the people had more generally emerged from the gloom of prejudice, or their minds freed from the trammels of clerical supersti-

[1] Benjamin Lundy (1789-1839), Quaker antislavery man, began to publish his *Genius of Universal Emancipation* in 1821 at Mt. Pleasant, O., but soon moved it to Greeneville, Tenn., and in 1824 to Baltimore.

tion and the shackles which a system of monarchy and oligarchy combined, had rivetted upon them.

In conclusion, I will observe that I have not committed myself on the Presidential question, and shall wait with anxiety for a letter from thee. Please to favour me with a line by mail, as soon as possible, stating thy views on the subject above mentioned, and signifying thy pleasure as to their being made public, and in what shape; by so doing thee will oblige Him, Respectfully,

To John McNairy.[1]

Hermitage, September 6, 1823.

Dear Sir, By the hand of Governor Edwards this morning I received your kind and friendly letter of the 3d inst, and regret that I have not more leisure to reply to it. Blessed is the peacemaker, *saith the Holy scriptures*, and I feel grateful to the memory of our deceased friend for his and your attempt on a former occasion to produce harmony and peace to society in a certain quarter; and altho from my acquaintance with men and human nature I was aware that it would prove abortive as it did, still I have the same feelings of gratitude for the actors as tho their efforts had proved effectual.

Unanimity I grant is all important to the well being of all societies, and particularly to the perpetuation of our Republican govt; but I fear there is too little virtue and morality in ours to maintain this blessing. Demagogues pursue a course of self aggrandizement regardless of public good, without cause have in many cases attempted to prostrate the character of those, who, by pursuing an independent course with an eye single to their country's interest, have obtained the approbation of their fellow citizens; lest they might obstruct or retard their own progress to preferment. This is the fact as I suppose in the case alluded to. I parted with Col Williams in perfect friendship at Fort Jackson, (since then have not seen him) and my last friendly act was at his request, the obtaining of an order from Genl Pinckney for him to repair to Knoxville where his family was, to superintend the recruiting service of his Regt. The next information I received was through the Knoxville Gazette after I had reached Mobile in 1814 stating that I was to be arrested upon charges emanating as private advice detailed from Col Williams and the officers of his Regt. Feeling myself free from any charges that truth would support, I felt no alarm at what falsehood or calumy could raise.[2] Afterwards, in the early part of 1815 at Orleans, I was advised by a friend that charges had been sent on signed by all the officers of the 39th Regt. This only revived in my breast contempt for the movers and a withdrawal of friendship from those capable of such assasinlike cowardly conduct, unworthy of a man who had ever worn a epulet and who could under the appearance of friendship [take part] in the work.

[1] Handwriting of Maj. W. B. Lewis.

[2] It is not possible to say what was the nature of these charges. It was at this time that Jackson wrote his severe letter to Williams because Williams refused to give up arms to the East Tennessee militia, ordered to Jackson's aid at Mobile. See Col. John Williams to Jackson, Nov. 1, 1814, in vol. II., p. 88.

Upon my return to Nashville I met with my friend H L White,[3] to whom and the whole of his family I have been warmly attached in friendship. We had a long conversation on this subject. The Judge assured me that Col W could not be as he believed guilty of the acts alleged against him, to which I replied, if he were not I had no wish to criminate him, and would with pleasure have an interview with him on my way to the city of Washington in 1815 when I passed Knoxville at which place I remained two or three days. as I have been advised Col Williams had left Knoxville the morning of the day of my arrival for a part of the country that he was not in the habit of visiting, Suffice it to say that I did not see him. The Col arrived at the city, as I was informed after my arrival there. I was confined by sickness, he did not call to see me. His conduct and expressions on the Seminole question, His false assertion to the members of Congress that I had no standing in my own state, His charges of speculation in Florida land, and salt works; have convinced me that he is amongst the most unprincipled men I ever knew. Therefore believing this, and being advised of his mean, hidden, and ungentlemanly conduct behind my back, *I have forgive, I cannot forget.* But ought confidence to be reposed in any man who has without any cause become my enemy, his endeavour to secretly stab me on the Seminole question by falsehood and insinuations of speculation in Florida lands etc. etc., has applied to me motives as base as they were unfounded—and all this after he had as I believed, intentionally evaded an interview with me for explanation, and never has made a personal advance to make an atonement for repeated injuries which it is alleged that he both originated and propagated? His Enmity I was regardless of, In his friendship now I could not confide.

I never have interfered in any election, as yet; I do not know that I will; but until he makes personal advances for the purpose of reconciliation, we cannot be further reconciled than we are. The conduct of the Col has not nor never shall lessen my friendship and esteem for Judge White and his family, and that of his deceased father.

On the other subject you know my detestation for law suits. Col. Erwin knows whenever he makes propositions I will hear them, but situated as I am now and my express declarations to him in your presence and in the other gentlemen if propositions are made, the propositions must come from him, and if they are such as in justice to others I can accede to, I assure you it will give me great pleasure to accept of them, and get clear of Law. It is the only suit but one I have ever had in my own name and I hope it will be the last. I have lost all views of accumulating wealth, and I wish peace and tranquillity if I can fairly obtain them. I have but one grand view, and that is to promote as far as I have influence a proper respect for character, religion and morality, and thereby lay a solid foundation for the perpetuity of our happy form of Govt. Whenever these are lost sight of, party views substituted in their stead, our Goverment will be changed—it cannot stand, virtue being the only prop which sustains it.

[3] Hugh L. White, at this time president of the state bank, U. S. senator 1825-1833, 1836-1840, and in 1836 anti-Jackson candidate for the presidency.

John McNairy to Jackson.

[September, 1823.]

My Dear Sir, I acknowledge the truth of your remark "we are getting old", time rolls on apace, we shall soon cease, and I flatter myself we shall desend to our graves in friendship and in peace. From what I have expressed as my views and duty, I can see nothing that can or ought to interrupt our friendship here, for I am aware you can have no view other than my own, which is, the prosperity of our country, and the happiness of society.

With my thanks for your friendly expressions which I sincerely reciprocate, I am yr. friend

William Brady and Thomas Williamson to Jackson.

Murfreesboro', September 20, 1823.

Sir, It would be gratifying to many of your friends at this place to see you amongst us. There is much commotion here among certain persons about the Senatorial election. Plans and schemes of opperation by foreigners not of the Legislature, to effect the election of thier choice, To twhart them, will be our especial care; tho' thier *case* is skilfully organized. That *Grundy* is opposed to the best wishes of Tennessee is but too apparent; his manuvering with the enemy alone; thier leading orator on the floor of the Legislature—and lately the introducer of a string of reslotion, going to excuse our representatives in Congress from a participation in recommending yourself to the people of the U. S. The direct object of this proceeding could not be misunderstood; most evidently to promote the interest of *Williams,* and draw the attention of the Legislature from an enquiry into the course he would pursue with regard to yourself should he be ultimately elected. As the representatives of the people, as well as in our individual character, we hold ourselves bound to give no vote on this subject, but which shall accord with the unanimous consent heretofore expressed by the people of Tennessee. On this subject we hold it a maxim not to be departed from; that the representative obey the voice of his constituents on all subjects when fully and fairly expressed. Public opinion on no subject has in our opinions ever been so generally acquiesed in as that you are the choice of Tennessee to be our next President. We can answer for our constituents and for our own feelings and wishes on this all important matter. And further Sir we have too long known your high claims upon this republic, to give our support to a man, and place him in the highest station in the gift of Tennessee, who will not readily and openly express her sentiments. Believing as we do that attempts have been made by certain individuals high in trust from Tennessee, to have it whispered at Washington City, that you were not seriously talked of as our next president, requires that we should well weigh the character and Conduct of the aspirants now before us, before we surrender out of our hands this great constitutional trust.

We do not expect that you would if here take an active or open part or stand in this election; but we know that your presence would disperse some of the small atoms now floating in our atmosphere to the

obstruction of the formation of correct opinions. Much is said that *Williams* is not your enemy, on the contrary your friend. That if difficulties has heretofore existed between *you*, it has recently been removed, and therefore would be your supporter at the city. In matters of election we well know from experience, that a luke warm supporter, will do more mischief than an open enemy, and that you shall ever receive the hearty and open support of this *man* is what we cannot believe

As we have been your companions in arms, we are your supporters here—accept our hearty wishes for your good health and ultimate success [1]

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, October 5, 1823.

. . . . It will, I have no doubt astonished you to hear that I have been elected senator, but I can assure you it has astonished me as *much* and a circumstance which I regret more than any other of my life, on several accounts, not having anticipated such an event I am unprepared to leave home, and my feelings and wishes all conspired to remain at home, but it was thought expedient by my friends that my name should be brought out. the vote stood 35 for, 25 against me. every intrigue that could exist, and indeed corruption was resorted to. my name was brought forward 4 days before the election, and this after all the pledges by Williams friends could be obtained in his favour against Mr Rhea and Miller, and after it was found neither could be elected, bringing my name forward under such circumstances was hazarding much, still it succeeded, and I am a senator against my wishes and feelings, but from my political creed as promulgated to the committee of Pennsylvania I am compelled to accept.

My friends sent for me three times, the last messenger was general Coleman with whom I went and reached there in the night preceding the election, but I neither vissited or conversed with a member except when vissitted and the conversation introduced by them. The whole

[1] The following extract from a letter from B. Coleman to Gen. John Coffee, Oct. 24, 1823 (Tenn. Hist. Soc.), throws light on the election of Jackson to the Senate in 1823: "You have no doubt heard of the election of *Old Hickory* to the senate of the United States. And *you* would be surprised at the *bare* majority of *ten*, if you did not know, or was not advised of facts. You will recollect that Williams came forward, and that opposed to him as candidates, was P. M. Miller and Mr. Ray [Rhea]. You will recollect that ever since the last session Williams' friends and party have been marshalling all their strength and that nothing has been left undone which wisdom or strategem could effect. You will recollect that since the present members have been elected Williams, in person, has visited most of them at their own houses and extracted from many a pledge to vote for him. You will recollect too, that many believing that Miller only was to come up in opposition to Williams, was easily deluded and deceived and gave a pledge to Williams. You will also learn that Miller and Ray came forward before the people and the legislature and were the only known persons, except Williams, who would serve. Under all these circumstances it was an easy matter for Williams and his friends to make a favorable impression on most of the members, and to extract from many a solemn pledge to support him. In addition to all this Jackson's name was brought forward only a day or two before the election, and without his entire consent to serve. Some of his best and warmest friends, taking all circumstances into view, thought that we were risking too much. No person but *Jackson* could have broken down such a combination. Many who voted against him were all alive to his election, but were tied down and obliged to give a vote against him."

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

Crawford interest was there convened from every quarter of the state with Colo Cannon etc. etc. etc. at their head. many members voted against me who openly declared, they would have voted for me before they became pledged by promise to Colo Williams, poor Giton was threatened to be burned in effigy, weakly also, but I prevailed upon the leading characters to put a stop to it.

How cruel it was for Colo Williams finding his friends thus situated, and a vote for him contrary to the instructions of their constituents would politically prostrate them, that he did not like Mr Rhea withdraw. how much more magnanimity would have been shewn by him, to have withdrawn than to urge his friends to prostrate their own political standing to elevate his. now his and theirs are all prostrate. present me to Mr James Jackson and family, inform him I will write him shortly. . . . .

To President Monroe.

Hermitage, October 10, 1823.

Dear Sir, The first intimation I have had of the late act of congress,[1] was derived from the extract of a letter from Judge Brakenridge from Pensacola of date 12th of Septbr 1823, and herewith inclosed.

If the claims are for cattle taken or used by my army either in 1814, or 1818, they are groundless and fraudulent, which is only to be established by proof. They are such as ought not to be admitted or paid without an opportunity on behalf of the united States to be heard. They accounts admitted by the Department produced by the cherokees, and incorporated into the Cherokee Treaty which has been shewn to have originated in fraud certainly ought to have put congress on its guard, and have prevented such a law as alluded to by Judge Brakenridge from having been passed. If the claims are dated in 1814, it will be easy to shew, that the cattle seized by my Troops were trailed from alabama, to the Perdido and there overtaken, all of which were claimed by our citizens, or stolen from them by the Indians at the instigation of the Spaniards. Antwine Collins then Spanish contractor, and Capt Boyles were seized on suspicion and held in custody, untill I marched on Pensacola and found the cattle by Colo. Henry Dyer with a detachment as before stated. a few of these cattle were slaughtered on our return march their marks and brands preserved, and the contractor ordered to pay the Individuals for the cattle thus slaughtered. This was reported to me to have been done and the Ballance by orders to the quartermaster delivered to the owners who attended, and proved their property in the cattle.

On my march in 1818 from Ft Gadsden to Pensacola, on the East Bank of the Escambia, two Spaniards who was met at the head of the Bay by that name collected us a few cattle, which was slaughtered by orders to the quartermaster, and paid for. On the East side of the Escambia, we were met with supplies, and Colo. George Gibson Joined me, who can vouch for the payment of every particle of supplies obtained whilst in Florida. It is passing strange that where claims are exhibitted by our own citizens with what Just scrutiny they are investigated, but when exhibited

[1] Apparently the act of Mar. 3, 1823, additional to the act for the prompt settlement of public accounts.

by *Indians,* or *Spaniards,* admitted without an opportunity of investigation by those concerned, and the United States thereby defrauded out of thousands. The object of this hasty letter is to request that you notify the Secretary of the Treasury, of the frauds upon which these accounts are founded, that they may be suspended untill a full inquiry shall be had into the Justness of these claims. I am determined that an enquiry shall be had. I bestowed much Labour to investigate the frauds committed by the cherokees in the coments incorporated in the Treaty, had them forwarded with a request that the Testimony should be laid before congress without avail. Colo. Gibson is in the city. Colo. Gadsdens Testimony with Colos. King Williamson Elliott Dyer, Brady and Mitchell with many others can be provened. I inclose a certificate of Colo. Robert Butler.

I am Sir with great respect yr. mo. obdt. servt.

To Major George W. Martin.[1]

Hermitage, October 15, 1823.

D'r Major When last at Nashville I had a hope to have seen you, but you not having returned from East Tennessee was disappointed. The unexpected and I may say the unwished for election as senator to Congress has damaged all my business, I was looking only to the active means that would meet my expenses to the close of the present year, this would have been but small and which I had in hand. The expense of my visiting Murfreesborough, at the election at once consumed this, but has left me without a cent—the preparation for my journey will add greatly to my wants of money, and I am compelled to look to your house for the means of outfit and traveling expenses. This call being unexpected I am afraid will put you to inconvenience which I would gladly have prevented if I could. But I have no other source; from which at present I can obtain the necessary means, but from you. I believe I gave you the amount of the cotton delivered you, but least I have not I send you the amount. you have received from me as guardian of A. J. Hutching 10854 lb. in 27 Bales at ten cents p. lb.....$1085.40

My own—11233 lb. in 28 Bales at D. D. 1123.30

$2208.70

of this sum I have received as per memorandum about $1800.

2208.70
1800.

$408.70

There will be a ballance of current notes about this sum.

In U. States notes borrowed as per note 13th of March 1823—$400. The object of this note is to apprise you of my situation and wants that you may inform me how far you will be able to advance to my necessity. I have to go to Murfreesborough and have not one dollar, indeed when

[1] The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. R. P. Lake, S. McLean Boulevard, Memphis, Tenn. Martin was a nephew of Mrs. Jackson.

last in town I had to apply to your Mr Williams for ten dollars. I shall be down on tomorrow if the weather is good or on Saturday when I shall see you on this subject.

I hope you have been successful in your suits. I heard you were about compromising, which I recommended to your brother strongly whenever the tennants show a disposition. Thirty thousand dollars at a short day would be more profitable to you than $60,000 at a distant day. I therefore recommended to him to compromise as soon as liberal terms was proposed to him.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, October 24, 1823.

Dear General, I have duly received your letter of the 18th instant, on my return from Murfreesborough on yesterday; for your kind attention to my business in transmitting the cotton bagging which is recd in good order, receive my thanks.

Your views of my election to the senate, with out my approbation or consent are certainly correct, and leaves me no alternative but to obey the will of the majority. I will set out on the 9th, 10th, or 11th proximo. I leave home with more reluctance than on any former occasion, the notice being so short, and not having anticipated anything of the kind, puts it out of my power to take Mrs Jackson with me and to leave her for four, or five months, fills me, as well as her, with much regret. I had hoped that I had filled my measure of public service, and would have been permitted to have spent some time in retirement. in this I am disappointed, to become conspicuous as a public man, is inconsistent with private ease, or happiness, at least it has this effect with me.

With what feelings of gratitude do I read that generous and friendly offer you have made of a supply of horses to me, had I have been taking on Mrs J I should have accepted your friendly and kind offer, but as I mean to travel part of the way in the stage, I shall take such horses as I intend selling for what they will bring, at the point where I may take the stage, but next summer if your grays will work and you can spare them, I will give you a liberal price for them, to carry on Mrs. Jackson. Mr. William Donelson has long since parted with his gray. My Dear Genl this liberal and friendly offer will be long cherished with gratitude by me.

When I was in Florence Major Hubbard named to me that he had got into his hands Nicholson note for a horse $90. I told him as soon as any money of mine could be collected it should be paid, your calling on Capt Garner is right, and take in the note when due, and place it to my credit with the estate of my little ward Hutchings. My unexpected journey will make it imperious to call on my friend Anthony Winston, and Mr Griffin, and the ballance from Garner by the first day of January next. will you please if convenient notify them that about christmas and New Year I have made some engagements, to return some money I have borrowed for expence of my journey. the current notes due will

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

be wanted about that time, and I will direct Capt A. J. Donelson to go out for it, should you advise him that it will be paid at that time.

I have made an engagement with Mr William Easton for his three mules for A. J. Hutchings farm, you are to place the price on them, and give him a receipt for the amount, which will be good against his note. he is to deliver them as soon as they can be spared from his farm. I sincerely regret to hear that you have been indisposed, but rejoice to learn that your health is restored. I am pleased with your prospect of a crop of cotton, 800 is a good average crop and the price promises to be good this season and the fall very fine. my negroes has been unusually sickly this fall, this with my buildings, gin house, press etc. etc., has impeded parsons in getting out his crop. he has housed about 50,000 lbs he thinks my crop will average from 800 to 1000 to the acre, and make about 80 bales, he started the gin on yesterday, she runs well but I think too fast, he thinks not. I give way to his judgt, she is completely fixed, and makes good cotton, the flue 8 feet long.

Will you and your family be in this fall? how much pleasure it will give Mrs Jackson to see you, Polly, and your sweet little family this fall. we rejoice at the good health of your family, may it continue, and every blessing in life attend you and them is our sincere prayers. we hope to hear of the safe delivery of Polly, and that she has added a fine son or daughter to your lovely family.

Capt Jack is not yet married, it is expected as soon as he returns, and Judge McNairy gets home from Knoxville.

On my return from Murfreesborough in the night I was taken with a palpitation of heart with great fluttering, I rode home about 23 miles, it continued with an occasional blindness. I took on wednesday night a dose of salts, it continuing I had one quart of blood taken, it has measurably subsided, in other respects perfect health except a slight pain in my side and breast. I shall write you again before I leave home, and whilst at the city will be glad to hear from you when leisure will permit, I shall write you occasionally. present us affectionately to polly and the sweet children and for your self receive our best wishes. your friend

P. S. Mr F. Sanders having proposed to sell and I fearfull of a bad neighbor I have bought and paid him for his plantation, I have transferred him Crop Bonds and Thomas Childress. I am now out of danger of being interrupted by a bad neighbor, and makes my situation here quite comfortable as it respects land. will my 320 near the big spring sell for $12 pr acre in land office money. Colo McDaniel wanted it very much. suppose you sound Colo Anthony Winston on the subject, I have promised to let him have the refusal. you can say to him I have bought here, and am now inclined to sell there. If he will give $12 pr acre in silver or u states notes let him have it. I am looking forward to prepare for the expence of next year and to purchase Hutchings forfeighted lands. I wish you to ship his cotton to Doctor Bedford and direct the Doctor to transmit the amount of sales to you with the amt of the sales of your own. I shall if I can purchase the quarter northeast of the well the 2 forfeited quarters and it is agreed between me and Capt Jack Donelson to split

the 2 quarters south, east and west this will make him a fine tract, this done I am satisfied as it respects my little ward. I have some hope of settling the suit with B Smith. your friend

To Mrs. Jackson.

Rogersville, Tenn., November 19, 1823.

My Love, Major Eaton and myself reached this place this evening, and Genl Call and Colo. Owing has Joined us here in the stage—we proceed on horseback as long as the good weather continues. My health continues as good as when I left you. I have only time to write you a line. please say to Mr Parsons to have my Dry Cattle collected and fed. I have only to add my prayers for your health and composure of mind during my absence and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

P. S. tell the two little Andrews I pray God to bless them, and I hope they will be good boys.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, December 7, 1823.

My Love, I wrote you on my arival here on the morning of the 3rd instant. The weather has continued good and my health improving from rest, altho I cannot say that of this I have had much—there being a continued scene of vissits to me, and of course on my part a return of them. Today being sunday I have spent at Church where I was edified with a very sensible discourse from a young presbeterian preacher.

Since my arival many inquiries have been made after your health by your acquaintances here, and I am charged by Mrs Wilson and Doctor Tucker, when I write, to present you with their respectfull compliments and also by Mrs Watson, Miss Jones, and all the family. I have taken lodgings at Mr. oneals.[1] Major Eaton and Call make my mess, we are private and comfortably accomodated in a worthy family. how my constitution may bear the winter should it prove very inclement I cannot say. I shall endeavour to take care of myself. I had a hope by this days mail to have recd a letter from you or Capt A. J. Donelson—in this I have been disappointed, still hope I shall receive one soon. This separation has been more severe to me than any other, it being one that my mind was not prepared for, nor can I see any necessity for—still my country did, and no alternative was left for me but to obay. If providence permits us again to unite, we must travel together, and live together whilst permitted to remain Tennants here below. before I leave this I shall engage rooms for your reception next fall. I shall expect you to write me as often as you can. It will be pleasing to me to receive from Mr Parsons a statement of the amount of my crop as soon as it is housed, and say to Mr Donelson I shall expect him to write me very often.

I would be delighted to receive a letter from our son, little Hutchings, and even Lyncoya. The latter I would like to exhibit to Mr Monroe and the Secratary of War, as I mean to try to have him recd. at the military

[1] Since 1805 William O'Neal had kept the "Franklin House", on the north side of I Street (or Pennsylvania Avenue) just east of Twenty-first Street.

school, as early as I can, I shall examine the college here with a view if I like it, and its moral Government, to bring they two Andrews here next fall and leave them here. I am told it is superintended by a worthy Baptist Clergyman of great ability.[2] When you see Parson Campbell present me affectionately to him and family also to Mr Dobbs. Should my friend parson Hodge have returned present me kindly to him, say to Colo Butler I shall write him as early as I can have an interview with Mr Monroe, which will be as soon as the days of ceremony are over. There is nothing done here but vissitting and *carding each other*—you know how much I was disgusted with Those scenes when you and I were here, it has increased instead diminishing.

present me to Capt John Donelson family and all my good neighbours affectionately, and accept my continued prays for your health and that of my little Andrews. present me to Capt A. J. Donelson and believe me your affectionate Husband

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, December 10, 1823.

My Dear Wife, I have this moment recd you kind and affectionate letter of the 23rd ult. It has given me much pleasure to receive it and to be informed of your good health, I pray God for its continuance. I have but time the mail waiting to acknowledge its receipt, and to assure you what sincere gratification it has afforded me. I shall write you this evening or tomorrow. present me affectionately to the Andrews and say to our Nephew I shall expect to hear from him often.

accept my dear wife the prayers of your affectionate Husband

Brigadier-General Winfield Scott to Jackson.[1]

Georgetown, December 11, 1823.

Sir: One portion of the American community has long attributed to you the most distinguished magnanimity, and another portion the greatest desperation in your resentments. Am I to conclude that both are equally in error? I allude to circumstances which have transpired between us (and which need not here be recapitulated) and to the fact, that I have now been six days in your immediate vicinity without having attracted your notice.

As this is the first time in my life that I have been within a hundred miles of you, and as it is barely possible that you may be ignorant of my presence, I beg leave to state that I shall not leave the District before the morning of the 14th instant.

I have the honour to be,

[2] Rev. Dr. William Staughton, first president (1822-1827) of Columbian College, now George Washington University.

[1] This letter is in the Jackson MSS. On a copy sold by the Anderson Galleries in New York, April, 1920, was the following memorandum by General Scott:

"It had been currently reported (and believed by many persons), probably without foundation, that Genl. Jackson would assault or challenge me the first time we should meet. Hence I had, for six days, frequented the Capitol and other public places in Washington where he was likely to be found before this note was written to him.—Winfield Scott." See also Scott's *Memoirs,* pp. 200-203.

To Brigadier-General Winfield Scott.[1]

"Mr Oneals", Washington, December 11, 1823.

Sir, Your letter of today, has been received. Whether the world are correct, or in error, as regards my "magnanimity", is for the world to decide: I am satisfied of one fact, that when you shall know me better, you will not be desposed to harbour the opinion, that any thing like "desperation in resentment" attaches to me.

Your letter is ambiguous; but concluding from occurrencies heretofore, that it was written with friendly views, I take the liberty of saying to you, that whenever you shall feel disposed to meet me on friendly terms, that disposition will not be met by any other than a correspondent feeling on my part.

I have the honor to be Sir your most obdt. Servant

John H. Eaton to Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, December 18, 1823.

Dear Madm. The general is in very fine health, and in just as good sperits. He has so many visits however to make as well amongst the Ladies as the gentlemen that it is quite probable he is not a punctual correspondent, and therefore is it that I write to you. He is constantly in motion to some Dinner party or other, and to night stands engaged at a large Dancing party at Genl Browns; but whether or not he will become one of the Dancers shall become the subject of some future letter. I assure you he is in most excellent health, much better than he has been in a long time—the journey was of great service to him, and since arriving here is in just as comfortable quarters as he could have.

It will afford you great pleasure I know, to be informed that all his old quarrels have been settled. The General is at peace and in friendship with genl. Scott, Genl Cocke, Mr Clay and what you would never have expected Col Benton: he is in harmony and good understanding with every body, a thing I know you will be happy to hear

I am quite in a hurry

with great respect

[*In Jackson's handwriting:*] P. S. the inclosed information is all true, but highly coloured as it respects the dining and vissits—too much of that is true, and as yet I cannot free myself from them. It is a pleasing subject to me that I am now at peace with all the world. The kindness, and attention of my friend major Eaton on the Journey, and here, has added much to my comfort and health, I shall write you soon, hope to hear that your health is good, accept of my prayers for it and believe me your affectionate Husband.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, December 21, 1823.

My Dear Wife, I have received to day your kind letter of the 5th instant, and am rejoiced to be informed that you are in good health. I can

[1] Copy. Handwriting of John H. Eaton.

say with truth that my health is improved. The kind attention of my friend Eaton has been great, and to him I feel truly indebted for the comfortable quarters we occupy. We are in the family of Mr. Oneal whose amiable pious wife and two daughters, one maried the other single,[1] take every pains in there power to make us comfortable and agreable, Mr Oneal himself is an agreable man. this family has been wealthy but by misfortune and endorsments for others, has been reduced to the necessity of keeping a boarding house. I can with truth say I never was in a more agreable and worthy family. When we have a leisure hour in the evening we spend it with the family. Mrs. Timberlake the maryed daughter whose husband belongs to our Navy, plays on the Piano delightfully, and every Sunday evening entertains her pious mother with sacred music, to which we are invited, and the single daughter who is also pious and sings well unites in the music. I am thus particular in giving you a narative of our situation with which I know you will be pleased.

Every Sunday we spend at church. This family belong to the methodist society.[2] on last Sunday as I named to you I went with Mrs Watson to her church, she belongs to the Presbeterians, to day I went to hear a Baptist whose church is near us, and was edified by a good concise discourse, so my dear you see, that notwithstanding I am in the midst of intrigue, gaiety and bustle, I spend my Sundays and leisure hours agreably, and I hope profitably. as to Leisure, I have but little, and could I get clear of the dining parties, I think with care, I can maintain my health, but under existing circumstances, I cannot yet, (untill I go the rounds) refuse;

The president is very kind to me; indeed amidst the intrigue for the next presidency here, I get on pretty well, as I touch not, handle not of that unclean procedure; I keep myself entirely aloof from the intriguers, and caucus mongers, with a determination that if I am brought into that office it shall be by the free unsolicited voice of the people. I trust that the god of Isaac and of Jacob will protect you, and give you health in my absence, in him alone we ought to trust, he alone can preserve, and guide us through this troublesome world, and I am sure he will hear your prayers. We are told that the prayers of the righteous prevaileth much, and I add mine for your health and preservation untill we again meet. Major Davenport [3] is now with us with his young and amiable wife that he has lately married in Philadelphia, he has given this family your character, and Mrs. Timberlake (from what she has heard of you from Major Eaton and Major Davenport) has requested me to present you with her respects, when you come here I am convinced you will be much pleased with this family.

The only consolation to friends who are seperated, is the pleasure of communicating with each other by writing, how gratefull this converse between husband and wife. I will therefore, as you have requested me, endeavour to content myself through this winters absence, endeavouring by occasionally writing you, to console myself, and expecting often to hear

[1] The married daughter, Mrs. Timberlake (Peggy O'Neal) figured largely in the political history of a later time as Mrs. John H. Eaton.

[2] On Mr. O'Neal's Methodism see Edward Hooker (1808) in Am. Hist. Assoc., *Annual Report*, 1896, I. 927.

[3] Brevet Maj. William Davenport, 7th Infantry.

from you. I have recd the letter from my son, I have read it with great pleasure and have answered it, which I enclose. I hope in the next to see his handwriting improve. I feel gratefull to our cousin Milburry for her staying with you, and the other ladies for visitting you, I hope their cheerfull dispositions will keep your spirits up. I am much pleased with the information of my crop, and the forwardness with which Mr Parsons has got it. I hope before the cold weather sets in he will have it housed, and ready for markett. The weather here has been very fine for the season altho very variable.

Capt A. J. Donelson writes me often. present me to him affectionately and to the Andrews and Miss Milbury if with you and all friends. I have wrote Colo Butler today and regret much that he has been unwell. I hope he has recovered. I have recd from my friend Parson Hume, a kind letter; in my answer, I have requested him to visit you, in your next advise me how the church progresses.[4] I hope it is finished, present me to Col Ward and family, and say to him I expect he will attend to it, that it must be finished if him and myself pay for it. it is late and I must close this letter, accept of my prayers for your happiness and preservation untill we again shall meet, and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

To Mrs. Jackson.[1]

Washington, December 28, 1823.

My Dear Wife, I have this day recd. from my young friend A. J. Donelson a letter of the 12th instant, in which he gives me the pleasing intelligence that you and my dear little Andrew, and the family enjoy health. This to me is gratefull, for although you assured me in your last letter that your health was good, and that you would summons up all your fortitude to bear patiently my absence, still I feared that you would suffer your situation which at times is very lonely, to disturb your peace and happiness. My health still continues good. I have withdrawn myself from all parties in the night. This I found necessary to preserve my health. I saw Mr. Monroe on yesterday. He desired when I wrote you to present him and Mrs. Monroe affectionately to you. Mrs. Monroe has been in bad health. I have not seen her, but Mr. Monroe says she is now mending and he hopes she will be able to see company in a few days.

I have been presented by Mrs. Lewis [2] the other day with a highly esteemed present. She was the grand daughter of Mrs. Genl. Washington, and adopted by the Genl. as his own daughter and married to Mr. Lewis a near relation of Genl. Washington. The present is a china plate used by the Genl at his birthday feasts. It is like the Genl, plain, but elegant, and anything which has been his property, and used by so great, virtuous and good man, who achieved so much for his country, is esteemed by me, as it ought. Mrs. Lewis sent me this by Lt. Edward Butler with a request that I should eat my dinner on it on the 8th of January next. This request I

[4] This is the church erected near the Hermitage by Jackson and his neighbors.

[1] This letter was sold Dec. 7, 1921, at the rooms of the American Art Association, through the courtesy of whose managers the editor was permitted to take a copy. The china plate mentioned in the second paragraph was offered for sale with the letter.

[2] Eleanor Custis.

intend to comply with if I live. Mrs. Adams has invited me to a party who are to celebrate the 8th of January at her house.[3] To this party I will have to go, and it will be the only party I mean to attend this winter. Major Eaton and myself attended the Methodist church today with the family in which we live, and were agreably entertained with an excellent sermon. Your old friend Colo. Gibson is a constant attendant at this church, he requests to be remembered to you.

Say to my son I will write him in the course of this week. I expect to receive a letter from him every fortnight; tell him his little friend Wm Porter[4] has been absent at sea for two years, that I wish him to attend to his writing and learning so that when he returns he can write him a letter. present me to them [*sic*] affectionately and say to them I shall expect to hear that they stay constantly with you, and take care of you in my absence. It will give me much pleasure to hear from you as often as it may be convenient for you to write. Say to Mr. Parsons I will write him shortly. Tell Lyncoya to read his book and be a good boy and obey you in all things.

Mr. A. J. Donelson writes me that he was preparing to go to Huntsville about the 20th instant. if he has returned present me to him affectionately and to all friends and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, December 31, 1823.

Dear General, Since my arival here I have had but little leisure, many letters on business which I was obliged to answer, which left but little time for friendship, and of course this is the first time I have taken up my pen to write you.

Indeed congress has done but little yet, and untill the holidays are over, little is expected to be done. whether the presidential question may not intermix itself with the business of congress, so as to retard Legislation, I cannot say but I would presume from what I am informed that this will be the case. I intermix with none of those who are engaged in the intrigues of caucus, or president makers, nor do I intend, I have taken my course long since, from which no earthly consideration shall turn me, and should the choice of the people fall upon another it will give me no pain. I have but one feeling and that is, that the people make a good choice, when I say this, I have to add, that I think it would be a great curse to the nation if the choice fell upon Wm H. C. It is strange, but it appears nevertheless true that his name and intrigue are intermixed whereever any election is on hand, this remark is brought to me mind from a letter from Georgia detailing the circumstances of the late election for Governor there, where it is stated that four votes pledged for Mr Talbot was bot.

[3] Of this ball Senator Mills says, "There must have been at least a thousand people there. . . . . It is the universal opinion that nothing has ever equalled this party here either in brilliancy of preparation or elegance of the company." See also Parton, III. 37.

[4] Eldest son of Commodore David Porter; a midshipman since Jan. 1, 1823, afterward a commodore U. S. N.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

over for Crawford.[2] it is said that a pamphlet is preparing on this and other subjects. If then corruption is used to bring him into office, how far would it spread to retain him. I however from present appearances I [*sic*] have but little fear on this head should he loose the support of New York, he will be, as I suppose, withdrawn from the contest, but Virginia and part of Carolina will make a struggle to buoy him up, every nerve has been tried on pennsylvania but it is said she is unmovable.

My health has improved, but of late I have taken cold, and how I cannot tell, I vissit little, still my cough has shown symptoms of return. I will be happy to hear from you, and receive the news of your country and the health of your family and also how Mr Nicholson is progressing. I have requested him to write me as soon as his crop is housed. as soon as the cotton is ready for markett I would suppose it ought to be shipped with orders to sell so soon as it reaches there if the price continues up. This hint is not to control your instructions but merely as a hint if 14 cents can be obtained for it [it] ought to be sold. give my respects to your lady and family, to Capt Jack and Eliza, tell Eliza that her brother Edward is well, he has just left me for New York with Genl Gains. write me when you have leisure and believe me your friend,

To Major George W. Martin.[1]

Washington, January 2, 1824.

Dear George: Your letter of the 18th ult. is just recd. I kindly thank you for the information given of Mrs. J. and her good health; under existing circumstances and the courses that lead to our seperation, the anxiety on my mind, that my absence from her at a time when it was so necessary to her health that hers should be kept at ease, might prove injurious to her health; hence the gratification I feel on hearing that she enjoys good health. I rejoice to hear that a court is appointed in your case, my prayers are that you may have a speedy trial, and success. I am greatly incumbered with numerous letters, visiting, etc. etc. my health thus far is pretty good; if I could have three months ease, I would, I believe, regain my health.

There has been a good deal said of a congressional caucas, but if I was to judge from the appearance today, of the treasurers friends, I would suppose he was politically (as he notably is) sick. Virginia by her legislature has not come forth, as was expected, by the friends of a caucus, North Carolina has split. Mr. Vanburen can not *manage* New York, and it is my opinion, that Virginia will not seperate, from Penn. and New York; She will unite with one of them at least; however I know but little upon the subject, as I neither met with the politicians, or conversed on the Presidential question. But it is my opinion that Mr Crawford will be withdrawn from the contest so soon as New York unmasks herself, provided he does not get her support.

[2] Nov. 6 the Georgia legislature elected George M. Troup governor, by 85 votes to 81 for Matthew Talbot.

[1] The original of this letter is in the possession of Mrs. R. P. Lake, S. McLean Boulevard, Memphis, Tenn.

I have become friendly with all here and Gen'l Scott and myself met before he left the city and parted friendly. This has destroyed the stronghold of my enemies who denounced me as a man of revengefull Temper and of great rashness. I am told the opinion of these whose minds were prepared to see me with a Tomahawk in one hand, and a scalping knife in the other has greatly changed and I am getting on very smoothly. Present me to your mother and family kindly and to all my friends in Nashville. adeiu,

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, January 5, 1824.

My Dear wife, I recd a letter the other day from Major G. Martin informing me you were in good health, and then on a vissit to your friends at Nashville, this I was pleased to hear, as it would amuse you, and occasion time to pass on pleasantly We have had here the most mild December that has been for many years, It has been too much so for the enjoyment of good health, still, except colds, the health of the city is good. Should you see Mr Campbell, present me to him, and say, that I had the pleasure of hearing Mr Laurie [1] preach last Sunday, I think him of good capacity, and an impressive speaker.

My health still continues pretty good, and I endeavour to pass my time as well as our seperation will permit. I pray you to be contented, which will add much to my happiness here; accept of my prayers for your health, present me affectionately to all my friends and say to Colo. Butler I will write him as early as I can be able to say any thing to him definetly on what can be done for him here, if any thing can be done.

Believe me to be your affectionate Husband

P. S. say to my son and Hutchings how happy I would be if they would write me, say to them also; I expect them to be obedient, kind, and dutifull to you in my absence.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, D. C., January 10, 1824.

My Dear Wife, I recd yours of the 18th ult in answer to mine of the 3rd two days since; but being as usual on that day, surrounding with company and bustle, has prevented me from answering untill now. Your letters has been recd, and duly answered as they came to hand; and my health is as good as I have aright to expect, and has improved since I left you. The holidays being now over, and the 8th of January past; I trust it will be in my power to take care of my health better than I have been hitherto able since I came here. It affords me great satisfaction to learn that your health continues good; my prayers are continually ascending up to heaven for a continuation of it, and that I may once more unite with you in health; I need not repeat my determination, you know it.

I rejoice to learn that Mr Parson realises my expectation, and that all things are going on well, this is pleasant information to me, but nothing more than I expected, from the confidence I had in Mr Parsons. present

[1] Minister of the Presbyterian church in F Street.

me to him, and tell him I would like to hear from him if he has not already written me. I enclose you a letter from our friend Mr Ely,[1] with a request that you have communicated to Mr Craighead that part that relates to him. give the letter to Capt A J. Donelson and he will do it. I enclose you for your amusement and to give to my son a piece of poetry made in Baltimore and presented to me, tell him to keep it. There is at present great feeling on the Presidential question throughout the United States, and great intrigue. I interfere not, but it appears as you will see that my friends increase daily. The representatives of Genl Washington has presented me with a Tellescope and the pair of pistols used and worn by him in the revolutionary war which was presented to him by La Fayette. You will admit that I am not very vain, but to be thought worthy to possess the arms which were his companions in war and by which he achieved the liberty and independence of america, I consider the first honor that could be bestowed upon me. The mail is closing, I for the present must cease writing. present me to the Andrews affectionately and to Capt. A. J. Donelson and believe me to be yr affectionate Husband

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, January 15, 1824.

My Dear wife, I have recd your kind and affectionate letter of the 28th December with one from our son inclosed. I am rejoiced to hear of your health and Spirits and pray that they may continue untill I return. I have been kept too busy since my arival to adopt your advice of retiring early; you know my habits when at home; when I am without company I retire at 9: when I have company, at 10-11, as the company desire; but here when the early part of the evening is spent with my friends who visit me the latter must be spent in attention to duty and to business; one thing I can assure you, that I take as much care of my health as I can, and am happy to say to you, it has improved and is as good as I have any right to expect it. I thank you for your prayers, mine is offerred up for a continuation of your health, may the[y] be heard. Say to Colo. Butler all things progress slowly, as usual, fair promises, without acts, I have the Presidents positive promise that something shall be done for him, but what that may be I cannot say, The Survayor District in Florida if the law passes. Present me to all friends and delivered the inclosed letter to my son, and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

To Andrew J. Donelson.

Washington, January 18, 1824.

D'r Andrew, I wrote you yesterday requesting you to search for, and send me, a copy of my letter written to Mr Monroe in the latter part of the year 1816, or early in 1817, and a copy of Mr Monroes letter to me on the subject of his Executive council or heads of Departments. My letter to him which I want is the one in which I bring to his view, and recommend to him Colo. Drayton of Charleston So. Carolina as a fit person as Sec.

[1] Rev. Ezra Stiles Ely, a Presbyterian minister in Philadelphia, and old friend of Jackson. Mr. Craighead was a minister of the same church, residing in Nashville.

of War. I wish you to send copies attested and keep the originals least they may be taken out of the mail; and adress them to Major Eaton.[1] If you have time; send duplicates; one to Major Eaton, and the other adressed to me: read over Mr Monroes letters of that date, and send me copies of all you find on the subject of officers and appointments, and copies of my letters that contain recommendations of date 1816 or 1817. I expect the object is, by the publication at this moment to produce an effect upon Pensylvania who is about to form an electoral Tickett to support me. But this will not take as I believe; Mr Kreamer a member from Pensylvania, the moment he saw it, went direct to the President and asked him, if there was any truth in the publication; and received for answer: "that there was not", he immediately wrote to Binns the Editor in Philadelphia[2] a letter giving the declaration of Mr Monroe, and requesting him to publish it—which if he does not, Mr Kreamer (who is my warm friend) intends to have it published here. This will down the contriver; and make the calumny recoil on the author. If it was intended to irratate me, they have missed their mark—I laugh at it. Present me to Mrs. Jackson affectionately—to they Andrews and Lyncoya, and to all friends. I have only to add, that intrigue is the order of the day here. I steer clear of all that suspect of it, I abhor it, and its actors, and would not be placed in the Presidential chair by it. Present me affectionately to Miss. E. to my old friend Capt J. D. and to all friends. your affectionate uncle

P. S. I have heard from mr Monroe this evening and he has not yet found it. This makes it necessary for you if you can find it to forward it at as early a day as possible. A. J.

I am informed, south carolina, alab[ama], Missippi, Louisiana, Tennessee Kentucky, ohio, and Maryland, will all come out in my favour—north Carolina and Newyork are divided, this make the present effort necessary to endeavour to divide if possible the great leading state Pensylvania. There is a great Stir in Virginia: and Georgia if she gives up her candidate, is said will support me. whether one half of the above information is true I cannot say; I give it as I have heard it, for yourself only. I am told missouri is coming out also but as I know nothing only what others tell me, I let it pass for mere rumor, as you know the Hermitage is my delight, and my only ambition to dwell on it: adieu A. J.

To Andrew J. Donelson.

Washington, January 21, 1824.

Dear Andrew, Your letter of the 6th instant is Just recd. I am glad to learn that my cotton in part will be shipped so early in this present month. I wish to have the debt due my friend Mr Nichols paid.

[1] Parton, who got much information from Maj. W. B. Lewis, creates the impression that it was Lewis's foresight that produced these letters and preserved them for future political use. But it is well to remember that Lewis was in Tennessee when plans were made in Washington to bring them before the public, and it was to Eaton that they were sent. In fact, it seems that the shrewdness was Eaton's rather than Lewis's. Parton's *Jackson* (II. 355-370) deals extensively with this correspondence. In Bassett's *Jackson* (I. 339-344), an account is given of the means by which the correspondence was made to serve political ends. For the letters referred to, see vol. II., pp. 261, 263, 266.

[2] Editor of the *Democratic Press.* See the *Recollections of John Binns,* pp. 246-249.

I hope you have made the necessary arangements with him for this purpose—by directing the amount of sales of the cotton when made to be remmitted to him, or direct to you at Nashville. The amount of Sales over the account of Mr Nichols I wish retained. its being in states notes, will be usefull on our Journey here next fall: I was charged 33 per cent advance on my Tennessee funds on my way hither at Abington. The Public lands in Alabama will not be sold this year, Therefore Mr Crawford will not be able to redeem his Pledge to his friends, but it is my opinion the[y] ought. the delay is injurious both to the country and to those who are waiting to purchase for settlement, as well as the Government.

The Intrigue is still going on here; but it will not avail, a letter from a gentleman of N. Carolina of the first respectability was shewn me today, who says if Pensylvania declares for me N Carolina is certain. This days mail brings intelligence of a meeting held at Philadelphia on Saturday last, where there were five standards hoisted, one having the name of each candidate. Mr C. Price writes me they were all deserted but one and that bore the insignia of Jackson. This being a trial at the place where the other candidate expected to make an impression on Pensylvania, and at a time when all were invited to attend has cast the die, and has fixed Pensylvania—and of course N Carolina—if Judge Murphys information is true. I found many gloomy faces today in the Senate Hall. It is said There is to be a *caucus*. This I cannot believe—but it is the last hope of the friends of Mr Crawford, and I have no doubt it will be attempted—with what success time will determine. But it appears to me that such is the feelings of the nation that a recommendation by a congressional caucus would politically Damn any name put forth by it. write me often and my D'r young friend be attentive to your aunt and write me often. I wrote you for copies of the Presidents letters to me on the subject of his cabinett in 1816, or early in 1817, and copies of my answers or letters to him recommending Colo Drayton of Charleston and Mr Adams. send me copies of all. your friend and affectionate uncle

John H. Eaton to Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, February 8, 1824.

My dear Madam, I have lately recvd. a letter from you, and now reply because I am unwilling at any time to be a debtor and more particularly where the obligation is to a lady. But then my head is so full just now of politics bills laws and such like trash as to be wholly unable to work my fancy up to any point that can give interest to a letter. Well this makes no difference, for inasmuch as there is a very strong probability that ere long you may be required to come into our political Corps and join with us in the great affairs of the nation, it would not be a misplaced [attempt] even were I to tell you, all about the little workings, management and intrigue that passes on here amidst our learned band of Congressmen. would you believe it we are so depraved as scarcely ever to go to church, unless to the Capitol [1] where visits are made rather for

[1] At this time religious services on Sundays were often held in the Capitol.

the purpose of shewing ones self, than that any pious feeling prompts; and then it has such an air of fashion, and shew to go there; more like going into a theatre than to the house of worship. Oh we are truly a a wonderous set; not much inferior to the good people of Sodom and Gomorrah spoken of in olden times, who perished, not on account of their virtues. In this list the Genl is not included, for every Sunday he takes himself to some one of the churches, and returns again about 1 Oclock. Now while writing to you, he is off, attending to the admonitory voice of some good Divine.

Genl. Jacksons health is most excellent. The climate agrees well with him, and he seems in better health than he has been since the war. Mr. Adams and mr Calhouns partys over he has declined altogether going out of evening; and will only go out once again to mr. Monroes drawing room. The first good evening he will attend on that duly, and then will have ended all his night visits. He has most delightful comfortable quarters, and is subject to no exposure except in passing to the Capitol which we do every day in a warm comfortable close carriage.

If the Gnl had remained at home, I am satisfied he would not have enjoyed such health. His farm would have annoyed him—business would have [cal]led him to alabama or Nashville, exposure and wet would have been met with; but here nothing of that is found. Gowing and returning from the Capitol is ample exercise; and when at home the reading and replying to letters, and sitting with a round of pleasant company that is perputally calling to see him, keeps his mind employed and his sperits cheerful. 'Tis very well he came here. Call and myself are all that live with him, and we are quite comfortable and happy I assure you

with my great respects yours

Having returned from church, our friend handed me this letter to put a P. S. to; I have only to say that it is true, as my letter of yesterday will have advised you. mr and mrs Monroe, and mrs Watson and family, who I have Just seen, begs me to present to you their kind respects. A. J.

To Captain John Donelson.[1]

Washington, February 9, 1824.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 23d ult, which is just received affor[d]ed me much pleasure; the account you give of my overseer and the progress of my farm and domestic concerns is gratifying.[2] I feel grateful to my

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.; also in Parton's *Jackson,* III. 40.

[2] During this year Governor Willie Blount, writing about Jackson and Jackson's farm, spoke as follows: "Although I have ever considered him to be among the most industrious men of my acquaintance, both in public and private life, I was really surprised to find his farm in such excellent order, and so very productive, under all the circumstances relating to his great absence from home attending the public relations during the late war and since. His farming land is, as you know, very fertile, very beautiful, and eligibly situate for comfort. It is largely improved, handsomely arranged with gratifying appearance to the visitors at his most hospitable house, open to all who have the pleasure of his acquaintance, and who travel through his neighborhood, none of whom pass that way without calling on him for social intercourse, viewing him to be the polite gentleman at home and abroad and the friend of man everywhere. His every arrangement for farming on an extensive scale delights the man of observation; his fields are extensive and nicely cultivated as a garden; his meadows and pastures are extensive and neatly kept; his

young female friends for their attention to Mrs J. that her spirits should be kept up is alltogether important to her health; and nothing as likely to obtain this, as the company of her young female friends.

The view you have taken of our relations with Urope; and the intention of the combination of the Holy aliance, are well founded. I have no confidence in England. nothing but her interest will induce her to take a stand against the combination of Europe, but this may; her own situation is not without its perils; Rusia has been endeavoring to shut her fabrics from her dominion, South america has opened to her view a profitable commerce, and a markett for her manufactures, this may induce England to act in behalf of South america; and her interest will induce her; If it does; with the stand the U. States has, and will take, the Despots of Europe will pause before they attempt to interfere with South america.

The presidential question begin to agitate the minds of the people much; the attempt of a small minority of the members of congress to get up a caucus, force public opinion to take up a particular candidate will still agitate it more; and I trust will eventuate in prostrating the caucus system alltogether; should the people suffer themselves to be dictated to by designing demagogues, who carry on ev[e]ry thing by intrigue and management, they cannot expect to see the present happy government perpetuated; it must sink under the scenes of corruption that will be practiced under such a system, and in time open bribery may, and I have no doubt will be resorted to, to obtain a seat in the presidential chair, if the people do not assume their rights of choosing a president themselves.

In this contest I take no part; I have long since prepared my mind to say with heart felt submission, may the lords will be done; If it is intended by providence that I should fill the presidential chair, I will submit to it with all humility, and endeavor to labour four years with an eye single to the public good, imploring the guidance of providence in all things; but be assured, it will be an event that I never wished, nor expected. My only ambition was to spend the remainder of my days in domestic retirement, with my little family; it has turned out otherwise to my great annoyance; still I submit with proper resignation.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, February 12, 1824.

. . . . You will have seen from the papers and my last letter that there are to be a caucus of a small minority on the 14th instant; 181 against going into caucus; from which it is evident that this minority are determined as far as their influence will go, to coerce public opinion; not as usual for caucus to follow it: no doubt remains with me but they will prostrate both their candidate and themselves in public opinion.

Pensylvania, is said to be firm, Newyork will not it is believed support the caucus candidate, Maryland and north Carolina will go with Pensyl-

stock of horses, cattle, sheep, and hogs are of the best kind, and all in excellent order; his domestics and hirelings are all contented and comfortably provided for, and their daily labor is a pleasure to them." Blount added that Jackson had 100 acres in cotton and, enough corn land to yield 2000 barrels (of five bushels each), and that his crops of small grain were abundant. From notes collected by Mr. William E. Beard, Nashville, Tenn.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

vania, Newjersy, So. Carolina will follow in her train, if this Happens, Virginia will not, *dare not*, seperate from Pensylvania, and the western states will unite. I give the above, as the information derived from those who are in correspondence with the influential charectors in the differrent states. But there are now here charectors from all parts of the union, intriguing on this subject; and if intrigue, management and corruption can avail, the Treasury candidate may (altho at present politically dead) be resussatad; and become the strongest; nothing but the virtue of the people can prevent this; and to them, and them alone I look for a proper stand, such as will put down this system of intrigue, and restore the election of President to the people. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, February 15, 1824.

. . . . I do assure you the applications for office here are many and I am so much disgusted with the want of energy in *some* of the *Departments,* that I hate to press any man in whose independence and virtue I have confidence, finding as I have, that every thing is carried by intrigue, and management: promises are made often and not complied with; and this gives rise to murmurs and dissatisfaction. In short sir all things here appear to bend to the approaching presidential election. It is now a contest between a few demagogues and the people; and it is to be seen whether a minority less than one fourth of the whole members of congress, can coerce the people to follow them; or whether they people will assume their constitutional rights and put down these demagogues; who say our course is necessary, for if you leave the election to the people: they will elect a certain individual who is obnoxious to us. This my dear sir is as much as to say they people are incapable of self government; and yet they call themselves Democratic Republicans. You will see the Resolutions of the citizens of Baltimore on the 13th, the evening before the caucus was to be held here; they are strong and speak the language of freemen; who are determined to maintain their rights, and perpetuate their republican form of government.

The caucus was held last night, they [*sic*] the whole number who attended was sixty-six, Crawford got sixty two votes present, and two by proxy; both sick absent, and one perhaps dead. Having been six times interrupted since I commenced writing, has detained this letter untill the extra sheet of the Washington Republican has reached me. I enclose it for you and Mr James Jackson.

I intended this day to have written Mr J Jackson but from the various calls of gentlemen I have been prevented, I shall write him the first leisure. I have not heard whether the suit, myself vs Andrew Erwin and others have been compromised agreeable to the articles entered into; I learn that Mr Darby has not returned to Tennessee, I enclose to you a letter I have recd from Mr McLemore, I wish you to shew it to Mr James Jackson and then preserve it untill I see you; I wish you to do this that Mr James Jackson may believe that my recollection, altho impaired, still,

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

on important subjects, serves me pretty well; and when the papers aluded to are seen, they will fully shew that, Mr Darby there fully and expressly acknowledges that no person but James and myself have any interest in the suit pending. I hope the suit is settled, if it is, I am sure it will be a lesson to me; and keep me from law the ballance of my life. If settled I hope Mr James Jackson has acted liberally with Mr Darby, this I requested, but one thing is certain if the suit is not at an end, Mr Darby, from what I learn, will not return to Tennessee; of course we will not have his services in the prosecution; I therefore wish it at an end.

I do assure you I am wearied already with the life of a Legislature; but would you believe it, that I have become a perfect philosopher: It is true when I see the scenes of intrigue and management that is going on here; my honest indignation arises within me. I look forward and heave a sigh for the liberties of my country, which must be destroyed by a continuation of such a course. I still have confidence in they people that they will preserve their liberty by exercising their constitutional rights.

The 4th of next month the delegation chosen to meet in convention to make an electoral tickett in pennsylvania, will unmask her strength; Maryland, Newjersey, North and South Carolina, Ohio, will follow her; and it is believed by many, Virginia will not *dare* to seperate from her; time will unfold the verity of this.

Present me affectionately to Polly and your sweet little children, to Mr and Mrs Jackson and the family, to Capt Jack and Eliza, to Capt Savage and his family, and to all my friends in your neighborhood and in Florence, and believe me your friend

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, February 22, 1824.

. . . . I found shortly after my arival here that the surveyor Genls office for the Floridas was intended for Colo Preston late governor of Virginia,[2] he had been appointed commissioner of land claims, held it nearly two years, recd the emoluments, and never went there. I had, in justice to Colo Butler, to interpose his claim, and bring to Mr Monroes recollection his promise to do something for Butler, and I have obtained his promise that he shall be provided for in Florida,[3] and Mr Preston provided for otherwise. from the circumstance of the officers appointed for Florida not going and residing there, a bill has been brought in for the purpose of compelling all officers appointed for, to reside in Florida; This, unless part can be thrown into your District would compell you to reside in Florida, which you do not wish. Suffice it for the present to add; that Mr Graham and myself will erange all things as far as we have the power for the best, I have no friend on earth who possesses more of my affection than you, Mrs J only excepted.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] James P. Preston, governor of Virginia 1816-1819.
[3] Col. Robert Butler was commissioner of land claims in Florida 1824-1849.

I thank you for the attention you have paid to the interest of my dear little Hutchings, when the crop is disposed of please give me information of the amount; They fifty five bales is a good crop I should suppose. I hope Mr Nicholson will continue, as he has done, to do his duty. It would afford me pleasure to hear how you have progressed with your mill; the amount of cotton you have raised, etc. etc. It is true I am much oppressed with business and with company. I had once a hope of ease and retirement in my old age: but I fear that hope was vain, I admire your determination never to embark into a political life, in which I can assure you there is no pleasure for me; to be seperated from ones family, at my age, is a sacrifice too great to be made by me. Into this I have been forced by my country without my wishes; and my name by that country has been brought before the nation equally opposed to my wishes, and I am placed in a situation that I cannot use my free will in withdrawing from the political contest, and its is now probable that I will be made a slave to the public for six years to come.

It is now announced by Mr Calhouns friends in pennsylvania that he is withdrawn and the whole weight of that state will support me, This to my friends is gratifying, but to you as my boosom friend I can say with truth, that altho I feel gratefull to my country for this act of confidence, still to be a slave to office in my declining years has no charms for me. But should I be elected serve I must, and will devote my best judgt to the good of my country. But why should I give way to these gloomy thoughts, they are for your own eye, and I suppress them. I must refer you to the public journals for the current news. . . . .

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Private

Washington, February 26, 1824.

Dear Andrew, I recd your letter with the wished for inclosures on yesterday; the other two letters, I have obtained copies of, you for the present may cease your search. I am now prepared to stand upon the defensive should an attack be made; I am sure it was intended; but it may be seen by those who intended it, that I am prepared, should it be made, to make it recoil upon them. Providence has been kind to me: I did suppose I had been sufficiently guarded, reposing confidence only where I had a right to think it was well placed, and where it would not be violated: however with all my experience of man, I have been decived, but without injury I hope; be you my son on your guard, and profit by my admonition formerly given you, and now repeated. I would not wish you to take up an idea from this; that I believe it proceded (in mr monroe) from a wicked or deceptive mind; but from a weakness, and reposing confidence in my Enemy Lacock etc. etc. who it is supposed purloined his confidential letter.

The appearence of the Radicals are Gloomy here, their countenance betrays despair, and the news from Pensylvania has destroyed all their hopes; I have every reason to expect all their batteries to be opened

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

against me; and the attack was commenced by the publication that a letter of mine had been read to two senators,[2] advising him to appoint two Federalists and two republican in his cabinet. This was denied by mr monroe; and also by myself, and the senator stands in an aukard dilemma, and mr monroe not in a pleasant one: But this is a matter between them, that I have, nor intend to have, nothing to do with.

My health is not as good as it has been, but better than when I left you. I have a great deal of writing and you know this is oppressive; however my friend Eaton has acted like a friend; he is worthy of, and shall receve my warmest gratitude so long as I live. I am anxious to hear from you, what markett my cotton has met with—when you receive account of sales advise me. I wish you to close my account with my friend Josiah Nichols to whom present me respectfully. I mean when I say my account, to includge yours. I believe there is no other, unless at Stuarts and Co. and I believe not any there, but least there should, I wish you to enquire. Should Mrs. J. have created any account at any other place than at mr Nichols have it paid, and furnish your aunt with any mony she may want. My Dear Andrew attend to your aunt, and keep her spirits up, and when you receive the account of sales of the cotton advise her of it, as it will be gratefull for her to know it, present me affectionately to her and the young ladies and the two andrews, and when you are at the Hermitage attend to the boys as much as your Leisure will permit.

I have recd a letter from Danl, he is well and doing well, and so is saml Hays they desire to be presented affectionately to you, your aunt, and all friends.

You will see by the papers that on the 4th of March next Pensylvania will nominate her candidate for President, the present prospects are that she will nominate me; But every nerve will be strained to change her determination, North Carolina will go with her, and Virginia notwithstanding her Legislative caucus, is wavering, The people are beginning to stir, and when they do they will be heard. Newyork will not support Crawford, and I have but little doubt but he will be dropt; when this is done I have no feelings or wishes on the subject—had I a choice, I would prefer a retired life on my farm, for I do assure you there is no happiness for me,

[2] The two senators involved were William Findlay, a Jackson man, and Walter Lowrie, a Crawford man, both from Pennsylvania. In the following note to President Monroe, Feb. 21, 1824, Lowrie reveals how he got the supporting evidence for his statement:

"*Sir* The contents of this note will not surprise you more than the circumstance which is the occasion of it has done me. This morning I received an anonamous letter, with the post mark of Richmond Va, 19 Feb. containing a copy, as is alleged, of your letter to Genl Jackson, in answer to the one alleged to have been written by him to you on the subject of forming your administration from the two parts of this union. The marks of authenticity on the letter sent to me cannot be disputed. What course I will pursue, I have not determined, I will not act rashly on the subject. I have shewed the paper to no one, tho' I have consulted one member of the Senate relative to it."

No explanation is obtainable of the origin of the anonymous letter received by Lowrie. Part of the enclosure in it was in Jackson's handwriting and part in that of Hay, Monroe's son-in-law. Jackson said it was stolen from his papers. It is probable that it was taken out by some friend of Jackson's who considered that if it got into Lowrie's hands events would follow which would bring the whole correspondence before the public. The sequel showed that such a course did follow.

in Public life.[3] I find mankind Treacherous, and corrupt, and virtue to be found amonghst the farmers of the country alone, not about courts, where courtiers dwell. I have Just recd a letter from your aunt since I have commenced this letter I shall write her tomorrow,

I am your affectionate uncle

P. S. I am anxious to hear the fate of Doctor Butlers Draft I endorsed for him.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, March 2, 1824.

My dear wife, your last affectionate letter requested that I should write you weekly; to gratify you I comply, but have nothing to communicate worthy of your attention, except that my general health is good. I had taken a little cold some weeks ago, which had fell upon my lungs and occasioned a slight cough; but thank god, I am again almost clear of it; I can say with truth, that I have been blessed with much better health this winter than I have been for many, and had I you with me, my mind would be at ease and I could enjoy my time much better than I do. without you, my mind is not at ease, as I am convinced yours is not.

I ever will regret that my country imposed the present duty on me; still it had a claim, it Judged it right, and I will endeavour to reconcile myself to it; it is inconsistant with a soldier to complain. I have Just recd from Doctor Bedford and Mackey Neworleans the amount of the sales of the 50 Bales of Cotton shipped for me to them; It has sold well, at 15⅛ cents pr bl, the amount of sales $3910,27. expences and commissions $313.89 leaving the neat proceeds to be remitted to my agent Capt A. J. Donelson at Nashville the sum of $3596: 38. I give you this information least my young friend, Mr Donelson may not have recd the letter adressed to him, should that be the fact, please let him know of this. I have directed Mr Donelson to have my last years account fully closed and you furnished with such sum as you may want; and the ballance made a special deposit in Banks. my Love, I wish you to have every thing that will make you comfortable. Providence gives us the means that we may rationally enjoy his bounty. as soon as the amount of sales of my cotton reach Nashville I wish Mr Parsons to be paid his last years wages.

Say to my son and little Hutchings I have not recd their promised letters; say to my son, to remember my advice, that was, never to make a promise but what he complies with: allways to reflect before the promise is made, but when made, to be sure to comply with it. Present me to

[3] Senator Eaton, writing to Judge John Overton, at Nashville, Feb. 20, 1824 (Tenn. Hist. Soc., Overton MSS.), sums up the political situation as follows: "You will before this letter reaches you have seen the proceedings of the caucus, and how are fading away the lingering prospects of the Rads. What New York will do, who sustain is yet uncertain. Crawford or Adams as the one or the other shall obtain the vote of this State will be strongest, and Jackson without it is second best. Mr. Crawford's friends are sanguine in their hope of obtaining the vote of this State. Van Buren says it will be so, and as he claims N. Y. to himself none have a better right to know. It is a matter though not at all certain if General Jackson will not prove strong there, even as Mr. Crawford. Pennsylvania is now conceded to the General. From No. Carolina the prospects of the old man are most encouraging, and equally so too from So. Carolina. A Crawford member of Congress from Maryland says that Jackson will obtain at least 5 of the votes of that State. On this subject my spirits and calculations are good."

the young ladies who may be with you, to my friend Capt J. Donelson and family, to Mrs Donelson and hers, to Colo Butler and his and to all my good neighbours, and accept my prayers for your health and happiness and that of all the family. your affectionate Husband

Major Eaton and Genl call unite in respects to you. The attention of them both is great, But that of Major Eaton more than a son. my gratitude is great to him.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

City of Washington, March 4, 1824.

. . . . I have just recd your letter of the 13th ult. I have recd from Bedford and Mackey, accounts of sales of my fifty bales of cotton: I am well pleased with the sales, and I will thank you when you write them to inform them I will write them as soon as I have leisure. I have ten more bales Parsons writes me, which will weigh 5000, this is doing well in Tennessee. I have not recd any letter from Nicholson, it must have been lost by the way.

You will order one of Carvers Ginns for little Hutchings farm. I do not know that I will have any use for the money arising from the sale of my little ward Hutchings cotton. you will retain it in your hands untill I return, and if I should have no use for it, if times will authorise a loan of it untill the sales of the land, we will do so. My expences will be pretty heavy next year, I must and will bring Mrs Jackson on with me, and for this reason untill I return I wish you to hold the money. It is strange I have not had any letter from my friend James Jackson. . . . .

You will no doubt have seen in the papers the account of the caucus here of less than one fourth of the members. If I am a judge of human nature this will create a reaction, and prostrate the candidate they have attempted to impose upon the nation by a small minority, in open contempt of public opinion. This day the delegates from the whole state of pennsylvania meet to form an electoral tickett. This will give tone to the states on the south and west. N. Carolina has formed a tickett contrary to the caucus tickett, which will prevail; Virginia will form one also, and I am sure Virginia will not seperate from both New York and pennsylvania. It is thought Newjersy and Maryland will go with pennsylvania. . . . .

To Samuel Swartwout.[1]

Washington, March 4, 1824.

Dear sir: Accept my thanks for your friendly letter of the 1st Instant which has just reached me. You are right in supposing me pretty much engaged, not in attending however to Legislative matters, for indeed, there are so many, who by their itch for *discoursing,* seem desirous to enlighten and inform the community and their bretheren associates, that I am content rather to be a listener, than an actor: I have however a numerous list of correspondents to attend to, inasmuch as many of my

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] From the collection of the late Mr. Henry De Puy, Easton, Md. Printed by Mr. De Puy in the *Proceedings* of the Am. Antiq. Soc., April, 1921.

old soldiers in arms, hearing that I have turned politician, prefer sending their long standing and almost obsolete claims to me in the hope that I may be able to do something for them. An old soldier you know, should not in times of peace forget his old associates, no[r] do they permit it. of course I have many inquiries to reply to, for outstanding and uremunerated services.

But notwithstanding this, I have some little leisure time on my hand, when it is a pleasure to me, to hear from, and to answer my friends. It will always afford me pleasure, I assure you, to hear from you; and should I prove in default at any time, you will at once attribute it to the true account.

Regarding the *particular* object of your letter, you are sufficiently acquainted with me, and with my principles, to accord with this remark, that of all men in the country I can know least about matters going on. The world calls me, and the world believes me, a wonderfully ambitious man, bent upon my own purposes, and regardless of all else besides. If I know anything of myself, I can at least venture to say, that they are greatly mistaken, and that they do not know me.

I have seen and enjoyed much of the honor, the confidence, and the regard of my country, and it is gratefull to me, because that it has been extended without any covert solicitation on my part: yet had it never dreamed of me for any higher future part, than that of a private citizen, and suffered me on my own farm, to have been a spectator, rather than an actor, *in events to come,* I should have been contented and happy. Mankind may, or may not, believe it; and surely what I say will not convince them to the contrary; yet with truth can I, and do I say, that in nothing in which I have been engaged, did I ever look to myself. I never yet have been, and hope never to be placed in any situation where fear and trembling shall overtake me in discharge of my duty; and where that is discovered, with a conviction arising that my country may be benefitted by my acts, I shall proceed regardless of censure. I am getting my dear Sir rather too far advanced in life now, to be goaded by feelings of improper ambition. The alone wish of my heart, is that the country in which I live, and of which I am truly proud, may for all time to come continue free, prosperous, and happy as she is, and has been. A man of fifty-seven, should be without any feelings of ambition, except what duty to the interest of his country and a regard for his own honor and character may dictate.

I am Sir with great respect and esteem

Your most obdt. servt.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, March 6, 1824.

Dear Andrew, your letters of the 12th and 15th Ult. with mine to Mr Monroe of the 4th march 1817 inclosed, reached me in due course of mail. I should have replied sooner but really I am so pressed with a multiplicity of letters and business; that I am really oppressed, and have scarcely time for necessary rest.

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

The letters on the subject of Colo. Drayton and mr Adams have been recd. whether they may become necessary or not I cannot say, the battery was unmasked, but has become silent thro fear of exposure as I believe—you know I have allways acted on the defensive and mean to do so now.

I had recd account of sales of my cotton before your letter reached me direct from Bedford and Mackey. I am pleased with the sales;[2] If you should, (which I suppose you will) want any mony, my son use it, I want only oeconomy exercised so that next fall I may have the means of ample support on my Journey hither, and next winter whilst here. You must accompany me next fall, I have been at a loss for some aid in writing. my friend Major Eaton does all he can, but he has his own to attend to, which is very laborious. I have allways wished that my name had not been brought before the nation as President. I should now have been enjoying peacefull retirement; But as it has been brought before the nation, and the Radicals now heap upon me every scurrilous slanderous abuse that falshood can suggest, I am Glad my name is before the nation, truth is allways predominant where reason is left free to combat error, and I have no fear that my charector will stand the test of the most exact scrutiny, both my public and private, and I court it from the nation. They friends of the caucus candidate think they can by their vile abuse rous my feelings to some act of violence; in this they have much mistaken my charector, These wretches who possess no proper feelings for charector, because they do not know the vallue of it; having never possessed it themselves, think that the end is worthy of the means, and surely I agree cordially with them, that their cause being a bad one, the means they employ coinside with it. I never read the city Gazzett or the Richmond enquirer, therefore do not know the extent of their abuse. The subjects the[y] embrace, if I am rightly informed, will increase my standing with the nation more than any other course they can pursue; they will elect me, contrary to their wishes, by their *abuse*. I do assure you my Young friend, that I would rather be abused by these hireling writers than receive their praise, for the praise of such men would be viewed by all honest disinterested men, as a cause to suspect my honesty and integrity. When I review my course, my conscience tells me I have acted right—it was a course marked out with the sole view to the good of my country—an honest community view, and approve it as such, and I am at perfect peace with myself.[3]

[2] The fluctations in the price of cotton may be seen in the record of Jackson's sales in 1824-1827. In 1824 his first shipment to New Orleans, 51 bales, brought 13½ cents a pound; his second shipment, 10 bales, brought 30 cents a pound. In 1825 he raised 71 bales and hoped to sell it at 15 cents a pound. (Jackson to Coffee, Feb. 2, 1826.) In 1827 he sold his crop of 1826 for from 8 to 9 cents a pound and considered the price fair. Jackson to Coffee, Feb. 26, 1827.

[3] The following letter from Eaton to Judge John Overton, Mar. 2, 1824 (Tenn. Hist. Soc., Overton MSS.), illustrates the kind of abuse Jackson had in mind:

"*Dear Sir:* Today I have written to Mr. Crutcher with the request that he and you should give me information of the circumstances of General Jackson's marriage. Heretofore the Radicals have not dreaded him; but now seemingly a most prominent rival, they are bringing all their batteries to bear against him; and yesterday I was told by a friend of ours, that they were preparing to attack him on this ground. They will doubtless make a very varnished and false presentation of the facts, and delicate as it may be to

you will see the result of the Harrisburgh convention of the 4th instant before this reaches you; If unanimous, it creates unanimity in No Carolina and the sou[th we]st and and the people will *elect* the President. you know I have but one feeling, and that is that the caucus candidate may not prevail; I am sure myself that mr Adams is much stronger than he is.

Present me to your aunt affectionately tell her my health continues good but when I can leave here, I yet cannot say. . . . .

James Tallmadge to Jackson.

Albany, March 6, 1824.

Hon'd Sir. I have hitherto avoided to write on the Presidential question. The peculiar state of things in Newyork, induces me to write to you. The state of N.york is inclined to oppose Mr. Crawford. The 36. votes of this state *can be given* for an opposing candidate to him, and This either—*with*—or *without* the Electoral law now under discussion here.[1] It however becomes indispensible to have a concentration on some one candidate—we can not stand much longer Divided between so many candidates, The People here must have a precise object. In case of a concentration, Genl. Jackson President, Mr. Adams Vice President, or even *vice versa,* the vote of this state may be counted upon. without some concentration, and that shortly, I fear, this state may not continue safe. All is now in our hands—we understand mr. Calhoun, will not be in the way.

Several friends have urged me to write—we hope *soon* to have a course opened for us to pursue, and to receive information. There is much excitement arising from our electoral Bill and other local causes. The season for acting is at hand. The state administration is acting for mr. Crawford. It must be met, and a definite object, be held up to our People. I have this Day written, to mr. Adams, of the same import. Permit me to tender to you Renewed assurance of the very high Respect entertained by me for your character. I am with great Regard your Obdt. Servt.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, March 6, 1824.

My Dear wife. My health continues much better than I had aright to expect, taking into view the labour I have necessarily to undergo. I have seen Mrs. Watson and family today who all Join in a tender of their affectionate regard to you. I recd a letter yesterday with a request when

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go into a man's family concerns, necessity demands that we should at least be possessed of the facts, that we may act defensively. This is a business about which nothing is to be said — precaution is necessary. I only want the facts, that they may be used here, if necessary. State them to me! Could Mr. Craighead's statement, being a minister, be had, it would be well. I know not this matter but have always understood that there was no criminal imputation about it—that Mrs. Jackson lived dissatisfied under her first marriage, and married again after being legally divorced. The story is that he violently drove the man away, etc. Write me about it, and speedily—I do not think but that he is to be elected."

[1] Bill for the choosing of presidential electors by the people instead of by the legislature; it was passed by the lower house but was defeated in the Senate.

I wrote you, to convay to you the kind respects of Mr and Mrs. Ely [1] and Mrs Carswell

The subject of Mr Elys letter was to invite me again to vissit the City of Philadelphia and to make his house, whilst there, my home, with a threat from the ladies that If I did not, when they vissit Tennessee they cannot think of going to my house. His letter is a very friendly one, and should I return that way I do not know how I can help going to his house; This with such a cavalcade as I must have about me, whilst in the city, is too much to impose upon a private family. This altho in my letter to him I have pointed out, still he insists is not a sufficient excuse. I would to god I could say to you with certainty at what time I could leave this city; as yet I cannot. There is one thing I can say, that I will leave it the earliest moment I can with propriety; Untill I unite with you I pray god that he may take you and our little fellows, with all the family in his holy keeping.

your affectionate husband

P. S. my respects to all friends.

To James Tallmadge.[1]

Washington, March 12, 1824.

D'r Sir, Your friendly Letter of the 6th of March was yesterday recvd, and as candor is the language by me always admired, I thank you for the freedom with which you have spoken your sentiments. The subject on which you have written is indeed one of intrest, to the american people; the feelings they evince, and the excitement manifested thro the nation is confirmatory of the fact. I am well pleased to see it, inasmuch as there is evedence in it, that they are awake to the rights that belong to them, nor disposed with passive submission to yield them.

On the subject brought to my consideration by your Letter, I have all along forborne to speak, for the reason of its delicacy; and because any thing to be said by me, might be imputed to selfish consideration; if however I know any thing of myself, no such feeling has, or shall control me. To you however I will speak, as you have done, freely — without reserve. The principles which have governed me thro life, will I hope not forsake me, in the present situation in which I am placed. I remember not, ever to have solicited an office: my Country it is true has been kind to me, and perhaps beyond any merits of mine; but it has been thro her own volantary notion, and not from any solicitation of mine; and when my name was presented to the nation, for the important and highly responsible office of Chief magistrate, none certainly less expected it, and none desired it less than I did. I was aware, that, even if elected, the trouble of fatigue which would necessarily devolve, would add nothing to my quiet or happiness; while judging from the past, I foresaw that every little error and indiscretion of life would be treasured, and magnified into crimes of the deepest die. A portion of my Country however from no solicitation on my part have thought proper to consider me worthy of this high post; and acting on the principles which have always governed me, I am con-

[1] See p. 223, note.

[1] Draft. Handwriting of John H. Eaton.

tent for her to decide without any sort of interference on my part. Should she call me to act I shall, as I always have done, act with that decision and judgment of which I am capable, without any regard to the benefit or injury to be produced to myself; and should the choice fall on any other, believe me, my dear Sir, that not one moments displeasure will be felt by me. I shall then be a private citisen, and in that character, shall understand my duty better than were I to be placed in an high and elevated situation.

On the subject of your Letter therefore, I can give no opinion other than what is already offered, that my mind will rest contented at any decision which my Country may freely, and of her own accord pronounce. Could I assure success to myself, by any sort of combination, management or intrigue, I declare to you most truly, it would not be resorted to. Let my friends therefore every where, adopt that course which, by my belive, will best conduce to the interest of the Country; and whatever it may be, I assure them I shall rest contented

With my best wishes for your health and happiness I am with great respect

Yr Mo Obt

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, March 13, 1824.

Dear Andrew, I have not recd. any letter from you since the one I answered; The intended attack has not yet been made, that made the letters requested, and which you forwarded, necessary; nor do I now think the conspirators will unmask themselves.

The proceedings of the convention to form an Electoral Tickett in Pensylvania you will have seen before this reaches you: The State of New York now labours under great excitement, she will unmask herself with all the majesty of her strength shortly: It will not be for Mr. Crawford, as, is now believed here; a letter from Albany from a very influential member of the Assembly states, that Mr Crawford cannot, nay, will not, get the vote of N York. Should this prove true he must be dropped by his friends. It is now certain or is believed by the most influencial men in N Carolina that he stands no chance of getting the vote of that State. I allways did believe, that under the present feeling of the nation that a caucus here would prostrate the man it recommended, and now I have no doubt of the correctness of that opinion. The people will govern, and it is right the[y] should. The papers will give you all the news of this place, to them I refer you, The mail waits. Compliments to all friends. I wrote your aunt yesterday.

affectionately adieu

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, March 19, 1824.

My Dear wife, your kind letter of the 1st instant is before me; I feel that gratitude to our great Creator which is due, for the health you enjoy:

[1] Collection of Jackson manuscripts in the possession of Miss Pauline Wilcox, Washington, D. C.

May he continue that blessing to you, and all my family, and bless us with a happy meeting once more. Our climate here is very variable, and we have experienced a serious of cloudy, rainy, and disagreable days, that have been injurious to my health. I have had a small attack of pain in my side and cough, but a little blood, and one dose of salts has relieved me. The weather is now good and my health fast improving.

The kind attention of the family in which we live, was very great; it was that of friendship, and true christian feeling; I feel gratefull to them. I should not have named this sudden and short attack, but I was fearfull it might reach you through the papers much magnified, which might create great anxiety of mind, and make you unhappy. I am happy you have recd Major Eatons letter, and seen that of Genl call; as they must have afforded both amusement and pleasure. I am happy to hear that Major Lewis and the young Ladies were with you at the date of your letter, They will [enliven] your spirits which is very conducive to health. when you see them present me to them respectfully—present my thanks to Miss Milbury for her staying with [you], with my best respects.

I cannot as yet say to you the rout I will certainly take, when I leave this for home; but, as at present, I think, the steam boat from wheeling or pittsburgh will be the most expeditious and easy, my present impression is, that I Shall take that rout, and pass from Louisville [to] overtons home. my rout Shall be pointed out to you, when I can say the time I will be able to leave here.

Major Eaton is daily expecting your answer, I hope you have written him; altho he attends the house daily, he is like many of the members complaining of a bad cold. he together with Genl Call joins in good wishes to you—our good family Join in respects to you, and our old friend Judge Tucker [1] has injoined it upon me to present you with his and Mrs Wilsons kind respects. Present me kindly to all our friends and neighbours and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

Present me affectionately to the Andrews.

To John McLean.[1]

Washington, March 22, 1824.

Sir, My friend Colo. Chroghan has made known to me his desire of obtaining the office of Postmaster at Neworleans which he is advised will become shortly vacant by the resignation of the present incumbent. as I am confident he is well qualified; and has high claims upon his country; and having the highest opinion of his charecter, It gives me pleasure to express my wishes that he may succeed in his application. should the Colo. not succeed, which I should sincerely regret, I am requested by several Gentlemen from Neworleans to name to you Capt Robson, Capt Saul, and Capt Richardson all of whom are well recommended as to good charecter, and fitness for that office

[1] Probably George Tucker, of Virginia, later distinguished as a professor of law in the University of Virginia.

[1] Copy. John McLean, of Ohio, was Postmaster-General. George Croghan received the appointment to which the letter refers. On this letter see J. Q. Adams, *Memoirs*, VII. 201, and Monroe to Skipwith, July 31, 1823, in *Bulletin* of N. Y. Pub. Lib., VI. 254.

It has been stated to me that Mr Fulwar Skipwith [2] is an applicant for that office; (If so) I feel it is a duty due to the executive to make known his conduct during the assault on Neworleans by the British army in the late war. Mr Skipwith was speaker of the senate; had been in the confidence of our Goverment, and in consequence thereof, received mine. From his situation I expected much aid from him; You may immagine my surprise, when I tell you that instead of being with those who were in defence of the country in the then trying crisis, he was found with those who were engaged in paralysing my defence. He would neither prorogue the assembly nor adjourn it to Batonrouge, and when the minority abandoned the assembly and tendered their services as volunteers at my line of defence; Mr Skipwith remained with those who were charged with a design to deliver the city to, and make terms with the enemy; one part of his conduct it is necessary to detail—When I left the city and marched against the enemy on the night of the 23rd of Decbr. 1814, I was obliged to leave one of my aids in command, having no other confidential officer that could be spared from command; a few days after, Mr Skipwith in person applied to my aid to be informed what would be my conduct if driven from my lines of defence, and compelled to retreat through Neworleans; whether I would leave the supplies for the enemy, or destroy them. As reported to me by my aid, he wanted this information for the assembly, that in case my intention was, to destroy them, they might make *terms* with the *enemy,* and *save the city.* Obtaining no satisfaction from my aid, a committee of three waited upon me for information on this subject. To them I replied: " If I thought the hair of my head knew my thoughts upon that subject I would cut it off and burn it. To return to their Honourable body and say to them from me, that if I was so unfortunate as to be beaten from they lines I then occupied, and compelled to retreat through Neworleans, they would have *a warm session.*" This ended my intercourse with the assembly, untill the evening of the 8th of January, when Mr Skipwith rode down to congratulate me upon the event. From the foregoing you can Judge how much he merits the bounty of his Goverment to the exclusion of those, who, have real claims for important service rendered.[3]

I am sir with great respect yr mo. obdt. servt.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, D. C., March 27, 1824.

My Dear Wife, I have Just recd your kind letter of the 8th instant with heartfelt Joy and thankfulness to that kind providence who grants you health and cheerfulness. I am gratefull to my friend Major Eaton for his letter to you, he and the family we live in are truly kind and attentive to me; when the most indisposed; I find in them, and Genl Call what I may call, most truly friends. Still my love, there has been a gloom unusual

[2] Fulwar Skipwith of Virginia was consul-general in Paris 1796-1808, governor in 1810 of the short-lived republic of West Florida, and in 1814 president of the Louisiana senate.

[3] In 1827, the present letter having found its way into print, Skipwith replied by a letter printed in Martin, *History of Louisiana,* II. 367-369.

over my spirits this winter that I cannot well account for. I still try to arouse my former energy and fortitude to banish it, but it will obtrude itself on me at times. I suppose it arises from being placed in a situation in which I take no delight; and being forced from you when I least expected that seperation. altho time hangs heavy on me, still I am cheered with the prospect of the approaching warm season, and my speedy return to you. I cannot yet say at what time congress will rise. When I can, I will assuredly point out my rout to you; and if it should be convenient for you, it will give me great pleasure that you meet me at some given point. I pray you not to give yourself any uneasiness about the farm or any thing else; I wish you to keep your mind calm and your spirits cheerfull; as I know this is all important to your health. present my respects to Mr Parsons and tell him I am much pleased with his good conduct. I have delivered your message to Major Eaton, he is glad that you in your letter will be silent as to Sodom and Gomorrow. These are things intended for yourself, and might be injurious to him here.

Say to my son I have recd his letter; and forgive his mistake; tell him I noted it that he might hereafter be more carefull, least by carelessness he might be lead into a habit of mistakes injurious to him in his passage throgh life. say to him he must attend to his writing and spelling. Doctor Tucker and Mrs Wilson and Mrs. Watson, Mrs. Oneal and her daughters all join in warm respects to you. give my Love to the Andrews and the young ladies and all friends and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

P. S. Tell Lyncoya [1] I expect him to be a good boy and to hear from you when I come home that he has been so in my absence, and has learned his Book well.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, March 28, 1824.

Private

Dear Genl, It is now the close of March and congress has not passed one law of a general nature as yet; the tariff bill has engaged the House of Representatives for five weeks, and from its progress it will consume five more; unless it is posponed, I do not expect any thing beneficial will be done this session. I have thought for some time that if the necessary appropriations were made it would be beneficial to the nation that we should adjourn; there does not appear that spirit of harmony, that is allways necessary to exist in the deliberations of the representatives of the nation to produce those beneficial results, that tend to promote the best interests of our common country.

From the papers you will discover, that in that dignified body the senate of the United States, viewed by the constitution to be filled with the sages of our country, for the purpose of reviewing the acts of the representative branch with calm and dignified deliberation, have so far

[1] An Indian boy whom Jackson took to the Hermitage and brought up when the boy's parents were slain in the Creek war.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

forgot itself, its dignity of character and what is due to the american nation, as to be found debating the caucus in solemn session;[2] when such debates as this, gets into the senate I loose all hope of any thing beneficial for the nation to be enacted by congress this session, and think it time to adjourn.

I am happy to see the good people of america are puting their faces against these congressional caucuses, and I do hope the one last held will put this unconstitutional proceeding to sleep forever. and leave to the people their constitutional right of free suffrage. should this not be the case, it will introduce into our Government, a sistematic system of intrigue and corruption, first secrete and last, open and undisguised; that will ultimately destroy the liberty of our country, a central power will arise here; who under patronage of a corrupt, and venal administration, will deprive the people of their liberties; and place into the executive chair whom they may will. From what I see in the public journals, the feelings of the people are beginning to be aroused to a proper sense of their rights, and I trust they will put down congressional caucuses forever, hereafter. advices from New York inform, that they people of that state are about to follow the footsteps of Pennsylvania, and to have a general convention; you will have seen that the Carolinas and Georgia are in motion and six weeks will unmask their course. . . . .

William Hayden, jr., to Jackson.

Washington, March 29, 1824.

. . . . A copy of the Columbian Observer, a paper printed at Philadelphia, and which contains some animadversions upon my report of your remarks on the bill for the armament of the fortifications, has just been put into my hands. I send, herewith, that paper; together with the Intelligencer containing the Report alluded to. Will you do me the favor, sir, if you have leisure, to look over the Report; and see if, in your opinion, it deserves the censure cast upon it, by the Philadelphia paper.

Our reports of the proceedings of Congress are, upon many subjects, necessarily brief—and, doubtless, often imperfect. It is impossible they should not be so. Those only, who are practically acquainted with the business, can be aware of the difficulty of giving satisfaction to all. The principal consideration, in drafting the Reports, is, *the nature of the subject.* If it is one of great and general interest, it is endeavored to extend the report farther than can be done on questions of a more local or restricted nature. It is always intended, however, that they shall be impartial.

If the remarks in the Observer had applied to the Reporter only, he would not have deemed them of sufficient importance to authorize him to call your attention, from weightier matters, to so humble an object as himself. But as they involve others, to whom the blame, if there be cause for any, ought not to attach, he deems it his duty to request your candid opinion, whether there is any appearance, in the sketch of your

[2] Debate of Mar. 18, 19, and 22, on resolutions for amending the Constitution in relation to the election of President and Vice-President.

remarks, of an intention to mutilate, or misrepresent, and whether they are not given fairly, as taken in connection with the rest of the report on the same subject? . . . .

To William Hayden, jr.[1]

Washington, March 30, 1824.

Sir, your note of Yesterday with the two newspapers are recd, to which I reply

I never pretend to recollect after they are made remarks offerred by me in public debate; and particularly can I not recollect those inquired of by you, as I had determined to take no part in the discussion; a severe pain in my breast at the time I thought forbad me. Contrary to this determination indeed, I was drawn out by a direct appeal made to me by Mr Holmes of main; my reply therefore was upon the spur of the occasion and my remarks such as my mind sugested at the moment. Other Gentlemen can better say whether the report is correctly made than I can, as I pay no attention to such things. There is one thing I can assure you that I should never ascribe unworthy motives to you or any one. These are things which should be left alone to Him who can, and has a right to Judge of the causes that control human actions.

Having held no communication with any one on this subject, I should not, could I recollect, interfere in the disputes of Public Editors. I was applied to the other day by Mr Seaton [2] on this subject. The above was substantially my answer. I return the papers as requested and am with due respect

yr mo. obdt. servt

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, April 4, 1824.

. . . . I thank you for the copy of the letter to Mr Monroe of Novbr. 1816.[2] I am well prepared for defence; but I suppose, my enemies will shrink from the intended attack—if not I am prepared. You will have seen from the Newyork papers; that on the 8th instant a meeting is to take place in the city on the Presidential question. should it succeed, it is probable it will be followed by similar meetings throughout that state; should this be the case it will put down all candidates but two. mr Crawford will be droped as I believe; and it is probable all the western states will unite and go with Pensylvania and Newyork: This is my own conjecture—for I hold no correspondence with any one but yourself. I am fearfull my business has interrupted your attention to your profession. This I have regretted much but from my situation I had no person who I could apply to but you. Next fall I will have to bring you on with me; I have been this winter at a great Loss for some confidential friend to aid

[1] Copy.
[2] William W. Seaton, editor of the *National Intelligencer.*
[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.
[2] See vol. II., p. 263.

me; Major Eaton was allways willing but his labours have been great—he has been writing much. I have Just learned that he is the author of Wyoming [3] and Philo-Wyoming, this for yourself. These pieces I intend having collected in due time and published in pamphlet form. He is now reviewing my life, and a second Edition will soon make its appearance.[4] The moment I can leave here I will do so, and by the most expeditious rout reach home, I shall not go through Philadelphia. . . . .

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, April 5, 1824.

My Dear wife, your kind letter of the 18th March with one from my son and Capt A. J. Donelson reached me yesterday. I wrote to Capt A. J. D. by yesterdays mail, having the day before written you. I have nothing since my last worthy your notice. I sincerely regret that you are somewhat indisposed, but I trust in a kind providence that he will restore your health and prolong your days untill we again meet. I shall leave here as early as I can, and travel the most expeditious rout home; of which you shall be advised, so soon as I can say when I will be able to leave this.

It is a great comfort to me to learn that Mr Parsons so well conducts himself and that your mind is not troubled or disturbed about the Domestic concerns; I was fearfull when I left home that you might be.

I was at sermon yesterday with Mrs. Watson and delivered your compliments, she is in good health and reciprocates them. Major Eaton, Call and Houston are all well and desires to be presented to you; My respects to all friends and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

Mrs. Oneal and family present their kind respects.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, April 7, 1824.

My Dear wife, This will be handed you by George who I send on with Mr Hill of Franklin, to take on Major Eatons Horses, and one of mine I left at Mr McGovacks if not sold. I do this with the view of following him in the stage as soon as I can possibly leave this which I cannot do untill after the vote in the senate on the Tariff bill; and the Bill of the Georgia commissioners, and the one authorising the survaying of the lands in Florida. The Tariff has been 8 weeks under discussion in the house of Representatives, and will take up all this week—so soon as I can therefore I will take the Stage and Steam Boat and reach home as Soon as I can, I hope by the 20th of May. I send a few Books by George for you and one for my Son and Little Hutchings to read, but not deface—it is the one presented to me by Genl Rogers, sketches and charecters of the sages of the Revolution.[1]

[3] *The Letters of Wyoming to the People of the United States on the Presidential Election, and in Favour of Andrew Jackson; originally published in the Columbian Observer* (Philadelphia, 1824). "Philo-Wyoming" seems not to have been reprinted.

[4] Second ed., Philadelphia, 1824.

[1] Thomas J. Rogers, *A New American Biographical Dictionary, or Remembrancer of the Departed Heroes, Sages, and Statesmen of America . . . in the Revolutionary War* (Easton, Pa., 1813; second ed., 1823).

My health is improving and I trust in a kind providence that you are, and will continue to enjoy good health untill I return home. give my love to all friends and neighbours and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, April 8, 1824.

My Love, I send by George the portrait of Major Eaton, it is in a tin case, *with my own,* for Major Eaton. It must be sent to the tinners to be unsodered, before it can be got out. I wish the Tin case preserved, and Mr Earle to put the portrait in a frame and have it hung up in our room. Major Eaton directs that his be handed to Mr Earle and there left.

I hope to be able to leave here by the first of May. I must remain untill the Tariff bill is passed on before the Senate, and untill I can have, Colo. Butler, if possible, provided for. The Book that this is attached to is for my Son. tell him to read it with at[ten]tion, but not to abuse it.

god bless you farewell. I Shall write you by mail which will reach you before this will.

To President Monroe.[1]

Washington, April 9, 1824.

Sir, Mr Hay last evening placed a paper in my hand containing the publication of a letter from Mr Lowry of the Senate to you: on the subject of a letter of mine which he alledges to have been read by you [2] and in the presence of Mr Findly of the Senate, on a certain occasion. I barely cast my eyes over the letter and returned the paper, and not until I read the same publication in the Intelligencer of the morning did I discover that it was not the same shewn me by Mr Hay some time since

The one published is varient from the one first shewn me by Mr Hay. Why the second to you and not the first has been published is strange to me. As I may be interested in having the first I request that you will furnish me with a Copy by Majr Eaton. The first Letter from Mr Lowry to you can alone justify me hereafter, if it should become necessary to expose the whole to the public without an imputation of a violation of confidence.

Mr Lowrys first Letter tells you, that he has in his possession in your own hand writing your *confidential* letter to me recvd by way of Richmond, and to which I suppose he alludes when he says he has incontestable evedence of the fact, but does not explain what fact. I cannot understand his having written you two letters so varient and publishes only the latter—have therefore to ask you for a Copy

Mr Hay offered to let me take a Copy of the first letter, but believing all Senators honorable men I refused: but from what I see I think it necessary now to have one, which I hope you will please furnish Maj Eaton

[1] Copy.

[2] To this point the handwriting is Jackson's; afterwards it is Eaton's. This controversy made much noise at the time. It is described in *Niles' Register,* XXVI. 115, 134, 152, 161, 269, and also in the *National Intelligencer,* Mar. and Apr., 1824, *passim.* Walter Lowrie and William Findlay were senators from Pennsylvania. See p. 230, *ante,* note 2.

PRESIDENT MONROE TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 10, 1824.

Dear Sir, On further consideration, since I saw major Eaton last night, I am led to conclude that it will be most adviseable, to publish nothing in reply to Mr Lowrie's statment, for the present. When we move, we must go on, and publish every thing, and the period for that, has not, I think, as yet arrivd, if it be necessary, at any time. If my letter to you, written lately, and since yours to me of 1816 was found, giving an account of the contents of yours to me of that date, is publishd, it may be asked, why is not yours publishd, since it would speak for itself, and might be more relied on, than any exposition now given of its contents. Mr Lowrie cannot stand where he is; he must shew his incontrovertible evidence, or be believd guilty of misrepresentation. And if he does publish that document, it will disprove what he states, and put him further in the wrong, by committing an additional outrage, as well as a breach of faith. If he publishes the letter of mine, which he has recd. through Richmond, or declining it, leaves the affair where it is, in either case, it may be proper to publish my late letter to you, to explain in what manner, that which is now in the possession of Mr Lowrie, got out of my possession.

I suggest these ideas for your consideration, for I have no objection to the publication of that letter or any other when you may desire. My wish is that major Eaton and mr. Hay communicate freely together, and take the course which shall be deemed most expedient.

With very sincere regard I am dear Sir yours

TO ANDREW J. DONELSON.[1]

WASHINGTON, April 11, 1824.

. . . . You will see from the papers that Mr Lowry has come out and him and Mr Monroe is at issue, who has told the lye. I see The papers have called upon Mr L. to come out with his *incontestible* proof; so soon as this can be dragged from him, I will come out. I cannot before, because he has not published his first letter to Mr Monroe, stating that he had got by the way of Richmond his confidential letter to me, and untill this confidential letter is published by him, I cannot move, without placing myself under the imputation of violating *confidence* by publishing private and confidential corespondence. This course I suppose has been recommended to him by his caucus friends—was I to publish my own letters, my enemies would say these are not the ones aluded to; that is withheld—so I have to wait patiently for these Gentry to unmask themselves. Poor Lowry first letter to mr monroe must dam him with all honourable men. But as providence has been heretofore kind to me; I trust he will still gard me from the wicked. This is all I ask of him to do, and that truth may prevail. I would not my son conceal a single public act I ever done from the public. If I am elected to fill the Presidential chair it must be by the people; and I will be the President of the nation, and not of a party. I have allways been a republican, and acted with

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

them, but the constitution secures to every man equal rights and priviledges; and the very moment I proscribe an individual from office, on account of his political opinion; I become myself, a despot, call me by what name you please—because the other has Just as good aright to enjoy his opinion as I have. Therefore as Mr Jefferson said, "*we are all Federalists,* we are all Republicans, and we ought only to inquire is he honest, is he fit, is he capable". But where a man has shewn his attachment to the constitution and his country by risquing his life, and his all in its defence, is honest, is capable, that he should be unworthy to participate in the offices of his country because him and me differ as to the proper administration, is a species of Democracy, and Republicanism; that I trust in god, I shall never profess, to possess. give my Love to your aunt and all friends and believe me your affectionate uncle

P. S. since commencing this letter major Eaton has shewn me a letter from Newyork, where on the 8th instant they have held a meeting, numerous, and unanimous as it respects myself. This to be sure is flattering to me in one sense; but my son I have seen so much treachery and corruption that I am allmost disgusted with mankind. Still I am prepared to say the lords will be done, and if I should be brought into the presidential chair, imploring the benediction of heaven I will endeavour to administer it for the good of the nation regardless of any other consideration.

A. J.

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, April 12, 1824.

My Dear wife, Your kind letter of the 24th ult, I have recd; I rejoice to learn that your health is good and your friends are attentive to you, and keep up your spirits. In my last I informed you that I had sent on George to take back our horses left on the road, so that when I left here for home, I would have nothing to detain me; and the horses and servants were a useless expence to us; one with us is sufficient. If the Ohio should keep up for Steam Boat Navigation; I shall go from here in the stage to Wheeling; and from thence to Louisville, and perhaps all the way to Nashville by water. I cannot as yet say when I will be able to leave here; I did hope that last week would have closed the debate upon the Tariff bill; but it is still under discussion, and untill this bill is passed on in the senate: and some others, I cannot leave here.

We have done nothing yet. I regret to see no national feeling in the majority of congress. every one appears solely to be ingrossed with the interest alone of his own section of Country—so long as this feeling predominates, it will be unfortunate for our nation. we ought as Legislatures to meet with national feelings, and our Legislation ought to be for the general good; and as far as practicable equity and Justice to all sections of our country. Was this course adopted, we would with harmonious feelings, of mutual concessions, soon get through all important questions, which agreable to the present feeling; occasions so much useless debate, to the great injury of our country, the waste of our time; and the public mony.

My Love, I hope to leave here in the early part of May. I am truly wearied with lounging here; doing nothing, but feeding on the public funds. we have really done nothing yet beneficial; and for nine weeks has the House of Representatives been engaged debating the Tariff, that could have been as well decided in two. The moment I can say with certainty, the day I can leave here, I will inform you. My health still continues to be as usual; my cough in the morning troublesome; but when we get warm weather; I trust, it will entirely leave me. give my compliments to all friends; to my Dear little Andrews and to Capt A. J. Donelson and believe me to be your affectionate Husband

P s. Mrs. Oneal and daughters request me to present you with their kind compliments and wishes.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, April 16, 1824.

Dear Andrew, You will see in the National Intelligencer Mr Lowrys letter etc. etc. published. In the Columbian Observer you will see Mr Carlile has addressed him, and called upon him to give to the *world his incontrovertable proofs.* If this does not bring him out I cannot tell what will—should it; you will see my letters etc. etc. given to the public with such comments as may be deemed proper, to which will be added a few extracts from Genl washingtons fare well adress which you can refer to in the Book I sent by George page 339 [2] and which you will see embraces the advice I gave to mr monroe. A number of the members of Congress have asked major Eaton for, and obtained a sight of my letters, who have as uniformly approved the sentiments they contain; They are sentiments consistant with the true principles of our constitution; and such as was recommended to the nation by the father of his country; and such as it has been my boast to have allways cherished—for that man must be a despot who would attempt to controle the opinions of others, or disfranchise him for exercising the freedom of opinion, because he thought differrently from him. such a man, let him be called by what name you please, is a Tyrant, and not a Republican.

You will see from the late papers that the state of Newyork is following the course of Pensylvania. New Jersy and ohio, it is said, will unite with these two large states. If so, the thing is fixed and the electoral colleges will give the President without its going to the House of Representatives. one thing is said to be certain; that Mr Crawford will not get the state of Newyork. . . . .

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, April 23, 1824.

My Dear wife, Today I had the pleasure of receiving your kind and affectionate letter of the 8th Instant; and I am much grieved to be compelled to say to you, that even now; I cannot say to you the day, that it

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.
[2] Rogers, *op. cit.*, second ed.

will be in my power to leave here. Tomorrow, a Joint committee of both houses meets to fix a day for our adjournment; but I fear from a late occurrence, that it will not be possible for Congress to rise for some time yet; however, be this as it may, so soon as we pass upon the Tariff bill I will leave here for home the most expeditious rout that at that time presents itself. Charges exhibited by Governor Edwards lately appointed Minister to Mexico, against Mr Crawford has been referred to a Committee of the house of Representatives; who have sent for Mr Edwards to appear before them.[1] should Congress await his arival it cannot rise before the middle of June next. If this should result in the impeachment of Mr Crawford I do not mean to sit upon his trial. Therefore will leave here as soon as the bill before named is disposed of.

How my heart bleeds when I read the pain that our seperation has cost you. I hope in god when we meet we will never be seperated again untill death parts us. I pray you my Love to keep up your spirits; I will be with you as soon as I possibly can. your anxiety to see me, cannot surpass mine to be with you. May Jehovah Take you in his holy keeping untill we are again united is the prayer of your affectionate Husband.

P. S. present me kindly to the Andrews and all friends

To L. H. Coleman.[1]

Washington, April 26, 1824.

Sir: I had the honor this day to receive your letter of the 21st instant and with candor shall reply to it. My name has been brought before the nation by the people themselves without any agency of mine: for I wish it not to be forgotten that I have never solicited office, nor when called upon by the constituted authorities have ever declined where I conceived my services would be beneficial to my country. But as my name has been brought before the nation for the first office in the gift of the people, it is incumbent on me, when asked, frankly to declare my opinion upon any political or national question pending before and about which the country feels an interest.

You ask my opinion on the Tariff. I answer, that I am in favor of a judicious examination and revision of it; and so far as the Tariff before us embraces the design of fostering, protecting, and preserving within ourselves the means of national defense and independence, particularly in a state of war, I would advocate and support it. The experience of the late war ought to teach us a lesson; and one never to be forgotten. If our liberty and republican form of government, procured for us by our

[1] On Governor Ninian Edwards and the "A. B. Plot" see Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I. 34-36.

[1] Dr. Coleman, of Warrenton, N. C., was a Jackson man. Apr. 21, 1824, he wrote to Jackson asking how he intended to vote on the tariff bill then before Congress, saying that he was opposed to the bill and would relax his zeal for him if Jackson proved, as was reported, to be a supporter of the bill. Jackson's reply was published in the Raleigh, N. C., *Star*, and widely republished. It is in *Niles' Register*, XXVI. 245, and in Parton's *Jackson*, III. 35. Having received Jackson's letter, Dr. Coleman wrote to ask permission to publish it. The copy of the reply, giving permission, in the Jackson MSS. (filed as of 1828), is in Eaton's handwriting. Most of Jackson's biographers, including the editor of this *Correspondence*, have erroneously stated that Dr. Coleman wrote from Warrenton, Va.

revolutionary fathers, are worth the blood and treasure at which they were obtained, it surely is our duty to protect and defend them. Can there be an American patriot who saw the privations, dangers, and difficulties experienced for the want of a proper means of defense during the last war, who would be willing again to hazard the safety of our country if embroiled; or rest it for defense on the precarious means of national resources to be derived from commerce, in a state of war with a maratime power which might destroy that commerce to prevent our obtaining the means of defense, and thereby subdue us? I hope there is not; and if there is, I am sure he does not deserve to enjoy the blessing of freedom.

Heaven smiled upon, and gave us liberty and independence. That same providence has blessed us with the means of national independence and national defense. If we omit or refuse to use the gifts which He has extended to us, we deserve not the continuation of His blessings. He has filled our mountains and our plains with minererals—with lead, iron, and copper, and given us a climate and soil for the growing of hemp and wool. These being the grand materials of our national defense, they ought to have extended to them adequate and fair protection, that our own manufactories and laborers may be placed on a fair competition with those of Europe; and that we may have within our own country a supply of those leading and important articles so essential to war. Beyond this, I look at the Tariff with an eye to the proper distribution of labor and revenue; and with a view to discharge our national debt. I am one of those who do not believe that a national debt is a national blessing, but rather a curse to a republic; inasmuch as it is calculated to raise around the administration a moneyed aristocracy dangerous to the liberties of the country.

This Tariff—I mean a judicious one—possesses more fanciful than real dangers. I will ask what is the real situation of the agriculturalist? Where has the American farmer a market for his surplus products? Except for cotton he has neither a foreign nor a home market. Does not this clearly prove, when there is no market either at home or abroad, that there is too much labor employed in agriculture? and that the channels of labor should be multiplied? Common sense points out at once the remedy. Draw from agriculture the superabundant labor, employ it in mechanism and manufactures, thereby creating a home market for your breadstuffs, and distributing labor to a most profitable account, and benefits to the country will result. Take from agriculture in the United States six hundred thousand men, women, and children, and you at once give a home market for more bread stuffs than all Europe now furnishes us. In short, sir, we have been too long subject to the policy of the British merchants. It is time we should become a little more *Americanized,* and instead of feeding the paupers and laborers of Europe, feed our own, or else in a short time, by continuing our present policy, we shall all be paupers ourselves.

It is, therefore, my opinion that a careful Tariff is much wanted to pay our national debt, and afford us the means of that defense within ourselves on which the safety and liberty of the country depend; and last,

though not least, give a proper distribution to our labor, which must prove beneficial to the happiness, independence, and wealth of the community.

This is a short outline of my opinions, generally, on the subject of your inquiry, and believing them correct and calculated to further the prosperity and happiness of my country, I declare to you I would not barter them for any office or situation of a temporal character that could be given me.

I have presented you my opinions freely, because I am without concealment, and should indeed despise myself if I could believe myself capable of acquiring the confidence of any by means so ignoble.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant.

To Andrew J. Donelson.[1]

Washington, April 27, 1824.

. . . . I will be home as soon [as] I can; but I cannot leave here before I vote upon the Tariff Bill: I have recd many letters on this subject, many as I suppose held forth in *terorum*. I mean to convince those who are not yet acquainted with me; that I cannot be intimidated from doing that, which my Judgment and conscience tells me is right; by any earthly power. I therefore will support the Tariff so far as I believe it will tend to *foster,* the means of national defence, and *procure it from* [*our*] *own means*; which will insure allways an ample suply within our country in a state of war; beyond this I will view it with an eye to Revenue to meet our national debt; give a proper distribution to labour, by which the agricultural interest will be promoted.

From these hints you will conclude I will vote for the Bill; as I believe it right and proper to feed our own labourers instead of those of Europe, and keep within us that capital that is drawn from us, and creates in part the wealth of England. The British merchants and British influence has had heretofore too much influence; we must in our policy look more to our national interest. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, May 7, 1824.

Dear Genl, I have just recd yours of the 17th ult, and I assure you, that you could not have chosen a subject more pleasing to me than that of the improvement of your farm. I am happy that your sawmill has succeeded to your expectation and that your sweet little family are in health. your wellfare, permit me to assure you, is dear to my heart. I shall not trouble you with politics. I leave this to they people who are managing the thing in their own way. This is as it should be; and in no other way (let it end as it may) would I have any thing to do with it. New York and Ohio are progressing as pennsylvania has done, North Carolina has taken her stand, and I believe the Radical chief has gone down not to rise again. I have no doubt from what I now see, that it was expected that my votes

[1] Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

on the Tariff was expected to injure me; but one who takes principle for his guide, and public good the end, is never in danger.

I learned from the experience of last war, that if our liberty was worth possessing it was worth defending, and in a state of peace, it ought to provide and possess the means of its own defence within it, in time of war. This can only be effected by cherishing the growth in our own country of the means of defence, and by protecting duties to place our manufacturers of these essential articles of the means of defence and national independence in time of war on the footing of fair competition, with the labourers of Europe. the ballance of the bill, I look at with an eye to revenue to meet the national debt. There was never a thing so deceptive, as that we do not want revenue. we are now passing a bill to create a stock to meet the Florida debt, because we have not the means to meet it, and our national debt, which falls due this year and next. I shall be at home as early as the Tariff is passed upon. will you be in our country in June or July. I am anxious to see you. . . . .

To Mrs. Jackson.

Washington, May 13, 1824.

My Dear wife, The senate has passed today the Tariff bill with some amendments and have sent it down to the House of Representatives. so soon as it is passed by that house and returned to the senate and finally disposed of [1] I will leave here for home by the way of Wheeling if I am advised there is certainty of a passage from thence to Louisville, but the last accounts were that the water in the ohio was low. I have written for information to Wheeling, which I will receive in a day or two when I shall write you and give you my rout and the day I will leave here. I am truly anxious to get home, I am wearied with this place, but am rejoiced at the prospect of getting away in a few days. my health is much improved since I wrote you. Mr. Campbell letter recd since yours, advise me you are at Nashville attending the Sacrament, and in good health—both are gratifying to me to hear—aware of the sincere pleasure you experience on those solem occasions. Present me to Mr Campbell and say to him that I regret much that it is out of my power to pass Pittsburgh in my way home—from my protracted stay here I am sure Mrs. Campbell will have left there before I could reach Pittsburgh and if I passed that way I must detour at least a day—and if I tarried there enjoying the hospitality of the people, I would offend others who has pressed me to take other places in My rout—and when I get on the way I shall not permit myself to be detained by any hospitality offerred. Genl Call and Major Eaton and Genl Houston Join in respects to you and our little family. present me affectionately to Capt A. J. Donelson and the Andrews and all friends and believe me your affectionate Husband

P. S. I inclose a letter Just recd from Cadet Saml J. Hays, for the information of his relations—give it to Colo Butler with my respects.

[1] The tariff bill finally passed both houses May 19, and was approved on May 22. The session ended May 27.

To James W. Lanier.

May 15(?), 1824.[1]

I have recvd your Letter of the 2d of april

Altho I have an adversion particularly at this time to write letters on political matters, yet when my opinions are asked on any subject, I ought not, and do not, forbear freely to give them; and especially on those subjects in which the Country is much interested, and about which there is great diversity of opinion. In a letter it is impracticable to go into detail, and I can therefore only present you with a hasty outline. On both subjects embraced in your letter, during the present session of Congress we have had occasion to act; and my votes given on them and published will declose my opinions.

The domestic industry and labor of the Country, coextensive with our National Independence, and national defence in a State of war, should be encouraged and protected. This should be the first design of a Tarriff, and the second a reasonable increase of import with a view to paying the debt of the Nation, that it may not be entailed on our posterity as has been the case with the English goverment.

As regards internal improvements, Congress can constitutionaly apply their funds to such objects as may be deemed National. They may erect Fortresses and make roads and canals, where they are of a character National, not local. But the general goverment in the prosecution of their objects cannot exercise an exclusive jurisdiction and invade the Soverignty of the States. They have a right to appropriate their funds, and to execute the work where, by the consent of the States thro which a road or canal is to run, authority is given. With this limitation I should say that the constitutional power was in Congress Under our Constitution. I feel satisfied that the general goverment cannot, but with the assent of a State, exercise authority and jurisdiction within the limits of the State; to concede a different and enlarged power would be to produce in the end a consolidation of the States, to the utter destruction of those checks and balances of power at present existing under our confederation; and which are essential to the maintenance of our goverment

Jealousy and the fear of encroachment by the general govt. ought not to form a pretext for denying to her the exercise of those powers which may be derived from a liberal construction of the Constitution. She is the Central power around which in their independent orbits move the respective states. Strengthen her by the encroachment made in the States and despotism may be the consequence, whereas to weaken and render her inefficient by witholding thro any jealous fears constitutional rights which properly belong to her, would be to introduce amongst the States anarchy rivalry and disunion. To keep the soverignty of the States and the general govt properly and harmoniously poised, is the pivot on which must rest the freedom and happiness of this Country. . . . .

[1] The letter is without date, but as it is in Eaton's handwriting it was probably written in Washington before Jackson set out for Tennessee, late in May. It seems to be a draft, dictated by Jackson and written down by Eaton. The style is not Eaton's.

General John Armstrong to Jackson.

Red Hook, N. J., June 6, 1824.

Sir, In a letter written by you to Mr. Monro, on the 6th Jany 1817, and recently published by your permission,[1] I find the following passage—"The importance of the station you are about to fill to our country and yourself, the injury in reputation that the Chief Magistrate may sustain from the acts of a weak minister, the various interests that will arise to recommend to office their favorite candidate, and from experience in the late war, the mischief that did arise to our nation and national character (*by the wickedness or weakness of our War minister*) induced me to give you my candid opinions on the importance of the character that should fill this office". Now though it be possible, that I was not the person aimed at in the preceeding extract, inasmuch as there were two or more Secretaries of war during the period you have mentioned, still as it is equally possible, that I was that person (having been one of those Secretaries) I have thought it due to myself, to seek an Explanation, which should have the effect of terminating all doubts on that head; and accordingly, claim alike from your frankness and your justice, 1st a declaration, whether I was, or was not, the person alluded to, in the extract I have given? and 2d a specification (if the preceeding question be answered affirmatively) of those acts of my ministry, which, in your opinion, could only be explained on the ground of wickedness or weakness on my part.

I need scarcely remark, that the censures of some men are not worth either persuing or refuting, but that when an officer of high rank and well merited popularity, becomes, either directly or indirectly, an accuser of another public functionary, the case is totally altered, and the charges made, ought to be fully and fairly investigated.

In the expectation of hearing promptly from you, I am Sir,

with great respect, your Obed. servant

Colonel Charles P. Tutt to Jackson.

Locust Hill, near Leesburg, Va.,

June 12, 1824.

. . . . You have, before this will reach you seen, I have no doubt, the proclamation of the Governor of New York, convening the Legislature

[1] The Jackson-Monroe correspondence was published in the *National Intelligencer*, May 7, 9, 12, 1824. It is also in *Niles' Register*, XXVI. 161-168. The letter here quoted is printed *ante* in vol. II., p. 272, from a draft in Jackson's handwriting found in the Jackson Papers. The latter text and that printed in the newspapers differ (besides some insignificant variations) in one important particular, and in that particular Armstrong's quotation, though one would suppose he derived his text from newspapers, agrees with Jackson's draft and not with the version in the *National Intelligencer* or in Niles. To wit, in the passages where Armstrong uses italics, those newspaper texts both read: "arise to our national character by wickedness or weakness, induced me", etc., without mention of the war minister. Eaton, in his note to the *National Intelligencer* transmitting the letters of Monroe and Jackson, says, "Those of General Jackson are the original letters themselves, which some time since were placed in my possession by the President with authority to use them as I might think proper". The original of Jackson's letter of Jan. 6, 1817, seems not to be now extant, and the copy at the War Department, mentioned in vol. II., p. 272, note, can not now be found.

on the second of August. this measure I do not think will materially affect Mr. Crawfords prospects in that state, for I am well assured that in no possible event could he now, or indeed could he ever, have, obtained the vote of New York, I expressed to you that opinion more than three months ago, and I am now confirmed that I was then correct; to whom the vote of New York will ultimately be given I am unable to say, as much will depend upon the course of Mr. Clinton and his friends. when I last wrote to you I felt confident that you would receive the support of Mr. Clinton and his party, and such may still, and probably will be their course, but I cannot help expressing to you my apprehension, that Mr. Clinton and his party will wait for the purpose of ascertaining, whether Mr. Adams or yourself be the strongest in New York, and that he will then throw his whole weight and influence with the strongest party, calculating in that way to resuscitate his own popularity, and to obtain once more an asscendency in that state. I sincerely wish that Mr. Clinton may not have acquired in the New York political school a talent for intrigue, injurious to himself, and disgraceful to the state when tolerated. The above remarks are mere speculations, but knowing as I do, that Mr. Clinton and his party will turn the scale in that great state either in your favor or Mr. Adams's, I cannot help feeling a deep interest, and some share of apprehension in the issue. Mr. Clinton is a great man, and if he would keep an *upright, straight forward course,* he must in time become the first man in our country.

Mr. Van Buren and Governor Dickerson visited Richmond after the adjournment of congress for the purpose it is said of ascertaining, whether in the event of Mr. Crawfords withdrawal from ill health, (which seems quite probable) Virginia could be induced to vote for Mr. Adams. was there ever any thing to equal this in impudence; it seems that Mr. Van Buren not content with the exercise of his talents for intrigue in his own state, must try his powers with [the] *ancient Dominion,* a place I can assure him where his intrigues will receive no nourishment, but must form abortions, or if born, will wither and die.

I am apprehensive that I shall fatigue you by the length of this letter, I will therefore close it, by expressing a hope that you have safely arrived at home, and found Mrs. Jackson well, to whom I beg leave to tender my best respects, and with assurance for yourself of the

Sincere Esteem and very Great regard of Yr. Obt. Servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, June 18, 1824.

. . . . It is true the last six months has been a time of some toil and bustle; I had to see my friends when they called which was often; and altho my health in the early part of the session was much checkered, and not good, still such was the anxiety of the people from Pennsylvania, New York, and the Newengland states to see, and converse with me, that I was obliged to indulge them, and have the gratification to believe that they allways left me with good feelings and friendship towards me.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

Great pains had been taken to represent me as a savage disposition; who allways carried a scalping knife in one hand, and a tomahawk in the other, allways ready to knock down, and scalp any and every person who differed with me in opinion, instead of this they as they expressed found a man of even temper, firm in his opinions advanced, and allways allowing others to enjoy theirs, untill reason convinced them that they were in error. It is true I went there with the determination of a philosopher, and to take the high ground of open defience of my enemies; allowing them to lye as much as they pleased; but cause it to be well understood that my private character and feelings were under my own protection and could not be assailed with impunity; that my public character belonged to the nation and was the fair subject of investigation which I neither feared or wished to prevent, but rather courted than otherwise, and when the Radicals in the senate brought me out, my reply and remarks gave me peace and quiet for the ballance of the session; they gantlette was never thrown afterwards, and so much was my sentiments approved, that I recd the public congratulations of Governor Barber of the senate as soon as I sat down. My health at the time was very bad, and nothing but the conduct of Mr Lowry and Mr Holmes of Main could have induced me to rise at the time.

I have noted your remarks on the subject of some heretofore pretended friends and their attempts to produce an injury to me by commenting on my vote upon the Tariff so called. In this, as on all other occasions, I have pursued the dictates of my matured opinion with the sole view to the independence, prosperity and happiness of my country; my own conscience approves the course, and when principle is the governing motive and public prosperity and happiness the end; I fear nothing, and no one who pursues this course has any thing to fear. I would like to meet the man who would vallue his liberty and the independence of his country by dollars and cents, leave the defence of his liberty, and independence to the precarious means of commerce in a state of war; or for pecuniary gain would become the dupe to the policy of the Holy Alliance and Great Britain and sacrifice his liberty for ideal pecuniary gain, by not cherishing and fostering within ourselves the means of national defence by means of our own labour. such a man, with such sentiments deserves not to enjoy the blessings of liberty, who would risque it on the precarious means to be procured from commerce in a state of war; when that war, when it happens, must be with a superior maratime power.

I am one therefore who think my liberty is worth protecting, and to protect it; we must procure, and maintain, within ourselves the means of its defence; beyond this I would look to the revenue alone to meet our national debt, which ought to be extinguished to prevent a monied aristocracy growing up around the administration of our government, dangerous to the perpetuity of our liberties. These are my sentiments, and what every american ought to possess. We the cotton growers are protected, and why not the hemp grower, as well as the cotton and sugar grower, why not the wool grower, as well as either, in short sir the

agricultural interest must be protected as well as the commercial, protect agriculture and manufacturers immediately arise, what does common sense say, If agricultural labour is unproductive because there is no markett for the surplus produce either abroad or at home; why, withdraw from it, this surplus labour and apply it to something else, by which you at once create a markett at home for the surplus. What is our situation. Have we a markett for any surplus agricultural products, but sugar and cotton, and the cotton very precarious; and cannot expect to continue except the home markett which has and will be opened for it by the manufacturing of the raw material in america; what is the consequence. If a home markett is not created, there being no foreign markett; I answer the agricultural interest must continue to languish, and the farmer must withdraw himself from the consumption of the dutiable article, not being able from the product of his labour to pay for it. what becomes then of your revenue from import and tonnage; The answer is easy, It must decline as much as the agriculturalists decline the consumption, and be reduced thereby far below the wants of our government and must lead to a direct tax for its support and to meet the national debt, and the only way to prevent this, is by a judicious tariff protecting and encouraging the agricultural interest, and producing a markett for its surplus productions, by which they will have the means of procuring and consuming the dutiable articles. It is the course of the anti-tariff men that must inevitably lead to direct taxation, by *depressing agriculture from the want of a foreign or home markett for their surplus product,* by which they become unable to procure and consume the dutiable articles. But enough for the present; I am aware of the kind of Demagogues that have taken this course; they cannot hurt me; I fear them not, they never were friends only professors, and I would not abandon my course that I know alone can lead to national independence and safety for all the offices on earth; and in less than six years the southern states will be unanimous in favour of the measure because the one to be most benefitted by it, being the growers of the raw material. I have never met with one man who has not agreed with me that it *is right* to protect the great means of national defence, and from the experience of the late war, and the loss of blood and treasure for the want of them, I do believe there cannott be a true american but unites with me. I shall be glad to hear from you often; I am happy to hear that you have your grist mill in operation. your improvement is now compleat, and you have nothing to attend to but your farm.

My health has improved, has been a little interrupted by a violent attack of the tooth ache, jaw ache and head ache. I have fine prospects of cotton, better than I have ever had, and my corn promising, I have not time to write James Jackson, present me to him and say I wish to know when he will be in: as I wish to be at home, that we may finally close the whole business about the Erwin suit, and costs. Present Mrs J and myself to Polly and the children and kiss sweet little Rachel for us and believe me your friend

To General John Armstrong.

Hermitage, June 29, 1824.

Sir, Your letter of the 6th Instant is Just recd, and I will with my usual frankness answer your inquiries. Permit me here, however to premise, that the words (" *by the weakness or wickedness of our war ministers* ") which you have quoted from my letter to Mr Monroe, and underscored in your communication, is not to be found in the copy now in my possession, and printed from the original furnished the Editors of the National Intelligencer.[1]

When I wrote the private and confidential letter to Mr. Monroe, to which you have aluded, I had in my mind, as well as recollection now serves me, the malancholy test of disasters which had attended our Military operations during the late war. Amongtht the rest, I had more particularly in view the Surrender of Genl Hull, and the Capture of Washington City. When I reflected upon these and other dreadfull calamities which afflicted our common country during the contest with great Britain, proceeding, as was believed, from the imperfect manner in which the campaigns were planned, as well as the fatal results which followed upon their execution, I was constrained to entertain the opinion which was confidentially expressed to Mr. Monroe in the letter addressed to him on that occasion.

Whether those misfortunes which attended the progress of our arms during a considerable portion of the conflict, were to be ascribed to wickedness, or weakness, or both combined, I have not, in my letter undertaken to determine: Suffice it to say, that my observations was not intended to cast a reproach upon any individual, but were used to enforce the propriety of bringing into office, a man of virtue, talents, and energy.

I am Sir very respectfully your obdt servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, July 1, 1824.

. . . . From a letter recd from Capt Jack Donelson last evening I had the pleasure to hear that you and family are well; we have a good deal of sickness in this quarter, all our relations are well but Milbery D. who is very unwell. I shall be glad to hear something of the Adams meeting, who are the prime movers etc. etc. etc. I am happy to believe that if Tariff principles are right, or wrong Mr Adams is as strong a Tariff man as any. I review my vote on that subject with great complacency; and I well know that no man of sense or my real friend will ever abandon me on that ground, be assured it is a mere pretext to change, and all I want is really to know them. My friend Capt Savage cannot be amongst that number. I should regret if he was as I have a sincer respect for the good sense of the man, even this would only lessen my opinion of his good understanding but fill me with no regret for my votes; I voted from principle and would thus have voted had I been certain by a change I could have placed myself in the Presidential chair. . . . .

[1] Armstrong did not say "ministers" but "minister", and the words "by the wickedness or weakness of our war minister" *are* to be found, in Jackson's handwriting, in the only copy of the letter now present among his papers.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

To William S. Fulton.

Hermitage, July 4, 1824.

D'r Sir, I have Just recd your friendly letter of the 29th ult. for which I thank you.

Genl Call writes you by this days mail and will inclose you my letter to Doctor Coleman, N. Carolina, which has went the rounds of the papers which will give you fully the outlines of my opinion upon the Subject of our National Independence, defence, and Domestic oeconomy, and *the Tariff,* with a historical account of the proceedings on the Tariff Bill in both Houses of Congress. There are none so dangerous as hypocritical friends, who profess friendship, but by falshood, and false colouring attempt to assail you under the sheres[?] pretext of sorrow and friendship; every one of my intimate acquaintance long since knew my opinion upon the Subject of political oeconomy; They knew as long as I had a voice it would be raised in favour of the Independence of our Nation, by cherishing and fostering the means of our National defence, that when war came, we would have the means within ourselves of defending our Liberty, of which we boast, our constitution and our Country.

The experience of the late war convinced me that our Liberty was too precious, to be left for the means of its defence upon the precarious supply to be derived from commerce in a state of war, when that war was to be waged with maritime powers who wield the power of the Deep, and who by witholding from us the means of defence, could make us an easy conquest: whoever recollects the distresses of the late war, how many of our brave men fell victims to climate for the want of necessary cloathing in the field, and the Hospital, will dispell from his mind all ideas of cupidity, and British influence and prepare our country for defence in time of peace by nourishing and protecting the means of national defence; *at least by a fair protection,* that will place the american labour in a fair competition with that of urope. This is as far as I would go; *Thus far the Bill does not go*—sail Duck, Hemp and iron has not been increased as much as with an eye to revenue they would *well* bear. These are some of the means of national defence, and ought to have been raised as high as Genl Saml Smith in 1817 in his revenue Bill placed them. But Genl Smith altho he acknowledged on the floor that two cents pr lb on hemp and $1.00 pr ton on iron would be a fair duty on these articles; still he voted against the whole, because *we did not want Revenue.*[1] Whilst he was thus declaring, what is the fact; two Bills are presented to us and passed creating stock to the amount of 10,000,000—five to meet the Florida debt and five to meet the 7 pr. ct. debt which fall due shortly. Still say the Radicals we do not want Revenue. If a national debt is considered a national blessing then we like great Britain, can get on by borrowing. But as I believe it a national curse, my vow shall be to pay the national debt, to prevent a monied aristocracy from growing up around our administration that must bend it to its views, and ultimately destroy the liberty of our country.

[1] *Annals,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., I. 738-743.

On the subject of my votes were those doublefaced Hypocritical political friends of mine as anxious in search of truth as they are falsehood; they would find that my votes were bottomed upon national principles, of equality, and perfect reciprocity, to all sections of the union. If they would look at the Journals, they would find in committee of the whole, the bill was laid before us, on all Fabricks of Hemp, there were specific duties imposed; on cotton Bagging, and course woolings and progressive duty—cotton Bagging 4.½. 5.½. This being taken up first; my vote reduced cotton bagging to 4.½—when sail Duck, Burlaps, and other course fabricks of Hemp, Genl Chandler [2] voted for striking out the whole duty imposed, which left all coarse fabricks of Hemp at 15 pr cent advalorum. When the Bill was reported to the house on principles of general Justice I voted to alter the duty on cotton Bagging to an advalorum duty of 25 pr ct. as the other fabricks were charged to an advalorum duty. I ask Sir, is not here uniformity of principle and of general Justice. The delegation from Alabama will answer in the afirmative, so will those most opposed to the Bill. But the anti Tariff men say this Bill will lead to Direct Tax by destroying the Revenue. This is not true, it will promote agricultural labour, create a home markett for it, and add 3 millions and a half of revenue. It is the only way to prevent a direct Tax, if we pay the national debt.

And what is the situation of the american agriculturist—have we at present either a home, or foreign markett for the product of agricultural labour, except our cotton, and our sugar—both of which are well protected; and when we take a view of the Spanish main South america, and portugal, and Egypt—the foreign markett for our cotton cannot be of long duration. Let me then ask unless a home markett for the surplus labour of agriculture can be made, must not the farmers, live on the product of their own farms, and withdraw themselves from the consumption of dutiable articles: In proportion as the consumption is lessened so is your revenue—which must be made up by internal Revenue, direct or indirect, at a time when the agriculturists are not able, for the want of a markett for their products, to pay a tax. Hence the policy of a Judicious Tariff, to promote the Interest of the agriculturists by opening to them a sure, and safe home markett for the products of their labour. This can only be done by withdrawing the surplus labour from agriculture and applying it to manufa[c]tories. It is to be regretted that we have two little national feeling, and two much sectional. We are governed too much by British influence, and commercial, to the great injury of our agriculturist, which is the main pillow of our national prosperity, and upon which our Independence and wealth as a nation rests, and out of which manufactures and commerce must grow and prosper, if prosper the[y] do.

I have been amused with the absurdity of the ground taken by the anti Tariff men, they say the Tax upon cotton bagging is onerous and destructive to the cotton growers; now the truth is, the cotton grower does not pay one cent of the duty, it is the buyer—the rope and Bailing is sold

[2] Senator John Chandler, of Maine. *Annals,* 18 Cong., 1 sess., I. 594-595.

as Cotton; and last year I made 5 cents and one 8th upon the rope and 2 cents upon the Bailing—but admit we do—is it not right when we are the only part of the agriculturists that have a foreign, and home markett, for the product of our Labour that we should pay a proportion of the revenue. we consume at home better than one sixth of all the cotton that is produced in the union—added to this, 100,000 of foreign cotton last year introduced, the duty paid, and manufactured at our manufactories. Still the southern gentlemen refused to aid Major Eaton who proposed an amendment by the aditional duty on cotton of 3 cents pr lb. the manufacturers in the east are now buying South american cotton in South america, at 6 and 7 cents best quality. In a few years of peace where will be our cotton markett unless we secure it at home. This Tariff and Adams meeting is truly a Farsical thing. Mr Adams, is an open candid man, he has at my Table Publickly answered Mr Clay that he was in favour of a *Judicious Tariff*—every person that knows him knows this. now it is the greatest peace of Hypocrisy, to say that because I voted as every body who knew me, had read my words for years, knew I would—would make this objection. I love a candid open enemy, but a hypocritical friend, who professing friendship acts the hidden enemy, I despise. It is such that injure most. I have good feeling toward Mr Adams, and there is no conduct of Hypocritical friends that can alter this feeling. I wish you so soon as the meeting is over to give me the names of those apostate hypocritical friends that I may know them. They can do me no harm. I never have, or will ask any favour of them

I am etc., etc.,

To Edward Livingston.[1]

Hermitage, July 5, 1824.

Dr Sir, Your letter of the 11th June is just rec'd and I am happy to learn that you are nearly closing the disagreeable duty assigned you, as one of the committee.[2]

Before the receipt of your letter, I had rec'd one from Genl Armstrong. My answer to him, is enclosed for your information. In my letters to Mr. Monroe I have not named Genl. A, or any one else; nor have I attempted to ascribe the disasters of the late War, to him alone. The campaign of Genl. Hull, etc. was under another, nothim, and when the dates of my letters are adverted to, the public clamor, and the object I had in view, the expressions used must be clearly justified in the necessity which existed of selecting a man of virtue, talents, and energy, to fill the office. As to the talents of Genl A. I have always thought them of the first order, and had he placed himself at the Head of the Army at Bladensburgh, and beat the enemy (as might have been done) he would have placed himself at the Head of the nation. I have never attempted to

[1] From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

[2] Committee to investigate the matter of Governor Ninian Edwards; see p. 249 and note 1.

determine, who was to blame for that catastrophe. In all operations of the military, the War minister has the applause or blame, so with the navy.

Those letters were confidential. How they came before the Nation, you know, as well as I. Suffice it to say to you, that I have no heart-burnings as to Genl. Armstrong. I had at one time, when I was dismissed from Public service, and ordered to dismiss my volunteers far from home, without the means to provide for my sick etc. etc. But so soon as justice was rendered to those men and myself, those feelings were eradicated. I cherished no further unfriendly feelings towards the Genl. I have always believed him a military man of the first order.

With compliments to your Lady and daughter, believe me with great respect and esteem your friend

Edward Patchell to Jackson.[1]

Pittsburg, August 7, 1824.

My dear Sir, I had the honour of receiving your letter of the 16th may dated Washington City, which I woul[d] have on the instant promptly replyed to, but about that very period of time I had granted permission to my friends to use my name as a candidate for Brigadier General; and there ware eight candidates before the publick, of the most popular Gentlemen within the bounds of the Brigade; When a meetting was advertised to be held in the Courthouse, where there assembled upon the occasion upwards of one thousand of our citizens; the names of the several candidates ware put on nomination, and balletted for viva voice, when they ware severally hissed by nine tenths of the multitude; Untill my name was reached on the list, when shouts of Old Hickory resounded from all parts of the house, nine cheers for Old Hickory, was the word, " when the crowd burst in upon me where I was seated at the counsel table " and bore me out on their sholders into the public square; I assure you General I felt more proud of your nick name " than I now feel of the Generalship, notwithstanding I have been elected by a much larger majority than any other of my predecessors for any office whatever in this County since the beginning. And I must confess had not it been for your sake I never would have yielded to become a candidate at this stage of life. Your friends here had applied to me at an early hour, I peremptorily declined the honour they purposed to confare on me; they then took up Major Piers, at which event the few the very few enemies which we have left you here, begun to rejoice and anticipated a Glorious triumph, as the poor Major altho a full blooded Jacksonian " yet he had but very little acquaintance throughout the bounds of the Brigade, and did not possess that digree of popularity which would warrant or justify the risque of your honour ", which your friends here considered staked on the result of the Election; I therefore was again applyed to, and I gave my consent; And truely General, notwithstanding I have been Elected to that honourable post, I confess I am very unquallifyed to discharge the duties of any office whatever, as I have always throughout the whole course of my life " kept

[1] Patchell was long a hat manufacturer in Pittsburg. See Thomas Hamilton to A. J. Donelson, Nov. 26, 1829, Library of Congress, Donelson Papers.

on the back ground well knowing my own imperfections; And since I have commenced to give you a brief outline of this affair of the Generalship, which bares more the resemblance " of a Historical detail, than a letter of information: I will beg leave to entertain you for a moment with a bare out line of my life, the part of the world " I was raised in, and the poor chance I had of receiving a polished education the alone accomplishment " which adorns the Genius of a promising youth.

My Father lived on the Faughan Water, a inferiour stream of no great magnitude, which emptied into the River Foyle a few miles below the City of Londonderry in the North of Ireland; He was a plain country farmer ", and aspired no higher than many others of his good neighbours, thought if he sent his children to a common country schoolmaster for a few years " to learn Reading Writing and Arithmetick, that was all sufficient; I did not know the use of a classick Education at the time, being a miner; therefore since I have been in America " for the want of that all necessary accomplishment, I have stood in the rear rank, and never ventured in the front, untill Andrew Jackson the son of my dear countryman ", was anounced a candidate for the first office in the peoples guift, And altho I well knew that my talents ware unadiquate to the task, yed I depended not only on my personal courage alone, but I trusted in my God, and your God, whome hath raised you up for to be a Saviour and a deliverance for his people. I considered you ware justly entitled to a nation's gratitude, and altho I well knew that I was not a polititon ", yet nevertheless ware I to try " I could do something. And if Henry Baldwain [2] " had as he promised " assisted me, I would not have had the half of the trouble or dificuilty in turning the people on the straight course " that I had; Mr. Baldwain wrote the advertisement " for the call of the first meeting which was held in the Courthouse in favour of your Election, and sent it to me to get it published, the meeting was very numerous ", much larger than any ever had been known heretofore— after the Chairman and Secretaries ware appointed " Mr. Baldwain stated the object of the meeting, and your name ware placed at the foot of the list; Wm. H. Crawford got one vote, H Clay five, J. Q. Adams two, J. C. Calhoun four, and Gen Andw Jackson upward of 1000, a resolution was then offered " that Henry Baldwain be appointed to write an address " to the democratic republicans throughout the U. S. But the very next day ", as I have understood, Mr. Baldwain met with Judge Riddle " your old boot maker,[3] and he hooted him and fully persuauaded him " that Wm. H. Crawford would be taken up in Caucus, and would be Elected President beyond any manner of doubt. From that day untill this, Mr. Baldwain has never been known to write the scrape of a pen either for or against you, But I believe has ever since been a praying " good God, good Devil, not knowing " whoes hand he might fall into.[4]

[2] Baldwin; see p. 184, note 2.

[3] James Riddle, associate judge, 1818-1838, of the Pittsburgh court of common pleas, whose assistant judges were laymen.

[4] Baldwin, writing to Abner Lacock Feb. 29, 1832, said that he was a Jackson man in 1823-1824.

I was then drove to the alternative of inlisting young la[w]yers " under my banner, meer boys, as Judge Riddle used to call them; But with the assistance of the boys, I have performed wonders. I have reduced the *Lousie* party here from 10,000 to something less than fifty, and they are chiefly the antient and notorious wire workers, they are the Office holders and office hunters "; and all they can do now " is grin and shew thier teeth. They have made more than one attempt to stab you through my sides, in the collums of their Statesman;[5] But I stand here on too high ground for their arrows to reach me. General, I have never had the pleasure of seeing your face, and perhaps never may untill we meet in the Kingdom of Heaven ", but you have my heart, and may that divine power " whoes almighty arm hath both defended and protected you " through every peral and danger " support and uphold your honour in old age and let the result of your pending Election " be what it may, give God the praise, his will be don on earth, for you and I have but a few years according to the common course of nature to live, therefore we ought to daily make preparations " for the awful change that awaits our mortal flesh.

I trust my dear Sir, that by this time you are fully sensible " that I have no possible motive in view " by becoming your friend and advocating your cause, for It is too well known that I am neither an office hunter, or an office holder, I assure you Sir, that when I have don all that I can to promote your interest, that I have don no more than what my heart tells me " is the bounden duty of every true and faithful American. I take the liberty of sending you a letter, which I lately received from New-York, a perusal of which will at least be amusing, if not very edifying. May God bless you Jackson.

I have a Mountain, and a Walker here for assistants, meer boys, whoes oritorial powers can astonish the wollds.

If you had only a Stephen Simpson[6] in every State in the union, you would be Elected President by the largest majority ever heard of in the known world. and had I have been in possession of the Learning, talents and political knowledge of Henry Baldwain, I have vainity " to think that long err now, I would have reasoned the people into a sense of their duty. But Jackson, I must repeat it, I have done no more than my duty, and I even forbid you " return me thanks: And should we fail this Election, I will pray my God ' to spare life " untill I see Andrew Jackson President of the U States. and then let me close my eyes in peace, adue

I have brought John McFarland here, from Harrisburgh, and Established a new paper called the Allegheny Democrat, He is both an able and a capable Editor. I have also appointed him Brigade Major; my boys are very active and vigilent, and renders every assistance within the compass of their power towards the performance of the Editorial duties of the paper, and they have also contributed liberally towards purch[as]ing the Establishment, as Mr. McFarland was both poor and pennyless. They caucus party here are purty well subdued, yet as your friend Stephen

[5] A Pittsburgh newspaper, established in 1820.
[6] Editor of the *Columbian Observer*, Philadelphia.

Simpson remarks, they keep up a semblance of at least high sounding words: They have held a meetting here a few days since in the Court-house to chuse delegates to send to Harrisburgh, to form a opposition ticket, and after all their exertions, after sending men on horse back with handbills all over the county; to their greate mortification" they only could muster 19—In both City and County. General you may rest assured of the vote of Pennsylvania.

To James H. Witherspoon.[1]

Nashville, August 11, 1824.

D'r Sir, your letter of the 24th ult. is Just recd; and altho an entire stranger to you feel a lively interest in your prosperity and that of your family your lady being the decendant of a distant relation by mariage, I mean your Ladies mother.

I have had a great wish to revisit my native State, and once more mingle with those friends of my Juvenile days who may still be living; but I have been hitherto prevented by circumstances over which I had no controle; and I am now prevented from accepting the opportunity that the friendly invitation of my fellow Citizens through you would now afford—for many reasons unnessary now to enumerate; next Spring may afford me an opportunity with my family of Vissitting the country that gave me birth, when it will afford me much pleasure, and when I shall avail myself of the pleasure of seeing you and your family at your own house; and offering up a prayer for that son of yours, that you have honoured me with his name, that he may long live and be a blessing to his parents in their old age.

As to the question asked, I with pleasure answer, I was born in So Carolina, as I have been told at the plantation whereon James Crawford lived about one mile from the Carolina road of the Waxhaw Creek, left that State in 1784, was born on the 15 of march in the year 1767. I am truly happy to learn, at what house my Mother died, I knew she died near charleston, having vissitted that City with several matrons to afford relief to our prisoners with the British—not her son as you suppose, for at that time my two Elder brothers were no more; but two of her Nephews, William and Joseph Crawford Sons of James Crawford then deceased. I well recollect one of the matrons that went with her was Mrs. Boyd. It is possible Mrs. Barton can inform me where she was buried that I can find her grave, This to me would be great satisfaction, that I might collect her bones and inter them with that of my father and brothers.

I offer you my thanks for the Political information your letter has afforded. present me affectionately to your Lady, kiss my namesake for me; and accept assurances of my high respect and regard

yr mo obdt Servt.

[1] Copy.

To the Marquis de Lafayette.[1]

Hermitage, September 10, 1824.

Sir, The Public journals announce your return to the land where your sword was unsheathed in the cause of Freedom, where, abandoning your *ease, your fortune,* and *your country,* and what was still more dear to youthful minds, the *embraces* of *conjugal Love,* and *the magnificence of* the court of *Versailles*; you embarked in the service of our infant Republic at a time when its patrotism (a mere handfull of men, divided and dispirited,) were retreating before Thirty Thousand British Veteran Troops. It was under such circumstances that the Heaven born flame of Liberty and Equal rights animated your youthful breast, and Taught you that it was more honorable to become the compatriot of immortal Washington, than enjoy the most splendid honors of Royalty—it was under such circumstances that you risked your fortunes with those of *then* hopeless America: But, Thank Heaven, America triumphed; and, now, with the gratitude of Ten Millions of Freemen she salutes you as one of the Fathers of her glorious existence, and as the devoted advocate of independence and national freedom throughout the world. Welcome then—Thrice Welcome to her grateful land!—is echoed from every bosom, and from none with more pure fervor than from the Patriotic citizens of Tennessee.

I cannot here, Sir, restrain a recurrence to my own youthful feelings, when your arrival and that of the Baron de Kalb was announced at Charleston So Carolina. It aroused every Patriot from a state of despair to that of confidence in our bleeding cause, while the shout of victory or death was sung thro the welkin. It inspired an enthusiasm fitted for such occasions, and becoming the people who had resolved to be free. " Believe it, Dear Genl., one of the happiest moments of my life, that which enables me to tender you my grateful feelings on this occasion, which I beg you to accept with my high respect, friendship, and esteem; and also present the same to your son

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, September 23, 1824.

. . . . The redoubtable *hero,* of *Squoting memory,*[2] Jesse Benton has come out with a pamphlet in abuse of Mr Adams and myself. I have not seen it, but am aware that he is only the puppet, moved by the Crawford Junto behind the scene, Balch, John P. Erwin and Co. it was published by the editor of the Whig, it has brought upon Norvol some contempt and harsh epithets. my hands for the present is tied, I treat it, and intend for the present, with silent contempt they deserve, a time may arise when their mirth may be turned into tears. Balch looks wild; having heard that I suspect him as one. when will you be in? I will have to leave home the first of Novr; how comes on my particular *friend* and *Irish relations* . . . .

[1] Copy.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] See the next paper. The pamphlet mentioned was *An Address on the Presidential Question* (Nashville, 1824).

Memorandum about Jackson's Duels.[1]

September 23, 1824(?).

It is a positive falshood instead of *Fact* that Genl Jackson after his antagonist had fallen exulted in his success in a strain of *disgusting profanity*, but instead of that extended to his fallen enemy who had boasted, that he would kill the genl, had practised shooting for upwards of three months and offerred to bet $1000 that he would kill him, all the humanity in his power by furnishing cordials, and wine etc., etc., which his antagonist sure of success was without—see George Brady's[?] certificate.

It is a positive falshood that Genl Jackson several years since in Nashville in a public Hotell fired off his pistol in a rencounter with Mr Benton regardless of the lives of the spectators. So far from this being the fact—*The Genl did not fire at all.* When the Genl entered the passage of the Hotell there was no person but Mr Thos H. Benton in it. his brother Jessee Benton who in an affair with Major Carrol, now Governor had disgraced himself by squatting and dogging; at the time the Genl entered the passage, entered the Barr Room, and as the Genl advanced along the passage in pursuit of Colo Benton Jessee Benton concealed behind the door of the Barr Room, Shot the Genl through the shoulder. The Genl still advancing on the Colo. who had retreated with a pistol in each hand out of the passage along the passway to the dining Room, Jessee Benton like a cowardly assasin came behind the Genl Shot him again in the left arm and broke it. The Genl fell and untill this there was no person but the Genl, Colo. Thos H Benton and his brother Jessee in the passage, Colo. Hays and Genl Coffee entered as Jessee Benton and his Brother was advancing upon the Genl then prostrate, Jessee with the third pistol, presenting at the head of the Genl. Colo. Benton was knoked down stairs by Genl Coffee, and Colo. Hays would have Killed the assasin Jessee Benton if his arm had not been arested by Capt Hammons by request of the Genl.

It is a positive falshood that Genl Jackson has been either at a cockfight or sports of a similar nature for the last thirteen years. The fact as stated that Genl Jackson imprisoned, Judge Hall and disobayed the mandate of Judge Fromentin, has been so often refuted and investigated that the public mind is at rest on those subjects—one *remark*; Genl Jackson as Governor of Florida was exoficio the Supreme Judge of the Floridas, as well might chief Justice Marshal be found fault with for disregarding the mandate of a Justice of the peace. Calava was confined for a Contempt to the Court by the Supreme Judiciary of Florida and Fromentin who was the Council of Calava, Issued a something which he Called a writ of *Habeas Corpus* to release him. Suppose a man in your State imprisoned for a contempt of the Supreme court and a Subordinate Judge Issue his mandate for the delivery of the person would your Supreme court obay it.

The ballance of the peace is too contemptible to be noticed, except my vote in the Convention, I here send you a copy of that member of our Constitution.

[1] The handwriting is Jackson's. The date is only approximately correct. The memorandum is endorsed, "Rough draft of Facts against A. Wayne, Jesse Benton etc."

THE MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE TO JACKSON.

"ON BOARD THE STEAM BOAT NEW YORK",
October 18, 1824.

My dear General, With all the feelings of affectionate Gratitude I Have Received your kind and Highly Valued Letter: this is not However the first and greatest obligation that Binds me to general Jackson; Had you witnessed my anxiety when on a Sudden all Europe was pacified, and the flower of the British army were on their way to Louisiana, you would still Better judge what I felt of relief, joy, and pride, on Receiving the Glorious Account of your Victory; I Have long Anticipated the pleasure to take you by the Hand, and whatever Be your future movements I will not leave the U. S. Before I Have Seeked and found the opportunity to Express in person my High Regard and Sincer friendship. I am now on my way to York town, and I shall proceed By way of Norfolk to Richmond Monticelo and Montpellier. My wish is to Be at Washington By the time Congress meet, and I afterwards Contemplate a Visit to the Southern and Western States, there to enjoy the wonders that Have Been produced By a Virtuous and active population Under the Blessings of popular institutions. There also I will find old Revolutionary friends, and Among the enjoyments of these visits I Beg you to think I set a proper Value on The Honor and Gratification to tell you How Cordially I am

Your admirer and friend

My Son Requests His Respectful Thanks to be presented to You.

TO SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.[1]

WASHINGTON, December 14, 1824.

D'r Sir, But for the little liesure I have had since my arrival at this place your letter of the 10th would have been earlier replied to. I assure you my dear Sir that so far as my feelings stand staked on the late contest before the american people, I feel myself greatly gratified, and amply remunarated against every thing of unpleasantness, which abuse and slander has heaped upon me, in the recollection and hope, that my friends have been actuated by the fairest motives. I recollect with pride and pleasure that in no one instance have I sought either by promise or management to draw to myself the good opinion of a single individual in society—and that so many should have preferred me to take charge, and to administer the affairs of our great and growing country, is to me a matter

[1] The original of this letter was in the possession of the late Mr. Henry De Puy, of Easton, Md., who published it in the *Proceedings* of the Am. Antiq. Soc., April, 1921. The text used here is from Jackson's copy in the Jackson MSS.

When Col. Charles P. Tutt, of Leesburg, Va., protested to Jackson against the freedom with which Jackson unfolded his views to Swartwout, Jackson replied that he knew Swartwout was an honest man and a loyal friend. He declared, "Viewing therfore as I do Major Swartwout as an honest man and the substance of my letter to him approved I have nothing for regret in addressing it to him, particularly as I am insured by you who I know to be my friend, that you are the personal friend of Major Swartwout, which I am sure you would not be, if his private character did [not] stand fair and unimpeached". When Jackson became President he appointed Swartwout collector of the port of New York, in which position he defaulted to the extent of a million and a quarter dollars.

of the highest consolation, let the result now be what it may. There are doub[t]less many, who might discredit the assertion, tho you will I hope believe it, that upon this subject I am without any deep concern. I should be doing injustice to the feelings of those who with zeal and friendship have sustained me in this trial, were I to assert entire disregard about the matter, nor do I feel a disregard particularly when I consider that so many of my fellow citizens have evinced a preferrence towards me, my thanks are due to them, and they are most cheerfully extended; yet I do declare to you, that if any favourable result could be secured, through any intrigue, management or promises to be made on my part, I would at once unhesitatingly and without reserve spurn any thing of success. you must not understand, with any other meaning than that which it is my object to convay; it is this: that the choice of a President is a matter for the people; to be installed against their wishes no man could calculate upon a happy or beneficial administration: neither credit to himself or benefit to his country could be the result of his success; and therefore do I repeat to you, and assure you, that I should feel myself an unhappy, perhaps degraded man, should any thing of management or arrangement contrary to that consent place me in the executive chair: A turbulent time will the lot of that man who may come in, thro any other channel save that of a preferrence by the people; and god grant it may be always so. To say I have nothing of concern about the office would be doing injustice to the kind feelings of those who have sustained me, and would wear the appearence of affectation, it is my design merely to say, that I would rather remain a plain cultivator of the soil as I am, than to occupy that which is truly the first office in the world, if the voice of the nation was against it. with these sentiments I have lived, and with them I hope to die.

I have toiled for my country; and the advantages she has derived I hope from my services, are of pleasing reflection, and to me it is of higher importance, that our happiness and plain republican institutions should be well maintained, than that this, or that man shall take charge of our destinies. I have risked much for the liberties of my country, and my anxious and sincere prayer is, that they may long endure.

Who shall rule is of less importance, than how he may claim to rule, or shall govern when in power. The person of whom you speak is well known to me, and has been for a long time, with you I agree that he is a timid undecided man; for his own sake I could wish it otherwise. for the caution given, you have my thanks and I will profit by the sugestion

Mrs. J respects you will please present to Mrs. S. and accept for yourself the assurance of my great respect

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, December 27, 1824.

Dear Genl, Shortly after our arival I wrote you, advising of our safe arival here on the 7th instant all well, after a continual travel of 28 days;

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

my horses stood the journey well, but as was to be expected, much wearied and somewhat reduced in flesh.

We have been in a constant bustle since our arival, and will be so for, and during the Holidays, altho Mrs J and myself goes to no parties. We have had the finest weather thro all this month I ever experienced; this day as pleasant as a May day, and a prospect of a continuation of fine weather, I hope it may have extended to Tennessee, and Alabama. if it has the cotton planters must have been much benefitted by getting in their crops without injury from rain. I am anxious to hear from you and give me the average of your cotton crops, the prospect of a good price and how Mr Nicholson comes on, and the amount of his present crop of cotton, with the health of your family, and how my Irish friends comes on; I am fearfull that the information of the electoral vote, and that Georgia has instructed their Representatives in congress, on the event that Mr Crawford is dropped to vote for me, will prove injurious to their health, and spirits; to console them I wish you (should you meet with Mrs James Jackson) to present to her my respects. for her and her children I have a very sincere regard, and the coolness that has taken place between James and me will never be extended to her and the children so long as they treat my name with respect, and altho all intercourse between James and myself is closed, still I will cherish a friendship for Mrs Jackson and the children.

You will have ere this reaches you, seen the Electoral vote; Mr Clay does not come before the House of Representatives, and Mr Crawford it is believed stands no chance; whether his friends may unite with Mr Adams, and those of Mr Clay, I cannot say, or whether an attempt will be made to unite Clays friends with Mr Crawfords and thereby prevent a choice, I cannot say, there are various rumours, on these subjects, but whether any of them is founded in fact I know not, as I do not intermix, or join in any conversation on the subject of the presidential election. I do believe that Mr Clay cannot influence the Kentucky delegation, if he was so disposed and how the election for the president may be decided is very doubtful. my friends are sanguine, be it as it may I am contented, I have no feelings on the subject, my happiness and choice would be to return to the Hermitage, enjoy the sweets of domestic quiett, *but the Lords will be done*. How much your situation are to be envied and how prudent you have been to keep yourself free of political life, surrounded as you are by your lovely children, and amiable wife, you ought not to abandon it for any thing on earth. Here there is a bustle continually; the man in office greeted with smiles and apparent friendship, his confidence often sought to be betrayed; surrounded thus, where a man must be always guarded, happiness cannot exist. The best lesson learnt me in my youth, was to pursue principle and never depart from my own judgt when matured. treat all with complacency, but make confidents of but few, I have profitted much by an adherence to this rule, but still I have been decieved as you know in men, and I have become so well acquainted with human nature, that I am wearied with a public life, and if I could with propriety, would retire, but my lott is cast, and fall as it may, I

must be content. should it be that I can retire next March to my home, I will be happy. If confined here I must exercise my best exertions for the public weal, untill the four years runs round. If my life is spared, then I shall claim from my country an exemption from further service or toil.

We are at Mr Gadsbys tavern,[2] well lodged, but *I pay for it,* how my funds may hold out I cannot say. write me, should I want funds whether any of Andrew J. Hutchings present crop can be spared from the purchase of land. I only ask to know, as I allways look ahead in money matters, believing that the clear proceeds of my own crop will be sufficient for my purpose.

all are well and enjoying themselves, the young at parties and Mrs J and myself at home smoking our pipe and all send love to you Polly and the children.

your friend

Jackson's "Black Polls" in 1825.

	January 1, 1825.
Old Hanna and her family squire wife and child, Bet, husband and child, and George in all	8
Blacksmith Aron wife and 3 children	5
Charles wife and child	3
Tom wife and 9 children	11
Ben wife and 4 children	6
old Sampson wife, and 9 children (grace's 2)	11
Dunwody, Ned, Guilbert and Tom,	4
Polydore wife and 2 children	4
Sally and her 4 children	5
Titus Candis and child John Fulton.	4
Aron wife and 2 children	4
Big. Sampson wife and child	3
Arguila wife and 4 children	6
Jame wife and 4 children	6
	80
7 over 50—not taxable	7
	73
41. over 12. and under 50 Taxable.....	41
32 under 12 years of age	32

forty one blax poles first day of Janry 1825
640 acres of land Do Do Do
County of Davidson whereon he lives.

[2] The Franklin Hotel, where he had boarded during the session of 1823-1824. Senator Eaton had taken over the property from O'Neal, to save O'Neal's interests, and had sold it to Gadsby.

Old Hanna upwards of 50. Her family Taxable. Bet, George, Ned, Afred [1]		4
Charles and charlotte his wife		Do. 2
Dunwody and Ned not taxable—	2	
Sampson and Priss Do—do—	2	
their family Grace, Littleton, Orange, Essex,		4
Aron blaksmith and wife		Do. 2
Aron and his wife, wife not taxable		Do. 1
Ben and wife		Do. 2
Tom and wife and family towit		
Campble, Isaac, and Moses and Cancer		Do. 6
Pinny upwards of 50		
Pollydore and wife		Do. 2
Indian Sally, son, and Titus		Do. 3
Squire and wife		Do. 2
Easter, Guilbert, Arguila, and wife		Do. 4
Big Sampson—wife and son		Do. 3
Jame and wife		Do. 2
Peter and Jack. and Jacob		Do. 3
John Fulton		Do. 1
		41
Not taxable being upwards of 50, 7: under 10		35
in all Taxable and Not Taxable		83

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Senate Chamber, January 5, 1825.

. . . . The political contest you will have discovered is over [in?] the Electoral colleges, and has resulted in bringing before the House of Representatives, myself, Mr Adams, and Mr Crawford. how it may be decided by that body I know not and I am determined, to continue my course and not interfere in any way. if I am placed there, it shall be without any solicitation or interference on my part. my choice would be on the Hermitage enjoying the blessings of solitude and private happiness with my friends. I named in my last to you that I had some doubts whether my funds here would meet my expence; but from the shortness of little Andrews crop, it will not be more than sufficient to meet the purchase of the forfeighted lands, therefore will endeavour to do with the surpluss of my own crop. I would if the crop had been as productive as I expected asked you to have spared me $500 but fearfull that it will be wanted I now decline asking for it, least an injury might accrue to my little ward. We are all well, they young ladies Mrs Call, and Donelson, at parties when they choose; Mrs Jackson at the church, and myself harrassed with business, and letters on business, but still my health has improved. Please

[1] This tabulation is made on the reverse side of the sheet on which is the list which appears on the preceding page. It probably relates to a different date.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

write me as soon as you hear from Orleans the price of , that I may form an estimate of probable amount of the proceeds of my own crop. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, January 6, 1825.

Dear Genl, On yesterday I wrote you from the senate chamber, stating to you, from the information of Mr Graham, Commissioner of the land office, that the sales of the forfeighted lands would not be posponed, and I would see the President on the subject and give you the result of the interview. You can judge of my astonishment, when I called today and found that some days ago, the order for posponement had issued, and that the land would not be sold under a twelve month. Things are as unstable here as our climate. However you see, that the speculators has obtained one year more to increase their funds to the great injury of the prosperity of your state. I will thank you on the receipt of this to inform me what period of the present year would be most advantageous for the sales of the forfeighted lands, or whether as a posponement has taken place, another crop would or would not [be] advantageous to the general mass of your citizens, and the erangement shall be made accordingly. should you be of opinion that it should be posponed untill after christmas next, you may remit me five hundred dollars, which will be ordered with the interest to be paid you by Colo Anthony Winston out of his first bond then due. should you remit, please to send it so that it will reach me by the first of March. should I not be detained here officially, I shall endeavour to leave here by the 5th of March.

How the presidential question may be decided I know not. information of today, gives some reasons to believe that a coalition is about to be formed, which may be called the trio, the interest of Crawford, Clay and Adams combined, for the purpose of defeating my election. be this as it may, I shall continue my course, of independence of intrigue and management, and if elected it shall be without any interference of mine. If not elected by this independent course, I shall retire upon magnanimous ground, and I assure you I shall not envy the man who places himself in the chair of state by intrigue of his friends. . . . .

To Colonel Charles P. Tutt.

Washington, January 9, 1825.

D'r sir, your letter of the 4th and 6th, is Just recd. I thank you for the information communicated. I never had a doubt of the honour of some of my political enemies, but that they would attempt to disturb the repose of an innocent female in her declining years is a species of wickedness that I did not suppose would be attempted.

One thing I can assure you, whenever my enemies shall think it worth while to investigate my or the character of Mrs. J I fear not the result, I as well know how to defend my and her character as I have done the

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

rights of my country, whenever it can be traced to a source worthy of notice. I am aware of the plan of my enemies, to endeavour to excite and provoke me. This cannot be done, untill calm reflection, convinces my Judgt that Justice requires attonement of the invaders of Female Character.[1] . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Washington, January 23, 1825.

Dear Genl, Having a respite from company this evening owing to a snow storm gives me a little leisure to convert to contemplation and friendship, I therefore employ the leisure thus offered to write you. It is surely pleasant after a continued bustle for weeks that a calm should present itself. It would be still more pleasant, if the rational mind could pass these scenes in review and approve them. This is not my case, for altho there is party after party Mrs J and myself do not attend them, except the 8th [2] and Mrs Monroes drawing room we have not participated. These were enough, it was only to discover that there was nothing but shew, nothing of pure principles of friendship in these crowds, hypocrisy and hollow heartedness predominates in this great city. from this picture, I would make many exceptions, but when applied to the great mass of this mixed assemblage it is true. How often does my thoughts lead me back to the Hermitage. there in private life surrounded with a few friends, would be a paradise, compared to, the best situation here, and if once more there it would take a writ of *habeas corpus* to remove me into public life again. situated as I am, patience and fortitude must be exercised, and the will of providence cheerfully submitted to. you see I am still in the habit of ascribing the lott of man to the will of an all ruling providence, and should I be brought into the presidential chair it must be by his influence counteracting the intrigues of men, and the union of interests here. If rumour is to be credited I have all the influence of the executive cabinet,[3] except Calhoun, and by many (not by me) he is sus-

[1] Jan. 9 Colonel Tutt wrote to Jackson from his home at Locust Hill, near Leesburg, Va., as follows: "I wrote to you on the 6th Inst. in consequence of information communicated to me by a most respectable Gentn. a friend of yours, who particularly advised me to do so, to guard you against the base attempt of your enemies, it was with great reluctance I did so, and nothing but a sense of duty, could have induced me to do any thing that would have caused you a moments uneasiness, since then I have [seen?] the Gentn. from Alexa. who made the communication to our mutual friend, and I [am] happy to state to you that it is true such papers are in the hands of an individual in Alexa. for such objects but he is himself uncertain as to the truth of them and is besides afraid to communicate or even to speak about them, so that it does not appear that there will be the vilianous attempt to injure you that I apprehended, at least I hope and believe there will not. it would be well however for your friends to keep a sharp look out, without their even intimating the least knowledge of the circumstance. I do not know when I was more irritated than when the circumstance was communicated to me. the very great regard and most exalted opinion I have ever entertained for Mrs. Jackson contributed to encrease my disgust at the base attempt."

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] A ball in the evening at General Brown's, in celebration of the battle of New Orleans.

[3] *Sc.* against me.

pected. with this influence combined with Mr Clay, providence alone can counteract. still my friends are confident of success. The people having placed me on high grounds, I have no feelings on the occasion, and pursue my independent course from which I have not, nor will, I depart, no influence has, or will be used by me; if I am selected, it will be without promise, without being committed to any one. attempts have been made through friends, which was repulsed at the threshold, from these hints you can draw a picture how things are said to be managed here.

The ladies are all in good health and spirits, but Emily,[4] who has a cold which is common here but will be able to vissit the theatre tomorrow evening if the weather will permit. Mrs J spend her time on sundays at church, on thursdays at prayer meetings the ballance of the week in receiving and paying vissits, so much for our time.

In my last I brought to your view, the want of funds; and requested you to forward me five hundred dollars. If you can do this out of A. J. Hutchings funds it will oblige me, and I will be able to have it refunded out of my crop as soon as it is sold at markett. I have to day received a letter from Parsons, stating he has delivered 51 bales averaging upwards of 500 lbs each and the ballance he will soon have ready, he has posponed ginning part of mine to ginn Capt J. Donelsons for Mr McLemore, Mr Nichols having directions to pay his account and some other little debts out of the first sales. I may not be able before the 1st of March to get a remittance from him, therefore have made the request of you. five hundred will clear me of the city if permitted to leave it the 4th of March next. if not I can early return you the amount I wish you therefore to send me $500. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Senate Chamber, February 7, 1825.

D'r Major, The Public Journals will have informed you of the letter to the Editor of the Columbian Observer from a member of Congress, the *card of Mr. Clay,* and the reply by *another Card,* and the proceedings of the house of Representatives thereon, who have raised a committee, and referred the *vera dictum* of Mr. Clay to that committee.[2] This is thought here by many a *very novel* proceeding without any parliamentary precedent to warrent it. What the committee may do, I cannot conjecture. But you may prepare to hear a debate (if a report is made) of great excitement not very creditable to our country.

It is believed by some, that this course was taken to inveigle Mr. Kreamer into an apology, but if I am a Judge of human nature they have mistook the man, he would suffer Martyrdom before he would descend to such humiliation. I am told he has ample proof of the application of Mr. Clays friends to support his statement in his letter. If this is true, the committee will not open the case for this proof. Should it refuse, there

[4] Mrs. A. J. Donelson.
[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.
[2] See Bassett, *Jackson,* pp. 356-362.

will be no course left Mr. K. but to protest Vs. the proceedings and appeal to the nation. How the Election of President may result is impossible to tell. The rumor of Barter of office, intrigue and corruption still afloat, which I hope for the honor of our country there is no truth in.[3]

I am in haste your friend

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Washington, February 14, 1825.

Dear Major: I am informed this day by Colo. R. M. Johnston of the Senate [2] that Mr. Clay has been offerred the office of Sec of State, and that he will accept it. So you see the *Judas* of the West has closed the contract and will receive the thirty pieces of silver. his end will be the same. Was there ever witnessed such a bare faced corruption in any country before? The *Senate,* (if this Nomination is sent to it) will do its duty. No imputation will be left at its door. We will soon be with you, farewell.

To Colonel Squire Grant.[1]

Private

City of Washington, February 18, 1825.

. . . . The public Journals will have advised you of the result of the Presidential election. Mr. Clay (*like Judas of old* it is said), *sold himself and his influence* to Mr. Adams, and carried a Majority of the Kentuckians with him, for which, (it was predicted) he was to receive the appointment of Sec of State. This office has been offered to him, and it is said he has agreed to accept it

If the Citizens of Kentucky submit to be thus bartered for office for a Demogogue, they may bid farewell to their freedom. our Government rests upon virtue, its [*mutilated*] you see are becoming [*mutilated*] rotten, and unless repaired by the virtue of the people, the fair fabric of [*mutilated*] must tumble.

Mrs J. Joins me in respects to you and your family and believe me to be

Yr. mo. obdt. servt.

[3] Lewis has been pronounced Jackson's chief adviser in this crisis; but if the assumption is true it seems strange that this slight communication is the only letter thus far encountered to or from Lewis and it comes from Lewis's collection, which is very full. It is safer to say that Jackson, a very strong-headed man, had his own way of doing things in all his concerns, that no one led him outright, but that his course was modified by tactful persons who happened to be with him at the moment of action. When Jackson, at this stage of his career, was in Washington it was Eaton who acted with him; when he was in Nashville, it was Lewis. But Eaton was a more intellectual man than Lewis, and his influence extended to the larger problems that confronted the group. Lewis rarely shows any interest in political ideas. His mind concerned itself with persons, appointments, and the popularity of his chief. In such matters he was an industrious, loyal, and capable servant.

[1] N. Y. Hist. Soc.

[2] Richard M. Johnson, senator from Kentucky.

[1] Wis. State Hist. Soc., Draper MSS.

BILL FOR TWENTY-THREE COVERS.[1]

FRANKLIN HOUSE HOTEL, WASHINGTON CITY.
February 18, 1825.

Genl. Jackson
to John Gadsby Jr. Dr.

To 2 Bowls Apple Toddy		$4.00
To 2 Do. Punch		4.00
To 8 Bot. Wine		20.00
To 2 pints Brandy		1.00
To 2 Do. Whiskey		1.00
To 3 Bot. Cider		0.75
To 4 Bot. Champaigne		12.00
To 2 Bot. W. Wine		6.00
To 23 Dinners etc etc		46.00
		$94.75
Amt. brot. forwd		$94.75
Deduct for 3 Bot. Wine	7.50	
Do. pt. Brandy	0.50	8.50
Do. pt. Whiskey	0.50	
		$86.25

Recd. payt. for
J. Gadsby Jr
PETER BRADY

TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL JOHN COFFEE.[1]

WASHINGTON, February 19, 1825.

Dear Genl, This morning I recd your letter of the 29th ult. inclosing me five hundred dollars in united states notes for which I return you my sincere thanks. This being out of the funds of my little ward, you will please enter it, so that it will bear interest untill I return. I will have it in my power the moment I reach Nashville to return it, as I have recd from Mr Josiah Nichol information of my cotton safe arival at Orleans, and that he will forward a bill on Mr Jones of Baltimore for $1000.

My situation here was one of great expence, I had anticipated this and brought on with me $2300, this with my pay, I did suppose would be sufficient; In this I was mistaken, and my fear that Doctor Bedford would not remit to Mr Josiah Nichol in time to reach me by the rise of congress I addressed you, and am now in a situation to get home with occonomy without want.

Mr Donelson has wrote you at my request to day, and to his letter I refer you, for the result of the Presidential election. I weep for the liberty of my country when I see at this early day of its "successful experi-

[1] In one day.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

ment", that corruption has been imputed to many members of the House of Representatives, and the rights of the people have been bartered for promises of office, Mr Clay their chief has recd by way of the fulfilment of the rumoured contract with him a tender of the office of sec of state, and it is said he has agreed to accept it. How far the senate will support his nomination and consumate this corruption a few days will determine. There are many of them I am sure will never do an act to cover themselves with the imputation of favouring such corruption. . . . .

To Samuel Swartwout.[1]

Washington, February 22, 1825.

My Dear Sir, I was quite concerned that you left the city so suddenly, as that I was denied the pleasure of seeing and shaking you by the hand. You took with you however my best wishes for your safe arival home. I beg you to present to Mrs. S. my and Mrs. Jackson's affectionate regard.

Yesterday I recd. your communication adverting to the reasons and defence presented by Mr. Clay to Judge Brooks[2] why duty and reflection imposed upon him the necessity of standing in opposition to me, because of my being as he is pleased to style me, "a Military Chieftain". I had before seen the letter; first when it appeared, I did entertain the opinion, that perhaps some notice of it might be necessary, for the reason that the expression seemed to carry with it more the appearance of personality than anything else; and could the opinion be at all entertained, that it could meet the object, which doubtless was intended, to prejudice me in the estimation of my countrymen, I might yet consider some notice of it necessary; such a belief however I cannot entertain, without insulting the general testimonial with which by ninety-nine electers of the people I have been honored.

I am well aware that this term "Military Chieftain" has for sometime past been a cant phrase with Mr. Clay and certain of his retainers; but the vote with which by the people I have been honored, is enough to satisfy me, that the prejudice by them, sought to be produced availed but little. This [is] sufficient for me. I entertain a deep and hearfelt gratitude to my country, for the confidence and regard she has manifested towards me, leaving to prejuduced minds whatever they can make of the epithet "Military Chieftain".

It is for an ingenuity stronger than mine to conceive what idea was intended to be conveyed by that term. It is very true that early in life, even in the days of boyhood, I contributed my mite to shake off the yoke of tyranny, and to build up the fabrick of free government; and when lately our country was involved in war, having the commission of Major Genl. of Militia in Tennessee, I made an appeal to the patriotism of the western citizens, when 3000 of them went with me to the field, to support her Eagles. If this can constitute me a "Military Chieftain" I am one.

[1] From the collection of the late Mr. Henry De Puy, of Easton, Md., and published by him in the *Proceedings* of the Am. Antiq. Soc., April, 1921.

[2] Francis J. Brooke, Maryland judge. Colton, *Private Correspondence of Clay*, p. 111.

Aided by the patriotism of the western people, and an indulgent providence, it was my good fortune to protect our frontier border from the savages, and successfully to defend an important and vulnerable point of our Union. Our lives were risked, privations endured, sacrifices made, if Mr. Clay pleases, Martial law declared, not with any view of personal agrandisement, but for the preservation of all and everything that was valuable, the honor safety and glory of our country. Does this constitute a " Military Chieftain "? and are all our brave men in war, who go forth to defend their rights, and the rights of their country to be termed Military Chieftains, and therefore denounced? if so, the tendency of such a doctrine may be, to arrest the ardor of usefull and brave men, in future times of need and peril: with me it shall make no difference; for my country at war I would aid assist and defend her rights, let the consequnces be what they might. I have as you very well know, by some of the designing politicians of this country, been charged with taking bold and high-handed measures; but as they were not designed for any benefit to myself I should under similar circumstances not refrain from a course equally bold; that man who in time of difficulty and danger shall halt at any course, necessary to maintain the rights and privileges and independence of the country, is unsuited to authority; and if these opinions and sentiments shall entitle me to the name and character of a Military Chieftain I am content so to be considered, satisfied too for Mr. Clay if he chooses, to represent to the citizens of the West, that as the reason why in his opinion I meritted not his and their confidence.

Mr. Clay never yet has risked himself for his country, sacrificed his repose, or made an effort to repel an invading foe; of course his " conscience " assured him that it was altogether wrong in any other man to lead his countrymen to battle and victory. He who fights, and fights successfully must according to his standard be held up as a " Military Chieftain ": even Washington could he again appear among us might be so considered, because he dared to be a virtuous and successfull soldier, an honest statesman, and a correct man. It is only when overtaken by disaster and defeat, that any man is to be considered a safe politician and correct statesman.

Defeat might to be sure have brought with it one benefit, it might have enabled me to escape the notice and animadversions of Mr. Clay, but considering that by an opposite result, my country has been somewhat benefitted, I rather prefer it even with the opprobrium and censure which he seems disposed to extend. To him thank god I am in no wise responsible, there is a purer tribunal to which in preference I would refer myself—to the Judgment of an enlightened patriotic and uncorrupted people—to that tribunal I would rather appeal whence is derived whatever reputation either he or I are possessed of.

By a refference there, it will be ascertained that I did not solicit the office of President, it was the frank and flattering call of the freemen of this country, not mine, which placed my name before the nation; when they failed in their colleges to make a choice, no one beheld me seeking thro

art or management to entice any representative in Congress from a conscientious responsibility to his own, or the wishes of his constituents. No midnight taper burnt by me; no secret conclaves were held, or cabals entered into, to persuade any to a violation of pledges given, or of instructions received. By me no plans were concerted to impair the pure principles of our Republican institutions, or to frustrate that fundimental one which maintains the supremacy of the people's will; on the contrary, having never in any manner either before the people or Congress in the slightest manner interfered with the question, my conscience stands void of offence, and will go quietly with me, heedless of the insinuations of any, who thro management may seek an influence, not sanctioned by merit.

Demagogues I am persuaded have in times past, done more injury to the cause of freedom and the rights of man, than ever did a " Military Chieftain "; and in our country, at least in times of peace, should be more feared. I have seen something of this in my march thro life, and have seen some men too, making the boldest professions who were more influenced by selfish views and considerations, than ever they were by any workings of an honest conscience.

I became a soldier for the good of my country: difficulties met me at every step; I thank god it was my good fortune to surmount them. The war over and peace restored I sought to retire again to my farm, and to private life, where but for the call made by my country to the Senate I should have contentedly remained. I never yet have been a hanger on upon office and power, or was willing to hold any post, longer than I could be usefull to my country, not myself, and I trust I never shall. If this makes me so, I am a " Military Chieftain ".

I had intended visiting Philadelphia and hoped probably I again might have seen you in person but the health of Mrs. Jackson may prevent me. should I not have the pleasure of seeing you rest assured of my sincere friendship and esteem.

I am very respectfully
Yr mo. obdt. servt.

To Samuel Swartwout.[1]

Washington, March 5, 1825.

Dear Sir; Your favor of the 27th ult came to hand in due time, but for the want of opportunity it has not been in my power to thank you for it before this date.

Yesterday Mr Adams was inaugurated amidst a vast assemblage of citizens, Having been escorted to the Capitol with a pomp and ceremony of guns and drums not very consistent in my Humble opinion with the character of the occasion. Twenty four years ago when Mr Jefferson was inducted into office, no such machinery was called in to give solemnity to the scene. He rode his own horse, and hitched him himself to the in-

[1] Copy.

closure.[2] But it seems that times are changeing. I hope it is not so with the principles that are to characterise the administration of justice and constitutional law. These, in my fervent prayers for the prosperity and good of our country, will remain unaltered, based upon the soverignty of the People, and adorned with no forms or ceremonies, save those which their happiness and freedom shall command.

I have not yet received your New York paper, in which as I inferred from your letter, my remarks upon the term *military chieftain* are before this published. To this I have nothing to say. Mr Clay has used no delicacy toward me, and as I have never written any thing whether private or public which my heart and judgement did not sanction, I am not afraid of the publication of those remarks, or any other which I may have made.[3]

Mrs Jackson still continues unwell, but I hope her health will allow us to take up our march to the Hermitage Tuesday or Wednesday next. We shall go by Baltimore in order to avoid the bad road between this and Frederic.

We both join in kindest wishes to yourself and Lady

Yrs. Respectfully

George Kremer[1] to Jackson.

Washington, March 8, 1825.

Dear Genl, Agreeably to your request, I communicate to you the substance of a conversation which I had early in january last with the Hon James Buchanan. He inquired of me when I had seen Genl Jackson, I replied not for some time, he then said there was great intrigue going on and that he thought it right to let me know it and that if he was known as I was to be the intimate friend of Genl Jackson he would inform the Genl of it and that he thought I ought to acquaint Genl Jackson, That the frinds of Adams were making overtures to the friends of Clay to this effect, That if they the friends of Clay aided to elect Adams Clay should [be] Secretary of State and that he thought we were in great danger unless we would consent to fight them with their own wepons, That the friends of Adams were urging as an argument to induce the friends of Clay to accede to the proposition that if Genl Jackson should be elected, Adams would be continued Secretary of State and repeated that he

[2] The legendary story, taken from John Davis, *Travels* (London, 1803). Thornton, the British chargé, writing on Mar. 4, 1801, says, "He came from his own lodgings to the . . . Capitol on foot".

[3] May 16, 1825, writing to Swartwout, Jackson commented on Clay's address to his constituents, and said that it was with difficulty that he could restrain himself from giving Clay a "good scourging". Clay, he added, had "fallen below anything but contempt" (*Proceedings* of the Am. Antiq. Soc., 1921, p. 87).

Jackson's correspondence with Swartwout was full at this time. Some of his letters got into the newspapers of the day. A few are preserved in the Jackson Correspondence. Those that seem important in this collection have been given in these volumes. A larger number, very interesting in content, edited by Mr. Henry De Puy, of Easton, Md., are published in the *Proceedings* of the Am. Antiq. Soc. for 1921.

[1] M. C. from Pennsylvania.

thought I ought at least to get myself authorized to say that if Genl Jackson was elected President Mr Adams should not be continued Secretary of State. I told him that I could not do so That we must carry Genl Jackson on the ground of principle and that his friends could not make any promise or give any pledges, that I did not believe that General Jackson ever had disclosed his mind to any man as to who he would appoint should he be elected, nor did I believe he would untill it became his duty. He then said I was unacquainted with the intrigues of these men, I then told [him] I could not believe it possible that such an intrigue could prevail. he said I might rest assured it was going on, That he knew the fact and repeated that it was necessary for the friends of Jackson to fight them with their own weppons at least so far as to say whether Adams should remain Secretary of State or not, I will not be certain that I have used Mr Buchanans own words I am however certain that I have in Substance stated our conversation correctly. With great respect I remain your friend [and] fellow Citizen

P. S Mr Buchanan stated that him and Mr Clay had become great friends this winter, this he said as I thought to inforce on my mind the authority from whence he had derived the information

James H. Witherspoon to Jackson.

Waxhaws, Cane Creek, S. C., April 16, 1825.

General Andrew Jackson

D'r Sir, Your letter of the 18th August now past was duly received, for which I beg you to accept my warmest thanks. You will I trust excuse me for not answering your kind letter at an earlier period. The only reason for my delay was founded on the strong hope of the pleasure of a personal interview with you, at which time, I would have duly acknowledged your letter, and gave you all the information that was in my power relative to your desire of Mrs. Barton pointing to the Grave of your Mother.

I have examined Mrs Barton on that subject, (she lives in one mile of me) She states that if it was in her power to point to the spot she would fondly do so; as well as she remembers, and from all the information on the subject, your Mother was burried in the Suburbs of Charleston, about one mile from what was then called the Governors Gate, which is in and about the forks of the Meeting and Kingstreet Road's. Mrs Barton states that your Mother was buried by her Husband, and two men of the name of Hood's from the Waxhaws one of them is now dead, the other is living on Beaver Creek. Mrs B. is of the Opinion that after so long a time of nearly fifty years, she would have no knowledge of the particular Spot; but she is of the Opinion that Mr Hood can point to the place for he has frequently in conversation with Mrs B. told her, that he often has noticed the little House where they all liveed in passing to Charleston with his Waggon, and spoke of your Mother *etc.* I would have

long ere this have called on Mr. Hood, who lives about 12 or 15 miles from me, for information, but defered it untill you would come out, when you would have seen him yourself; but the first good opportunity, I will see him. It is almost unnecessary to say to you, how much I was disappointed, "together with the Citizens of Lancaster Dist., with a few remaining Relations and friends, at your not Visiting us this Spring. As we have been deprived of the pleasure of a Visit from you, will you yet, my dear General, favor the place of your *Nativity*, the place that gave you *birth*, the place of your *boyhood*, and early habits, with a Visit. So. Ca. hails you as one of her sons, and would take a delight in paying *Honors* to a man who have rendered such eminent services to our Country. We have just paid Honors to Gen. Lay Fayettee, and would take as much pleasure in paying Honors to Gen. Jackson. There is a number of old men in our Dist still alive that knew you when you was a boy, I will here beg leave to name a few of them. "my Father in law" Isaac Donnom, Masseys, Whites, McKwain Hoey, etc. etc. All the old Stock of the Crawfords, and the Fosters are dead. Of Major Robert Crawfords family that are alive only four children, one son John Crawford who lives at the *old place*, and Mary who married Doctor Dunlap (now a widow) lives four miles from her Brother John's. You have second Cousins, Messrs, Lathems, and Faulkners. Your only Cousin Sarah Lathem whose maiden name was Lessley, died about a year past, leaving several Children. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, April 24, 1825.

. . . . The papers will give you the political news, to them I refer you. The poor Devil H. Clay, has come out with an address to his constituents,[2] in a begging cringing tone, to clear himself from the corrupt intrigue and management to procure for himself the office of sec of state, but he steers entirely clear of denying this charge. The various papers are commenting on it, and will bring to his recollection before they are done the adage "O that my enemy would write a book". how little common sense this man displays in his course, a man who dwell, as he does, in a glass house, ought never to cast stones. silence would have been to him wisdom.

My cotton has been sold badly, the second lott, at 13½ when other lotts from Nashville by other houses sold much higher, This I do not understand, and unless explained I must change my commission merchant. The last lott I have not heard from, Mr Josiah Nichol changed the houses, and I expect this lott will sell for at least 20 to 25 cents if there is fair play. cotton sells in Nashville for 22½ cents specie, of course the Orleans markett must be better. . . . .

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] *To the People of the Congressional District composed of the Counties of*, etc. (Washington, Mar. 26, 1825); and *Works of Henry Clay*, Federal ed., VI. 296-320.

POST OFFICE ACCOUNT ON NEWSPAPERS PAID MAY 4 TO NOVEMBER 3, 1825.

Genl A. Jackson
To The Post Office Nashville Dr

1825			
May 4th	To Postage	on Washington City Gazette to Jany 1 1826	$1 45½
	To Ditto	on Florence Gazette .....to Do	48¾
	To Ditto	on American Farmer .....to Do	48¾
	To Ditto	on Louisville Pubk Advertiser .....to Do	97½
	To Ditto	on National Journal .....to Do	1 45½
	To Ditto	on National chronicle (Daily) .....to Do	2 91
	To Ditto	on Niles Register .....to Do	48¾
	To Ditto	on Columbian .....to Do	30½
	To Ditto	on Louisiana Gazette .....to Do	1 45½
	To Ditto	on Kentucky Gazette .....to Do	48½
	To Ditto	on Baltimore morning chronl (Daily) .....to Do	2.91
	To Ditto	on Jackson Gazette .....to Do	30½
	To Ditto	on Knoxville Enquirer ....to Do	30½
	To Ditto	on Alegheny Democrat ....to Do	48¾
	To Ditto	on mobill commercial Register .....to Do	97½
	To Ditto	on National Republican ...to Do	97½
	To Ditto	on Knoxville Register ....to Do	30½
Aug 15.	To Ditto	on Florida Intelligencer ...to Do	20½
			16 97

On The above papers there is an allowance made from the first monday in Oct to the date of the Genls resignation as U S Senator

To Postage on letters and packages from may 4 to Nov 3rd 1825 ..... 21 93

$38.90

Received payment in full of the above for R B Currey

R F CURREY

TO SAMUEL SWARTWOUT.[1]

HERMITAGE, May 16, 1825.

. . . . I had seen Mr. Clays laboured address to his constituents before your letters reached me, I viewed it (as it is generally viewed here) the dying struggle of a political gambler who having abandoned his political principles, and the expressed wishes of his constituents, sacrificed at the altar of self-agrandisement; and then forsooth, whiningly asks forgiveness for his corruption, because all this was done with the sole view of bringing himself into the office of Secretary of State, from whence, by *" the safe precedents established"* he would of course step into the Presi-

[1] From the collection of the late Mr. Henry De Puy, of Easton, Md.

dential chair. I must confess there is more candour in his *precious confession* than good common sense. Your view of the subject is certainly correct, and the course pointed out, I had determined to adopt, before your friendly letters had reached me. Still Mr. Clay had left himself in his adress, so open to a severe scourging that it has been with difficulty I could withold my pen. I too could have unfolded some "*voluntary information given*", that would have been usefull to a full understanding of the corrupt course of Mr. Clays friends and himself.

The information given, first to Major Eaton, then to Mr. Kreamer, by a Representative from Pennsylvania,[2] that they might communicate it to me, and which, on their refusal to be the organ, he personally communicated to me, would be an important link in the portrait of the corrucpt scenes at Washington, of which Mr. Clay has become the most conspicuous character. I think with you that he has fallen below anything but contempt, he never can rise again except by noticing him in such a manner, that he and his friends, can cry out persecution. Therefore for the present I have determined to be silent. If a time should arise when I conceive it proper for me to speak, I will endeavor to speak to the point, and with that energy and freedom, that the subject may require, regardless of consequences, when you will find that this *braggadocio will cover*. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, May 19, 1825.

. . . . I have just recd advice of the sale of my last parcel of cotton at Orleans; Mr Parsons says it was inferior to the two first lotts sent down, which was sold at 13¾, 13½, this last sold for 30 cents, except one bale which sold for 25. my cotton on the day it was sold brought 2 and 3 cents more then any cotton sold, this shews that it was well handled. Cotton is still rising and where it is to stop is problematical. The great rise is owing to the great demand in urope and the great competition between France and England. our domestic manufacturers consume better than one third of all the raw material raised in the u. states, this withdrawn from the Uropean markett, lessens the stock on hand there, and produced the great demand and the present high price of the articles. I have no doubt but cotton will open next year at 20 cents. The great demand for cotton fabricks in south america, in Spain and many parts of Urope will keep up the price of the raw material, added to this cause the increased home consumption of the raw material, will keep up the price of cotton; so much for the Tariff. I suppose my Irish friends, will not now, as they are getting such high prices for their cotton, think that the Tariff is so great an evil to the southern planters. . . . .

To Brigadier-General Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, June 7, 1825.

. . . . I named to you in my last, that ten bales of my cotton, being the last parcel sent this year to markett was sold for 30 cents per lb. This

[2] Probably James Buchanan.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] *Ibid.*

sale was made on the 28th April and its nett proceeds remitted to me, and safe to hand in United States notes $1378.25. *I am sure this is a good sale.* how it has happened, that on the 18th of April Doctor B. could only obtain 18 cents for A. J. H. cotton it is for him to explain. I never will intrust to his care and sale one bale of cotton, either of my own, or Hutchings for whom I am guardian. I will the first time I am in Nashville, get the sales in orleans of that date and see how it talleys with A. J. H. I regret that your prospects of cotton crop is not flattering. we are and have experience a dry and cold spring, I am suffering from the draughth, my crop of cotton is good, and the stand promising altho some is still dying. I think an acre would cover all the gaps in my crop of 130½ acres measured around where the cotton grows. before I measured it, it was computed at 145. If the season should be good, I will raise a good crop. my plantation is in good order, my cotton thinned and all hill'd up, and very clean, my corn in good condition waiting for rain. . . . .

THE GOVERNOR OF KENTUCKY (JOSEPH DESHA) TO JACKSON.[1]

FRANKFORT [KY.], June 8, 1825.

. . . . On saturday last a dinner was given at this place to Mr. H Clay, something upwards of sixty attended and partook of the dinner. It was given in honor of Mr Clay and evidently in approval of his conduct in relation to the Presidential election. a number of us, and some specially invited, could not take dinner on such terms, and refused to attend. some considered it an Adams dinner. The Federal party, or as some call them, the court party, will principally be Adamites, and will sustain those who by managment placed him in the Presidential Chair. a great portion of the republicans or the party of the people, as it is called, feel indignant at the managment practised. They feel like important rights had been bartered away, but although there is much low murmuring, little is openly said. It is thought advisable to be silent till after our august election, after which I think it probable, there may be a considerable explosion. Kentucky, you know, is composed of warm materials, we must have something periodically to produce a fermentation in the body politic. The managment in the late Presidential election will be the tub to be thrown out to the whale for the next season. The party of the people in this state are warm advocates for the right of instruction both implied and possitive, and consider, that the man who knows his masters will and fails, or refuses to obey it, deserves to be beaten with many stripes. . . . .

TO JAMES BUCHANAN.[1]

HERMITAGE, June 25, 1825.

D'r Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your kind letter of the 29th ult. which has just reached me.

That respect which I formed for your character on our first acquaintance, increased with our friendly intercourse, and to you was only extended, what I viewed a debt due to your merit as a gentleman of intelli-

[1] Joseph Desha was governor of Kentucky 1824-1828.

[1] Hist. Soc. Pa., Buchanan Papers. This letter is published entire in the *Works of James Buchanan,* I. 139.

gence and urbanity: It is therefore a source of much gratification to me to receive a letter from you, detailing the friendly feelings of the citizens of Pensylvania toward me.

It is gratifying to hear thro you, that the confidence and support which the majority of the citizens of Pensylvania expressed for me by their vote on the Presidential question, will not be withdrawn by the artfull and insiduous efforts of my enemies. This is another evidence of the firmness and indulgence of the freemen of Pensylvania: This organized plan of calumny and slander levelled against me by the unprincipled and wicked will not owe its defeat to any effort of mine, unless it be that which always attends truth and a conscious rectitude of conduct, when submitted to an untramelled and honest public. The continued good opinion therefore of my Fellow Citizens of Pensylvania, lays me under additional obligations, whilst it connects my name with another guaranty of the wisdom of our government—I mean in furnishing to posterity another example of the weakness of Demagogues when endeavouring to advance to power upon the destruction of innocence.

It is much to the honor of the good citizens of Pensylvania that they calmly submit to the legally constituted power; this all good citizens will do, who love a government of laws, altho they view with much disapprobation the means by which that constituted power was obtained and are determined to oppose the man who obtained power by what they believe illicit means. The great constitutional corrective in the hands of the people against usurpation of power, or corruption by their agents is the right of suffrage; and this when used with calmness and deliberation will prove strong enough. It will perpetuate their liberties and rights, and will compel their representatives to discharge their duties with an eye single to the public interest, for whose security and advancement government is instituted.

I have not as yet been so fortunate as to fall in with Mr. Frazer, altho I have made inquiry for him, should I meet with him be assured it will be a gratification to me to extend to him those attentions due to any of your friends.

I regret very much that the bad health of Mrs. J. prevented me from passing thro' your hospitable town. I assure you could we have done so it would have afforded Mrs. J. and myself much pleasure. Mrs. J. health is perfectly restored. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, July 9, 1825.

Dear Genl, I have not heard from you since the return of our mutual friend Mr William Donelson when he reported, your family in good health, but your crops suffering for want of rain. My crop has suffered with the drougth but the rain falling last monday, and the crop being well cultivated, I believe as promising a crop as I ever have seen; My cotton as a crop is as good as I have ever had, and if I had not suffered for about two weeks for the want of rain, it would have been the best I have ever seen. I have had but one season since my crop was planted before last

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

monday that wet my crop to the roots. I find good culture in a dry season will preserve the crop. my cotton has received eight plowings. I had blooms on the 20th of June, and my cotton is now more forward than it was last year on the 20th of July and my corn crop is promising. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, July 23, 1825.

. . . . I have recd lately several pressing invitations to vissit the Herrodsburgh Springs. Governor Desha and Gov Duval of Florida who is now in K. have both written me on this subject. I feel great delicacy in complying with their request. My political creed is neither to seek or decline office, and it might be considered a departure from this my Republican creed even to vissit the springs. however I have wrote Major Eaton on this subject and would be glad of your opinion as soon after the receipt of this letter as your convenience will permit.

I was invited to a dinner to be given to the Kentucky delegation at paris K. those four who voted for me on the presidential question, on the 16th instant. I was expected to have been on my way to chilicothe as one of the commissioners appointed to fix the site for the Western Theological Seminary. The notification of this appointment did not reach me untill it was too late for me to reach the appointment. Govr Desha writes me he and Mr Bibb was there by invitation it was called the Jackson dinner, and four thousand people attended. This is to be followed up by other dinners to counteract the impression abroad of Mr Clays having pursued the wishes of his constituents in his course on the presidential question, and I am told by Stockley who has just returned from Lexington that such will be the overwhelming majority against Clay, that it will silence his few corrupt supporters and prostrate him in his own state. Should dinners to the four Representatives continue thus to be so numerously attended it will open the eyes of the nation fully to the corrupt combination at Washington, and when I thus view it, I think it perhaps my duty to go to the springs and if invited to attend any dinners that I may be invited to, by a respectable assemblage, but this requires deliberation.

My cotton crop is more promising than any I have ever seen. I[t] was dry but a fine rain has just fell that will make my corn, and benefit my cotton.

To Lieutenant Edward G. W. Butler.[1]

Hermitage, July 25, 1825.

Dear E. From your letter I presume your Southern tour has afforded you some amusement and much information. The scenes in Georgia give

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[1] This extract is given in Charles Gayarré's *Sketch of General Jackson by Himself* (New Orleans, 1857), p. 11. It has evidently been liberally revised in the publication. In a letter to the same person, Dec. 8, 1825, dealing with the same subject, Jackson, referring to the turmoil in Georgia, used these unexpected words: "State rights and military despotism are themes where eloquence can be employed, and the feelings of the nation aroused. I fondly hope that in consequence of the treaty you mention, both these themes will slumber for some other occasion." *Ibid.*, p. 12. He is referring apparently to the treaty of Washington with the Creeks, signed a little later, Jan. 24, 1826.

you a view of human nature under the influence of party excitement and selfish political views. The world had formed an exalted opinion of Governor Troup's [2] talents, but I believe his late communications have shorn him of his character of high talents in public estimation and of decorous deportment. His whole conduct of late has afforded evidence of derangement from some cause. He certainly never could have obtained the high standing for talents he had, without possessing some merit, which his late communications appear to be entirely destitute of. Nobody did believe that the Indians had any intention of commencing hostilities on the whites. The whole excitement was produced by designing white men, to draw the public attention from the means used in obtaining this fictitious treaty, signed by one or two chiefs, and the rest self-created for the purpose of multiplying signers to the instrument.[3] I am sure that, with the evidence now before the nation, the Senate would not have ratified the treaty. What will be the course that will be taken, will much depend on the information communicated to Congress by the President, procured through his special agent,[4] sent to the nation for the purpose of investigation. When it was ratified, I was not in the Senate, being confined to my room by the severe indisposition of Mrs. Jackson. Had I been present, seing none of the old chiefs' names to it but McIntosh, I should have moved its postponement and called for information from the President. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, August 2, 1825.

Dear Genl, I am this moment in the receipt of your letter of the 28th ult in answer to mine of the 23d. I sincerely thank you for your candid advice on the subject requested, but all things considered, and being induced to believe that many wish to involve me in the politics of Kentucky for their own views, and there being a great heat at present on their local politics I have thought it for the present most prudent not to vissit the springs. It would be a feast to Clay and his friends was I to go there and the assemblage of people not greater, or the attention paid not more than that paid to him. I therefore conclude it is.....[2] and the course I have heretofore.....for the present I have declined.....tation. I have to go to the western District, and I must go and see you and your little family. This will afford a sufficient apology to my real friends in Kentucky for not vissitting them this season, and the next will be free from the present objections. . . . .

We are now experiencing a severe drougth, and the rust has made its appearance in our crops. they look fine but a few days continued drougth and it may change our hopes, the squares are beginning to fall off, but my motto is that the Lords will be done. . . . .

[2] George M. Troup, governor of Georgia.
[3] Treaty of Indian Spring, Feb. 12, 1825, ratified by the Senate Mar. 3.
[4] Maj. Timothy Andrews.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] The blank spaces result from cutting off the signature.

To Sam Houston.[1]

Hermitage, August 11, 1825.

Dear Sir, your letter of the 8th instant was handed me to day, and I am pleased to be informed that you are fully advised of " all the circumstances that surround you ", being fearfull you were not, gave rise to the wish communicated thro Doctor Armstrong to you, of seeing you before you *set out for Kentucky*; Colo. Butler for the same reasons, had a great desire to have seen you, but advised as you are, enables you *to Judge for yourself the course proper to pursue.*

It is true, I am the *friend* of Major Eaton, I am no less your *friend*; and it is well known I never abandon my friend without *good cause.* I know Major Eaton was your friend, and had a wish so to continue, but if I really know him, and I think I do, he will court no mans friendship. as you and myself have fully conversed this matter over, I shall for the present add no more, barely bringing to your view the old adage " O that mine enemy would write a Book ", and requesting you my young friend to profit by it.

The ballance of your letter I really cannot comprehend; I am fearful your fancy was riding on imagination and fiction, " your enemies on the house top etc. etc. etc." and the " declarations of Major Wm. B. Lewis and others etc. etc. etc." I cannot comprehend, I wish you had been more explicit—*it requires explanation before I can understand it. will await your explanation.* There is one thing I can assure you I fear not eve *" droppers ",* nothing falls from my lips injurious to my friends. I take principle for my guide, Justice the end in view, and I have no fears from secrets being revealed, always secure in the rectitude of my conduct with regard to my friends.

Mrs. J. Joins with me in best wishes for you—present me respectfully to Mrs. Catron and they ladies of your party.

I am respectfully yr friend.

The Marquis de Lafayette to Jackson.

Monticello, August 21, 1825.

My dear General, I am, to my great Regret, on the point of leaving this Happy and Beloved Land: the manner in which the frigate Brandywine Has Been Named, appropriated, and offered Could the less Be declined as I Have Had opportunities, Every day, to find that my acceptation was Conformari to the people's kind desire. she is to Be Ready By the first September; I am Returning to Washington, our point of departure, and will Have Sailed in the first days of the Month.

Your letters, my dear General, Sent By Way of Newyork to the Care of W. Witlock Jnr will Be to me a great Gratification. permit me to inclose one to my filial friend Miss Wright.[1] I know she means to consult you upon a delicate But Very interesting Subject. Her confidence cannot

[1] Sam Houston was representative in Congress 1823-1827. He was elected governor of Tennessee in 1827 by a large majority. In 1829, a few weeks after his marriage, he abandoned his office and his wife and took refuge with the Indians west of the Mississippi.

[1] The celebrated Frances Wright.

Be Better placed. offer my affectionate Respects to mrs Jackson and those of the young ladies that are with you; and Believe me for ever

Your affectionate friend

I am this day, with a Very Heavy Heart, to part from my friend Mr Jefferson whose state of Health is painful But free of danger. my Son and M. le Valleur Beg to Be respectfully Remembered. pay my affectionate Compliments to the Governor and all friends, particularly to my travelling Companions.

To Major Henry Lee.[1]

Hermitage, October 7, 1825.

. . . . I much regret the attack made upon you in the Nashville Republican which you have detailed in your letter before me. Altho, the editor of that paper, Mr Murray, was friendly to my election as President, and is esteemed as a private friend, still I assure you I have never been in his printing office in my life, nor on any occasion have I suggested, or attempted to regulate, the course pursued by him as public printer. In that capacity like ourselves, he is amenable to the tribunal of the public, where he ought to be adjudged upon his own merits. It is to be lamented that of late this tribunal is a mask from which too much slander and abuse are directed against the character, public and private, of almost all those who are brought before it. Such however seems to be the morals of the times, to which source I assure you, I at once attributed the aspersions to which you called my attention, and not to any change of principle inferrable from the acceptance of the appointment now held by you. Since the receipt of your letter I have made some enquiry of a friend on the subject, and find that Mr Murray had received the letter referred to in his publication, and witheld it from the public until the one made its appearance in the Richmond enquirer with comments, when he gave the one he had recd a place in his paper.

I am pleased to read your sentiments with regard to the support due to the administration so far as its measures may redound to the prosperity of our common country. Mr Adams is the Constitutional President and as such I would myself be the last man in the Commonwealth to oppose him upon any other ground than that of principle. How he reached the office is an enquiry for the succeeding canvass, when the principles of the constitution, apart from his ministerial acts, or at least without necessary opposition to them, will sanction the investigation. As to his character also, it is hardly necessary for me to observe, that I had esteemed him as a virtuous, able and honest man; and when rumour was stamping the

[1] Major Lee was the unsteady son of Gen. Henry Lee, of the Revolutionary army. He was a feverish hack writer for political leaders and a needy office seeker. In the campaign of 1828 he was closely attached to Jackson and wrote in his behalf. He planned a life of Jackson and actually began to write it. In 1825, before he was completely identified with Jackson's cause, Adams appointed him Assistant Postmaster General, which brought out a severe attack in the Nashville *Republican*. Sept. 11 he wrote a letter in defense of his action, saying that he was still a Jackson man and that McLean, Postmaster General, was not hostile to Jackson, although he preferred Adams. It was a long letter, and in it Lee admitted his own private errors. Jackson's reply, which here appears, is notable for its breadth of feeling on a subject which he might have viewed with less good nature.

sudden union of his and the friends of Mr Clay with intrigue, barter and bargain I did not, nay, I could not believe that Mr Adams participated in a management deserving such epithets. Accordingly when the election was terminated, I manifested publicly a continuation of the same high opinion of his virtue, and of course my disbelief of his having had knowledge of the pledges, which many men of high standing boldly asserted to be the price of his election. But when these strange rumours became facts, when the predicted stipulation was promptly fulfilled, and Mr Clay was Secretary of State, the inferrence was irresistible—I could not doubt the facts. It was well known that during the canvass Mr Clay had denounced him as an apostate, as one of the most dangerous men in the union, and the last man in it that ought to be brought into the executive chair. This denunciation was made publicly as I was informed by Govr Duval, and taken into view with the publication relative to the treaty of Ghent, when the nomination was made to the Senate. I do not think the human mind can resist the conviction that the whole prediction was true, and that Mr Adams by the redemption of the pledge stood at once before the American people as a participant in the disgraceful traffic of Congressional votes for executive office. From that moment I withdrew all intercourse with him, not however to oppose his administration when I think it useful to the country—here feeble as my aid may be it will always be freely given. But I withdrew in accordance with another principle not at all in conflict with such a course. It is that which regulating the morals of society, to superior office would invite *virtue unrespected*, and in the private relations of life forbids an association with those whom we believe corrupt or capable of cherishing vice when it ministers to selfish aggrandisement.

Still Sir, I am too charitable to believe that the acceptance of an Office under Mr Adams is either evidence of a change of principle, or of corruption, and I entertain the same opinion of you now, and of your adherence to political honesty that I ever did. Every freeman has a right to his opinion of both men and things, and it is his bounden duty to exercise it fearlessly and candidly. This liberty of opinion is the best boon of freemen, and he that makes it the agent of the greatest good establishes the most unquestionable claims upon the gratitude and love of his country.

I am very respectfully yr mo ob servt

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, October 12, 1825.

. . . . Yours of the 6th instant is just recd, I regret the death of Mr Nickerson sincerely, it is a great loss to his helpless family as well as I feel it must be to my little ward. I thank you for your note to Capt Jack Donelson and hope it has been in his power to attend to it. I would come out immediately, but I am compelled to go to Murfressborough and am now on my way, and whilst there have come to the determination to resign my senatorial appointment. a happy opportunity has presented itself, and I think propriety as well as the political principles I have always acted upon requires this course. The Legislature have again by resolu-

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

tions brought my name before the nation for the Presidency. The amendment to the constitution to give the people a direct vote in the choice of the executive will be agitated, and every vote I might give on this question would and might be ascribed to selfish views etc. etc. etc. this and other reason have induced this determination which I trust will be satisfactory to my friends, and my enemies, I feel no solicitude about. I would be happy if Capt Donelson could spare the time, and if he cannot William Crawford can, to take an inventory of the negroes and stock, for really I do not know how many negroes has been born since Mr Nicholson has had the management there, and the hoggs ought to be counted, and the horned cattle, or the negroes may destroy many of them. I will be out as early as I can employ an overseer should you inform me you have not been able. . . . .

To the Tennessee Legislature.

October 12, 1825.

Two years ago by the unsolicited suffrage of the Legislature I was prefered to the situation at present occupied by me, of senator in congress. Persuing the principle by which I had ever been governed, neither to seek after, nor decline office, the appointment confered was accepted. Aware of the practice which had long prevailed, of selecting from each extreme of the State, a person for the high and respectable situation of senator, I felt regret at being brought forward to disturb a system which had so long obtained; yet in as much as the Legislature without any knowledge or understanding on my part, had called me to the situation, it was impossible to withhold my assent; and accordingly the appointment was, though reluctantly accepted; not however without its being professed by my friends, that a longer term of service than one congress, would neither be required nor expected. That service has been performed. I was still pondering, and in doubt whether exceptions to my resignation might not be taken; and if it might not be proper for me to execute the full term which you had assigned, when my mind was brought to a conclusion bv some late proceedings of your own, and a determination formed to surrender immediately back into your hands the responsible trust you had heretofore confided.

One inducement to my determination was that travelling to Washington City twice a year imposes no inconsiderable fatigue; and although this is a minor consideration, and one which would have been met with cheerfulness, if business involving the interest of our happy country had required the exertion, yet I was aware of nothing of great national importance which was likely to come before Congress, excepting a subject which you have lately had before your body, the amending the constitution of the United States in relation to the choice of a chief magistrate. Upon this matter I greatly doubted whether it might not be my duty again to appear in the Senate and extend my feeble aid, towards producing an alteration in which great interest with the people of the United States exists; and on which the security of our Republican system may depend. But being advised of a resolution of your body, proposing again my name to the American people for the Office of chief magistrate of this

Union I cound no longer hesitate on the course I should persue; doubt yielded to certainty, and I determined forthwith to ask your indulgence to be excused from any further service in the counsils of the Country.

Situated as I am my name presented to the freemen of the United States for the first Office known to our Constitution, I could not; with any thing of approbation on my part, consent either to urge, or encourage, a change which might wear the appearance of being induced from selfish considerations—from a desire to advance my own views. I feel a thorough and safe conviction, that imputation would be ill founded, and that nothing could prompt me to an active course on any subject which my judgment did not approve; yet as from late events, it might be inferred that the prospect of your recommendation could be rendered probable, only by the people having the choice given to them direct, abundant room would be afforded to ascribe any exertion I might make to causes appertaining exclusively to myself. Imputations thus made would I assure you be extremely irksome to any person of virtuous and independent feelings; they would certainly prove so to me; and hence the determination to retire from a situation, where strong suspicions might at least attach, and with great seeming propriety. I hasten therefore to tender this my resignation into the hands of those who conferred on me the appointment, that in the exercise of their Constitutional rights, they may confide it to some one meriting their confidence and approbation.

Being about to retire once more to private life, it may be the last time, probably that I shall have an opportunity of addressing you. Permit me to suggest to you then, some remarks upon the proposed amendment of the constitution of the U. S. Our political fabric being regulated by checks and balances, where experience assures us, that those which have been resorted to are inefficient; or however well their boundarys have been defined by the parchment of the Constitution, some new barier to the encroachments of power or corruption in any of the departments of government is necessary, a corrective should be applied, and it is the duty of the people in justice to themselves to see that one is provided. There is no truth more sacred in *politics*; and none more conclusively stamped upon all the state constitutions, as well as the federal constitution, than that, which requires the three great departments of power—the Legislative, Judicial, and Executive to keep seperate and apart. But simple and manifest as this truth is, the difficulty of arming it in practice with constitutional restraints, still remains; and forms a question whether in its amendment the wisdom and virtue of the present generation may not be usefully employed.

Gratitude to the founders of our happy government certainly cannot be lessened by honest efforts on our part to improve, or rather to fortify the blessings which have been transmitted to us, with such additional guards as experience has proved to be necessary. Upon this principle I venture freely to accord with you in the contemplated change proposed to the constitution; and indeed would go further. With a view to sustain more effectually in practice, the axiom which divides the three great classes of power into independent constitutional checks, I would impose a provision rendering any member of Congress ineligible to office under

the general government for and during the term for which he was elected, and for two years thereafter, except in cases of Judicial office; and these I would except for the reason that vacancies in this department are not of frequent occurrence; and because no barier should be interposed in the selecting to the bench men of the first talents and integrity. Their trusts and duties being of the most responsible kind, the widest possible range should be permitted, that proper and safe selections may be made. The politician may err, yet his error may presently be retrieved, and no considerable injury result; but with Judges, particularly in the last resort, error is fatal, because without a remedy.

The effect of such a constitutional provision is obvious. By it Congress will in a considerable degree be freed from that connexion with the Executive departments, which at present gives strong ground of apprehension and jealousy on the part of the people. Members instead of being liable to be withdrawn from Legislating upon the great interests of the nation, through prospects of Executive patronage, would be more liberally confided in by their constituents; while their vigilance would be less interrupted by party feeling and party excitement. Intrigue and management would be excluded. Nor would their deliberations, or the investigation of subjects, consume so much time. The morals of the Country would be improved; and virtue uniting with the labours of the Representatives, and with the Official ministers of the law, would tend to perpetuate the honour and glory of the government

But if this change in the constitution should not be attained, and important appointments continue to devolve upon the Representatives in Congress, it requires no depth of thought to be convinced, that corruption will become the order of the day, and under the garb of consciencious sacrifices to establish precedents for the public good, evil may arise of serious importance to the freedom and prosperity of the Republic. It is through this channel that the people may expect to be attacked in their constitutional sovereignty, and where tyranny may well be apprehended to spring up in some favourable emergency. Against such inroads every guard ought to be interposed, and none better occurs than that of closing the suspected avenue with some necessary constitutional restriction. We know human nature to be prone to evil. We are early taught to pray that we may not be led into temptation; and hence the opinion that by constitutional provisions all avenues to temptation on the part of our political servants, should be closed.

My name having been before the Nation for the Office of chief magistrate during the time I served as Senator, placed me in a situation truly delicate. But delicate as it was, my friends do not, and my enemies cannot charge me with decending from the independent ground then occupied, or with degrading the trust reposed in me, by intriguing for the Presidential chair. As your honorable body have, by a resolution, thought proper again to present my name to the American people, I must entreat to be excused from any further service in the senate; and to suggest in conclusion, it is due to myself to practice upon the maxims recommended to others, and hence feel constrained to retire from a situation where

temptation may exist and suspicion arise of the exercise of an influence tending to my own aggrandizement.

Accept I pray you for yourselves and tender to the honorable bodies over which you respectively preside, my sincere regard.

The latter part of the Genls letter is of great importance only as far as regards the practice of his own precepts; a departure from which would be food for his enemies.—R. F. Currey [1]

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, October 30, 1825.

. . . . Your letter of the 23d instant by Capt Donelsons boy was handed me to day. I feel greatly obliged to you and Capt Donelson for your kind attention to A. J. Hutchings business, and feel satisfied and indeed gratified in being informed that Mr Winburn has undertaken to finish the crop particularly as he does it for the benefit of Mr Nickersons family, for whom I feel very much. I hope he will be attentive and carefull and have the crop well housed. I have not engaged an overseer, but one application well recommended, and he could not write. This was an insuperable objection. There is one in the neighborhood of Franklin well recommended, who I will endeavour to see as early as possible, and will be out as early as I can leave home. I should have been out before now, but my political situation hitherto (since I heard of poor N's death) prevented me, and I have still some business with Major Eaton, so soon as that is accomplished I will be out. in the mean time will endeavour to find out a fit character to oversee little Andrews place, but wish you to continue your inquiries and engage one that you may believe is honest, industrious and capable, if such present themselves. I shall not make a positive contract without notifying you first.

I am happy to hear that the political course my own judgement pointed out, meets your approbation. It has met the uniform approbation of my friends here. The moment the Legislature of Tennessee again brought my name before the nation as a candidate for the presidency on the next canvass political consistency at once pointed to the course I must adopt. The political maxims I had recommended to others, became my duty to practice myself. in my declining years it would not do to depart from those political principles I had always advocated and professed to practice, a deviation from them, in my old age, would have done more injury to those republican principles I had always advocated than all the benefit I have been able to give to that course through a long life; I viewed it a duty I owed to myself and to my country to resign. I did so. that my friends approve my course is a source of great gratification to me. my enemies would find fault I knew, but they would have had cause to rejoice, had I pursued a course that might have brought upon me the imputation of advocating measures for my own agrandisement. . . . .

[1] Acting postmaster at Nashville.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

To Stephen Simpson.[1]

Hermitage, November 23, 1825.

D'r Sir, yours of the 3d instant is Just recd. Whatever may be the opinion of the public on the subject of a Conductor of a newspaper addressing a candidate for the Presidency by letter, in the present instance no evil imputations could Justly arise. I never have obtruded my name upon the nation as a candidate. I have always been brought forward by the nomination of the people, the support given therefore through the columns of the paper conducted by you, must be ascribed to the principles of patriotism, in support of the people will and could not be ascribed to any different cause. for myself I pursue always the course my Judgt points, regardless of the imputations of the wicked, and will at all times be happy to receive any communication you may be pleased to make to me—but as in the present case, where business called, it required no appology. . . . .

I am pleased to learn that the honest patriot Mr George Kreamer [2] is with you, and that his stern integrity and virtue is truly appreciated by the good citizens of Pensylvania. So long as virtue and integrity is cherished, and predominates over corruption and intrigue; so long will the honest George Kreamer live in the hearts of the american people.

I congratulate you on the birth of your fine daughter, may she grow and prosper, may she live to become an ornament to her sex, and a blessing to her parents in their declining years. accept I pray you my sincere thanks for the honor you intended me had it been a son and receive assurance of my respect and esteem.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, December 1, 1825.

. . . . I hope the young man employed in the room of Mr Nickerson deceased will answer. if he does, it will be a happy thing, as it will ensure the continued attention of Mrs Nickerson to the negro children and the domestic affairs, while it on the other hand, will give her and the children a home. I intend to vissitt the place as soon as Mrs Jacksons health will permit me; In the mean time, I hope it will be in your power to pay some attention to it, and that Capt Donelson may have it in his power to vissit it frequently.

[1] Formerly editor of the *Columbian Observer*, Philadelphia newspaper.

[2] In his letter, sending Jackson a bill for his subscription, Simpson alluded to Kremer, and apologized for intruding on Jackson's time, using the following language:

"Although it is prohibited to the conductor of a newspaper, to Address a Candidate for the Presidency without subjecting him to evil imputations; yet I flatter myself that a *ci-divant* Editor may be free from that suspicion; but in case that should not remove all objection, I have still another justification for the present Letter, if one is needed—that I write on business. So much has been written in the public papers, as well as expressed in conversation, about the impropriety of a Candidate holding correspondence with any human being, that a foreigner would imagine we were too thoroughly corupt to permit the usual interchange of social civilities, without contamination. As this is a doctrine I most heartily despise, I can pay it no other regard than to say I condemn it; still, however, *delicacy* towards you, sir, restrains me from infringing on its precepts."

[1] Tenn Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

I suppose there will be some corn to spare from little Hutchings farm. you will be the best judge how much, and when to offer it for sale. the quantity that can be spared, can best be judged of after the crop is housed, and the Hoggs killed. as soon as the pork is fatted, direct that it be killed. this will save corn, as well as ensure the safety of the pork, for I anticipate an open winter after this month, with a great deal of rain; if in this I should be correct, some danger may be expected in saving pork after this month. I have killed half of mine, and on the change of this moon will slaughter the ballance. . . . .

MAUNSEL WHITE TO JACKSON.[1]

NEW ORLEANS, March 22, 1826.

Genl. Andrew Jackson

Dear Sir, I Sincerely regret that in making my debut in selling your Crop the Market should be so bad but upon the whole I cannot help thinking I have obtained for yours the very top of the market, and many Gentlemen from Tennessee who have cotton now here for sale consider that I have obtained for you such a price taking into view the quality and bad market as you will be well satisfied with; which I do sincerely hope may prove to be the case. Genl. Plauché was the Broker who decided on the quality, and his classification was indeed such as you merited from his hands. there was 9 Bales rejected, the samples of which I send you by the present Occasion to shew you the necessity of your Overseers being more particular in picking and Cleaning your cotton, with it I send you a few samples of General coffees crop to shew your Overseer, and for him to take example by, in do[ing] which I beg you not to be offended with me as candour and your own Inderest demands I should do so. the best of your Crop was no way equal to coffees, and the only redeeming feature in yours was goodness of staple and Colour, for throout the whole crop there was a great deal of Broken leaf, and very carelessly packed in the Bales and by some means or other the cotton on the outside under the wrappers got wet and shewed in Incrustation of from One to two Inches deep which very much Injured the appearance. a little care, to prevent these objections would tend materially to improve your cotton and give it a better appearance.

I now inclose you the account sales of your Seventy one Bales Sixty-two sold at 12 Cents lb. and nine at 10 Cents. Nt proceeds $3477 51/100 from which deduct the amount of your grocery Bill by the William Penn, $498 33/100 the Balance $2979 18/100 I have the pleasure of now inclosing you in United States notes, by Mr Anthony W. Johnson of Nashville, $2975 in notes and he will pay you $4 18/100 in Silver. Colo. Armstrong wrote to me saying he did not want the money, and I therefore send you the whole amot. Col. Winstons cotton is not sold, tis inferior, he is here I understand and I shall as you direct, Settle with him for it,

I am D sir very respectfully

[1] Like many other planters, Jackson became disgusted with his New Orleans factors and Feb. 3 wrote to Maunsel White asking if he would handle his cotton for him. White, whom Jackson knew in 1815, and considered very honest, replied on the 16th of the same month with assent, and the relationship, thus established, was satisfactory for many years.

JOHN H. MARABLE [1] TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, April 3, 1826.

Genl. Andrew Jackson,

Dear Sir, It is an old saying that no man is so far from Trade as he who has nothing to trade upon. for a similar Reason I have not until this moment addressed you, even now nothing very important is within the perview of my Knowledge. on Saturday last Mr. McDuffie Genl. Vance and Mr. Trimble of Kentucky [2] had some sparing in the House which grew out of Mr. McDuffies argument in Favor of the amendments to the Constitution on Friday last, Vance in debate said if he suspected any one in the House for Corruption it would be the brawling blustering and vociferous Politician and declaimer and intimating and I think expressly referring to McDuffie, which I believe he Vance does not say. Trimble also made several Inuendos which were not as the parliamentary men say tangible; but tending evidently to be construed into Charges and imputations against McDuffie. Vance in the Course of his Talk said he was peculiarly situated, that he had come from the very lowest order of society, that at the Age of 22 years he could not connect the Letters of the Alphabet and that promoted as he was by the People of Ohio when an Imputation of Corruption was cast on them he must and would sustain their character at the hazard of his Life.

Mr. Trimble made a Talk somewhat in the same way and said that he had not the magnanimity to forget or forgive much less to vote for a man who had if he had not slandered at least made wonderful misrepresentations in Regard to the Kentucky Troops at the Battle of N. Orleans. McDuffie in reply said to Genl Vance he was happy to inform him he had not changed his destiny as regarded his grade in Society, that he had never recognized Vance or Trimble as gentlemen, but that he knew the great political Juggler, Poltroon and Puppy, the Secretary of State Clay, that he knew he had set on his Minions, that he knew they were the mere Poppets on the Tapis whilst the Master hand was behind working the Wires, that his Object was to give Mr. Clay his Compliments, but that if Mr. Vance or Trimble thought themselves agrieved he would for once forget that they were not Gentlemen and would attend to their Calls. The House was a perfect scene of confusion for half an hour, no one addressing the Chair, the Chairman crying out Order Order, Order, hurly burly, helter skelter, negro states and yankies. the Matter is in statu quo, it is now early in the morning, when the House meets we may hear something *interesting* on the subject. I heard Mr. Randolph make a Phillippic last week in the Senate, yet says he Mr. R. with uplifted hands, I swear to my God and Country that I will war with this administration made up of the Union of Puritans and Blacklegs. speaking of the Panama Mission he says I will prove to every Man living as plain as three times

[1] M. C. from Tennessee 1825-1829. In a letter of the same day James K. Polk described to Jackson less specifically the debate to which this letter gives its attention. It is in the Jackson MSS.

[2] George McDuffie of South Carolina, Joseph Vance of Ohio, David Trimble of Kentucky.

three makes nine and not ten, that the Mission was a Kentucky Cuccoos Egg laid in South America. I send you some Speeches and documents consequently it is unnecessary to say any thing about what is going on in the H. Reps. I wish if in Conformity with [your] Opinion you would advise Houston to remain in Congress, he is here bolde and energetic, it is as much as his Friends can do to keep him from coming out as he says flat footed. S. P. Carson of North Carolina is the devoted Friend of our political Faith and is more than anxious to take a chance in the Lottery as he calls it of Vance and Trimble; should be glad to hear from you, say my warmest Salutations to Mrs. Jackson, for yourself accept the renewed Pledge of my highest Regard

To James Buchanan.[1]

Hermitage, April 8, 1826.

. . . . We have received the result of the Panama question in the Senate—from the whole view of the subject I have been compelled to believe that it is a hasty unadvised measure, calculated to involve us in dificulties, *perhaps war,* without receiving in return any real benefit. The Maxim that it is easier to avoid dificulties than to remove them when they have reached us, is too old not to be true: but perhaps this and many other good sayings are becoming inapplicable in the present stage of our public measures which seem to be so far removed from our Quotation that even the language of washington must be transposed in order to be reconciled to the councils of wisdom! I hope I may be wrong—It is my sincere wish that this panama movement may advance the happiness and glory of the country, but if it be not a commitment of our nutrality with Spain and indirectly with other powers, as for example Brazil, I have misconstrued very much the justice of the anathemas which have been pronounced upon the Assembly at Verona as well as the true sense of the principles which form international law. Let the primary interests of Europe be what they may, or let our situation vary as far as you please from that which we occupied when the immortal Washington retired from the councils of his country, I cannot see, for my part how it follows that the primary interests of the United States will be safer in the hands of others, than in her own; or in other words, that it can ever become necessary to form entangling alliances, or any connection with the Governments of South America which may infringe upon the principle of equality among nations which is the basis of their independence, as well as all their international rules. The doctrine of Washington is as applicable to the present as to the then primary interests of Europe, so far as our own peace and happiness are concerned, and I have no hesitation in saying so far as the true interest of South America are concerned, maugre the discovery by Mr. Adams that if Washington was now with us he would unite with him in sending this Mission to Panama—no one feels more for the cause of the South Americans than I do and if the proper time had arived I trust that none would more willingly march to their

[1] Hist. Soc. Pa., Buchanan Papers; *Works of James Buchanan,* I. 183.

defense. But there is a wide difference between relieving them from a combination of leagued powers and aiding them in forming a confederation which can do no good as far as I am apprised of its objects; and which we all know, let its objects be the best, will contain evil tendencies.

To Willis Alston.[1]

Hermitage, May 18, 1826.

D'r Sir, I am honored by the receipt of your letter of the 25th ult. It is a source of pleasing reflection to me, in my retirement to find that I am recollected by my republican friends in Congress; and that I enjoy the confidence of many of those whom I have not a personal acquaintance.

I have seen by the public Journals that the discussion upon some of the measures recommended by the President has produced much warmth and irritation in congress: particularly that of the mission to Panama, in the development of which the President seems to me to have manifested a desire of changing the established policey of the Goverment, as well as the common sense construction of the constitution. Upon this measure, however, as on all others, I think with you, that all the patriot can do, is upon the general principle of opposing with manly firmness where injury is to result to the country, and of approbating with a corresponding liberality where the public good is to be advanced. It is unacountable that Mr Adams should court opposition by assuming constitutional powers, and adopting a political course so much like that which prostrated his father.

accept my thanks for your communication, and believe me very respectfully your mo. obdt. servt.

Loans to Duff Green.[1]

Washington City, May 20, 1826.

Memorandum of the object for which the enclosed Notes are drawn.

The sum of Three thousand Dollars being obtained on loan for the use of Duff Green Esq for which his note is given, with the endorsement of the Hon. John H Eaton.

Now if the said John H Eaton shall eventually be compell'd to pay the said Note or any part thereof by reason of the inability of the said Duff Green to pay the same, then the individual drawers of the Notes herein enclosed are to pay their respective rateable proportions, of the Amount which the said John H Eaton may be required to pay as aforesaid It being understood that in no event shall the drawer of any of the enclosed notes be obliged to pay a greater sum than the amount of his note.

[1] Copy. Willis Alston, of North Carolina, was a member of the House of Representatives 1799-1803. He belonged to the group of Randolph and Macon Republicans with which Jackson associated.

[1] Library of Congress, Polk MSS.

Payments as above stated are to be demandable and to be made, whenever any call is made that Mr Green cannot meet.

JNO H EATON
D H MILLER

List of the Notes within referred to.

J Hamilton Jr of So. C	$300
G Kremer	300
Geo Pater	300
John S Barbour	300
James K Polk	100
J C Isacks	100
S D Ingham	150
D H Miller	150
John Branch Wm King Saml Carson	300
	$2000

[*Indorsement in pencil:*] J. Hamilton Note for $300 given to him to be drawn for if contingency arise

26 May 1828
J H EATON

TO GENERAL PLAUCHÉ AND OTHERS.[1]

NASHVILLE, May 26, 1826.

Gentlemen, I take the liberty to address you upon a subject on which I feel great interest, as it is one with which, I know the welfare and happiness of our country to be intimately connected. It relates to the blessings of education which, without doubt, constitute the chief support of the liberties which our forefathers have bequathed to us.

There is now in operation at Nashville a College which with a little more pecuniary aid, is likely to become one of the most flourishing institutions in the U. States. Situate in a healthful climate, in the great valley of the west, where the feelings, habits, and manners of the people, are purely republican; and where from its contiguity to the Cumberland river the means of support are cheap and abundant, it will extend its advantages to the poor as well as the rich, can prepare for the service of their country the sons of the farmers and mechanics as well as those who by fortune are exempt from the necessities of labour. The President is an accomplished gentleman of the first acquirements: and the subordinate professors are gentlemen highly distinguished for literary and scientific attainments. But to place upon a lasting foundation the prosperity of this College, it is requisite to obtain funds for two more professorships which were created last year, and which the board of Trustees have thought proper (in honor of the good Lafayette, and the humble services of myself) to call by the names of Lafayette and Jackson.

[1] Collection of Judge J. M. Dickinson, of Chicago; also in Parton's *Jackson,* III. 99. This letter was also addressed to Col. Preston, Maj. A. J. Donelson, J. J. P. L. Mercier, jr., and Maunsel White. See the next letter.

It is well known that the good Lafayette is destitute of the means to make a permanent endowment of this nature, as is the case also with myself, otherwise these professorships would have been filled ere this. Situate as we are then, the only alternative is to appeal to the liberality of those who have the means to make donations and the disposition to yield them for the lasting benefit of an institution so well calculated to prepare the american youth for the councils of our common country.

Without doubt the Trustees had two motives in view in honoring La fayette and myself (if I may be pardoned for speaking of myself in conjunction with that illustrious benefactor) with the names of these professorships—the one to compliment us with the perpetuity which it was hoped that the institution may experience, the other to operate upon the feelings of such as may derive an additional inducement from this circumstance to contribute to an endowment which, with the smiles of providence, will I trust redown to the credit of its patrons, and the general cause of knowledge.

The object of this letter then, Gentlemen, is, to ask you to present, or cause to be presented to the good citizens of Orleans the enclosed paper, or one of this purport, and to receive and remit such aid as each citizen may be disposed to give.[2] It is not expected that any will give but a small sum. small donations will enable the more persons to aid in the establishment of these professorships, and to testify their respect for the cause of literature and science.

I am respectfully your most obdt. servt.

To Felix Grundy.[1]

Hermitage, May 30, 1826.

D'r Sir: When in Nashville on the 26th instant ruminating on the subject that would be before the Board of Trustees on the 27th I thought I would make an address to the citizens of Orleans on the subject of the endowment of the Lafayette and Jackson profersorships in Cumberland College, on which I intended to have consulted you on Saturday last, but your late arrival at the college prevented it. I had intended to have addressed the citizens of Charleston etc. etc. etc. also on this subject—but when I reached home, I concluded, I would forward this to my friends in Orleans, and if successful there I would push it everywhere that I had any friends that I could address upon this subject on which I have, and still feel, great solicitude.

I now enclose a copy of the letter etc. to my friends in New Orleans for your inspection and advise whether in your judgt. the course I have

[2] The paper enclosed was as follows: "Those citizens who are disposed to aid in the permanent endowment of the Lafayette and Jackson professorships in the Cumberland College Nashville Tennessee, will subscribe their names hereunto which shall be enrolled in the archives of said college, presenting at the same time to the holder of this paper, such sum or sums as he or they may think proper to bestow, which donations shall remain and enure to the sole use and endowment of said professorships forever, the interest annually accruing only to be applicable to the salaries of said professors, but should there be an excess of interest, such surpluss to be applied by the Trustees to the use and benefit of said college."

[1] Collection of Judge J. M. Dickinson, of Chicago.

adopted is a proper and prudent course—and whether it is best now, to address my friends elsewhere, or to await the result of the success at Orleans—and whether any, and if any, alterations in my address what, ought to be made. Writing has become to me quite laborious—and if you are of opinion, that it is right to push my address to every quarter of this union now, you must aid me in having the address copied—for should I go further with it, I will send it to Mobile thro Alabama, Carolinas, Georgia, and as far east as Boston—but before I take another step, I shall await your advice on this matter. write me shortly—in haste yours respectfully

P. S. Altho I have been silent—I have not been idle—if this should not succeed, I will then try a lottery.

John C. Calhoun (Vice-President) to Jackson.

Private.

Washington, June 4, 1826.

My dear Sir, I avail myself of the present safe conveyance to renew our correspondence, after so long a suspension.

Majr. Eaton will give you all of the particulars of the long and interesting session of Congress, which has just terminated. There has been much excitement, but for my part, I am neither surprised nor displeased at the depth of feeling displayed by the members on several occasions, as I believe, that it has been caused by a thorough and honest conviction, that the liberties of the country are in danger, and not by the sentiment of faction, nor disapointment, as has been attributed. In my opinion liberty never was in greater danger; and such, I beleive, to be the impression of the coolest and most considerate of our citizens. An issue has been fairly made, as it seems to me, between *power* and *liberty*; and it must be determined in the next three years, whether the real governing principle in our political system be the power and patronage of the Executive, or the voice of the people. For it can scarcely be doubted, that a scheme has been formed to perpetuate power in the present hands, in spite of the free and unbiased sentiment of the country; or to express it more correctly, those now in power act on a scheme resting on the supposition, that such is the force of Executive influence, that they, who wield it, can mould the publick voice at pleasure by an artful management of the patronage of office.[1]

It must be obvious, if [it] should prove to be the fact, that a radical change has already been effected in our system. If power can be acquired against the voice of the majority, and when so acquired, can be maintained and perpetuated by the influence, which it gives, our government may indeed retain the forms of freedom, but its spirit will be gone. Nor will it be long before the form will follow the spirit. Let the Presidency be transmitted by the exercise of a corrupt patronage from hand to hand,

[1] It is one of the very unexpected things in our political history that John Quincy Adams, who consistently refused to make appointments that would serve to promote his re-election, should have been proclaimed as one who debauched the patronage. It is even more singular that the charge should be repeated by a man as intelligent as Calhoun.

and we shall soon consider the form of electing by the people a mere farce; nor will it then be difficult to reconcile the people to the transmission of the Executive power by hereditary principle, in some imperial family. I, however, hope for better things. I confide in the intelligence and virtue of the people, which have safely carried us through so many difficulties. Already, I see much to hope. The scheme appears to be well understood by many, and the publick indignation will swell just in proportion as it comes to be fully developed.

It will be no small addition to your future renown, that in this great struggle your name is found, as it always has been on the side of liberty, and your country. Occupying the grounds that you do, there can be no triumph over you, which will not also be a triumph over liberty. That you may live to witness a successful termination of the struggle, and that you may be the instrument, under Providence, of confounding political machinations and of turning the attempts against the liberty of the country, into the means of perpetuating our freedom, is my sincere wish. As to myself, I am content, let what may happen, provided the cause triumphs. I know that much of the Storm will fall on me; but so far from complaining, I deem it my glory to be selected as the object of attack in such a cause. If I had no higher object than personal advancement, my course would be easy. I would have nothing to do, but to float with the current of events. I feel, however, that such a course would be unworthy of the confidence, which the American people have reposed in me, and of the duty which every citizen owes his country.

With sincere regards

Major Henry Lee to Jackson.

Monticello, July 1, 1826.[1]

dear General, I have been here and in the neighbourhood several days on the invitation of Mr. Jefferson to examine the documents in his possession relating to his conduct as Govr. of Virginia during the Revolution. Unfortunately for me I found him confined to his bed with a severe Dysentery, which cannot but place so old a patient in great danger. Dr. Douglasson,[2] the medical professor in the university, is of opinion that his disease is now subdued, but that his advanced years render it extremely doubtful whether he will not sink under the prostration of strength which it has occasioned. As soon as I arrived he sent out for me, and though he seemed to look upon his end as approaching, he spoke of it as an event rather unpleasant than terrible—like a traveller expressing his apprehension of being caught in a rain. I was surprised at the energy of his grasp and the alacrity of his conversation, and could not but admire the general predominance of mind over matter in all his words and actions in so trying and critical a moment. His daughter, Mrs. Randolph, hovers round his bed with grief at her heart and comfort in her hands, but I fear her misgivings will be verified in spite of her tenderness and care. It is said Mr. Jefferson has been careless of his health, and would probably have been in no danger had he been more prudent.

[1] Three days later Jefferson died.
[2] Robley Dunglison, M. D.

I learn from his family that he holds in contempt and abhorrence the men and measures of our present administration; and that his opinion as to the necessity of a change at the next presidential election concurs with mine and that of the great mass of our countrymen. On this I congratulate you, and admonished by the condition and sentiments of this venerable and illustrious man, I beg you to preserve your health and to accept the assurance of my constant and profound respect

COLONEL ARTHUR P. HAYNE TO JACKSON.

BALLSTON SPRINGS, N. Y., July 20, 1826.

. . . . Coll. Drayton is here with his family, and from information derived from him, and what I have collected myself on the subject of politicks, I am induced to believe that Mr. Adams is becoming unpopular, and this is said to be the case even at the North and East. The federal party who supported him are dissatisfied with the policy he has pursued—they expected he would bring into the Administration some of the Leaders of that party; and being disappointed in that, they have become restive—so *Walsh* says, the Editor of the National Gazette in Phila.[1] and a most devoted friend of Mr. Adams. Clinton it is supposed will remain quiet, so far as relates to himself touching the next Presidential election, in which case Mr. Adams and yourself are the only persons spoken of as Candidates for that station.

I have not seen Mr. Clinton, but I have understood the Administration have made certain propositions to him, and have given him an invitation to fall into their ranks, and shd. he not accede to their terms, they threaten to *Wield* against him the whole power and patronage of the Government for the purpose of destroying him. In point of power and popularity he is now thought worthy of being Courted, for it is beleived that he may be able to control the two great states of New York and Ohio, but it is distinctly understood that his influence can in no event extend farther. It cannot be denied that Clinton would like to be a Candidate himself, and his friends some times say his name might by great exertions be forced into the house of R: but they allow your strength to be five times as great as his; yet seem to think the election once in the House, and then if your friends would rally on C. he wd. beat Adams. Thus they wd. merge the greater fraction into the less what wd. be absurd. That a decided Majority should rally on a small minority, seems so absurd that we are at a loss to know how any of the friends of Mr. C. could for a moment wish to take that Ground. Some of C's friends say he is getting old, is 60, and has no time to Spare. Coll. Drayton thinks your chance is decidedly better at present than that of any other man.

Virginia is changing fast, the Western part of the State was always disposed to support you, and in the Eastern section of the State a change is gradually taking place. For example—such men as Mr. Archer of the house of representatives,[2] whom you will recollect as having once introduced certain resolutions into Congress in opposition to some of your

[1] Robert Walsh, editor of that journal from 1819 to 1836.
[2] William S. Archer, M. C. 1820-1835, senator 1841-1847.

Mil'y conduct, he is now your warm friend. This fact connected with others which I could mention proves that Virginia may be calculated upon as being friendly to your election. In North Carolina the administration have made a tender of the friendship and kind feelings, which they entertain for the Crawford party, and are pressing upon that party the necessity of a junction between them and the Adams party, but we have with us at Ballston intelligent men from that state, all of whom concur in the opinion that No. Ca. will support you. Georgia is safe—just as much so as South-Carolina.

In my mind, Clinton will not be a Candidate, and will support you. I hope he will do so from principle, and I cannot but believe after all he said on a former occasion of your peculiar fitness for the Office, that he will pursue any other course of conduct, but such as will be honorable to himself, and beneficial to his Country. Adams and Clay are one, and therefore if they wished it they could not save him. And therefore Clinton's only chance of ever being elevated to the Chief Magistracy of the Country is in the exhibition of great patience and in his throwing his influence on the side of virtue and principle, and which will be on the side of the people, and in favor of the people's Candidate.

To Vice-President Calhoun.[1]

Hermitage, July 26, 1826.

Your kind letter of the 4th ult, by our mutual friend Maj Catron, was received on my way to Pulaski where I was specially invited by my friend of Giles County to spend the fiftieth anniversary of our independence. On my return, I embrace the earliest opportunity to thank you for it.

I have been an attentive observer of the interesting subjects brought into discussion in the last congress. The message of the President at the commencement of the session was well calculated to swell to indignation the dissatisfaction which the mode of his election had already created. Until I saw this message, judging Mr Adams to have a tolerable share of common sense, I took it for granted that the footsteps of his father would be carefully avoided, and that no questionable policy would be recommended; especially none that would revive the asperity which marked the struggle of 98 and 1800, and terminated in the prostration of the federal party. By steering thus his political course, with a hypocritical veneration for the great principles of republicanism in the one hand, and an artful management of patronage in the other, the hope of success would then have rested upon the *credulity* and *apathy* of the people, precisely where the enemies of freedom in all ages have placed the foundation of their power. With the same end in view—or in other words that which seeks to make the influence of office superior to a just responsibility to the people, Mr Adam's first efforts have certainly taken from him those strong agents. The panama mission, and the doctrine of his party upon the question of amending the constitution have unmasked his designs; and I am happy to see that the Republicans so well sustained themselves in the just defence of the liberty of the country.

[1] Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

I was not surprised, Sir, to see the Ministerial Journal wantonly assailing you, and bearing the shafts of the administration against McDuffie and Randolph and all those who had the independence to stand forth the champions of the constitution and the people. This will always be the case when the schemes of an unholy coalition are unravelled. But, Sir, the people are awake, and are virtuous; and it is a pleasing consolation to the patriot to know that their voice and strength is with the minority of the senate. You may still confide in the support of the people; they may be led away for a moment by designing demagogues, and the influence of men who in the pursuit of office will sacrifice the greatest good of the country to procure it, but their reason is soon enlightened by truth and rallying round their true interests, they will throw aside the instruments of corruption, and accept those of good and faithful service.

I trust that my name will always be found on the side of the people, and as their confidence in your talents and virtue has placed you in the second office of the government, that we shall march hand in hand in their cause. With an eye single to the preservation of our happy form of government, the missiles of slander will fall harmless at your feet. The approbation of the virtuous yeomanry of the country will constitute a shield which the administration cannot destroy—it will live when the abuse of its [——— ———] [2] shall be forgotten.

To Colonel John D. Terrill.[1]

Hermitage, July 29, 1826.

Sir, I have received by due course of mail yours of the 17th instant and with pleasure take a leisure moment to reply to it. The policy of concentrating our Southern tribes of Indians to a point west of the Mississippi, and thereby strengthening our Southern border with the white population which will occupy the land, is one of much importance, and in the execution of which will be required some attention to the Indian character.

In reference to the proposed negotiations as a part of this policy, I think it will be useless to attempt to prepare the minds of the Chickasaws for the surrender of a part of their lands. From my knowledge of their character I have no doubt that an entire exchange will be effected with less difficulty than a partial one. And with them, as with all Indians, the best plan will be to come out with candor. tell them, situated where they now are, that they will always be exposed to encroachment from the white people who will be constantly harrassing their father the President for the privilege of occupation and possession etc.; and here the case of Georgia and the Creek and Cherokees will furnish a striking example. Say to them, their Father, the President, will lay off a country of equal extent, transport them to it, and give besides a premium of money which will enable them to buy stock etc.; that he will establish landmarks for them never to be moved, and give them a fee simple title to the land. You must be prepared to give assurance of permanency of title, and dwell

[2] Two words illegible.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. Colonel Terrill had been appointed special agent to prepare the Chickasaws for a cession of their lands.

upon the idea that they will never be asked to surrender an acre more. It might not then be useless to bring to their view the hope of a union between the Choctaws Creeks and Chickasaws, as a speedy means of making them a great, powerful, and happy people, and, when their children shall be educated, of enabling them to become a member of the United States, as Alabama and Mississippi are.

With these hints I shall only add that you should be careful to promise nothing to them, but what you will religiously perform, or they will say to you, you lye too much. nothing will defeat a negotiation with Indians so soon as the discovery of an attempt to deceive them.

I am, Sir, very respectfully, yr. obt. svt.

To Thomas P. Moore.

Hermitage, July, 1826.

My Dear Sir, Your favor of the 21st instant is received,[1] reassuring me of the wish of many of my friends in Kentucky that I should visit the Harrodsburgh springs.

I had spoken early in the spring of this visit because those waters had been recommended as necessary to the restoration of Mrs. J's health, and there was additional gratification derived from the hope that I would see many of my old friends in Kentucky, whose company at all times would be pleasing to me. But in as much as Mrs J is lately so far improved, as *not* to render this trip necessary; it seems to me very questionable whether without this necessity I ought to yield to the other consideration at this juncture. I know that so far as Kentucky is concerned the unjust imputations which it is my wish to avoid, would never be raised; or rather that a great proportion of her citizens would attribute to their proper origin the objects of my visit. Yet when I reflect upon the management and intrigue which are operating abroad, the magnitude of the principles which they are endeavoring to supplant, and the many means which they can draw to their assistance from the patronage of the Government, I feel that it is not less due to myself and to principle, than to the American people, particularly so far as they have sanctioned my political creed, to steer clear of every conduct, out of which the idea might arise that I was manoevring for my own aggrandizement. If it be true that the administration have gone into power contrary to the voice of the nation, and are now expecting by means of this power, thus acquired, to mould the public will into an acquiescence with their authority, then is the issue fairly made out—shall the Government or the people rule? And it becomes the man, whom the people shall indicate as their rightful representative in this solem issue, so to have acquitted himself that while he displaces these enemies of liberty there will be nothing in his own example to operate against the strength and durability of the government.

[1] In his letter, from Harrodsburg, Ky., Moore said: "Your letter to me has left us in some doubt in relation to the expected visit: to the Springs. I regret to trouble you, but I am sure you will rightly appreciate my motives. Your friends in Ky. have to encounter a sort of screw presses, the presence of the *prince of managers.* While I never will insult you by soliciting you to imitate his example in any thing, yet be assured that your visit to this State would contribute much towards enabling us to triumph in a contest in which is involved principles which should be dear to every patriot, and honest man."

With this candid expression of my feeling on this subject, I hope you will recognise nothing inco[n]sistent with the claims which my friends in Kentu[c]ky have upon me. Were I unconnected with the present contest, you may rest assured that wherever my presence, or my labour would be useful in arresting the efforts of [intrigue] and management, that I should not hesitate, careless of sacrifices, to repair to the post which my friends might indicate as the most exposed.

It is a source of much regret to disappoint your wishes, and others, our mutual friends in Kentucky; but as things are, unless Mrs Js health should render it necessary, I think that you will coincide with me that [it] is improper

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, August 20, 1826.

. . . . Genl Hinds spent a short time with me, and promised to call and see you. I suppose from what he said, he will accept of the appointment as commissioner to treat with the Indians,[2] I have given him my opinion, you must get the whole territory or none, that if the Indians can be got to cede or exchange the whole of their country, I would not hesitate as to the price provided it can be had, for one third the vallue of the ceded country, allowing the other two thirds to indemnify the government for the acre for acre in exchange, and all expences in surveying and selling the land. if this should not meet the views of the President and senate let them reject it. the chickasaw and choctaw country are of great importance to us in the defence of the lower country, a white population instead of the Indian, would strengthen our own defence much.

Your mare is now here and thriving, and I think in foal, I hope you will be more fortunate with her hereafter. My wish in this respect, is much heightened, since I have broke her two year old filly, which promises to be amonghst the first runners in america, from the small trial, of ten days that Dunwoody has made with her. I was unfortunate to loose one of my grays I got of you last evening. I believe there were one thousand worms sticking to his maw, and all remedies failed. he lived five days after he was first taken. . . . .

To Ebenezer H. Cummins.

Hermitage, August 31, 1826.

D'r Sir, I have recd your letter of the 10th instant, it reached me to day.[1] I am aware of the great exertions that were made in 1824 and will

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Gens. William Clark, John Coffee, and Thomas Hinds were appointed by Adams as commissioners to treat with the Choctaws and Chickasaws for a cession of lands; they were not successful.

[1] Cummins wrote from Baltimore. In his letter of Aug. 10 is the following reference to Jackson's early years: "The last letters I have had the pleasure of receiving from my most beloved father and your venerable preceptor left him well in Georgia, enjoying still the rosy health with which a kind providence has so long blest him. He remembers well when you, general Davie, and many others of your early compeers, were his pupils,

be made again by falshood and misrepresentation, thro phamphlets annonemous letters, and newspaper squibs to slander me, and was I to attempt to answer all the false statements thus propagated, I might do nothing but write and refute them. I have always thought, that truths is might and will prevail. I have therefore taken no pains to refute these slanders except when they emanated from a committee of Congress when it became necessary to expose their falshoods, least the sanction of the report of a committee of the senate tho based upon falshoods and false coulouring might go down to posterity for truth and impose upon future generations.

The case you allude to might as well be ascribed to the president of the united states as myself, and as you ask me for a statement of the facts, I send you them in a concise form. In the year 1814 Colo. Pipkin at the head of his Regt. of Drafted Militia was charged with the Defence of Ft Jackson in the heart of the Creek nation. Whilst thus in command part of his Regt. mutinied—at the head of this mutiny was a Mr Harris, (preacher, but as my memory now serves me, of the Baptist profession—he broke open the commisary stores, knoked out the heads of the flower barrels, and took Just what the wanted, and destroyed what they pleased—proceeded to the Bake house, and set that on fire, and marched off in open defience of the Colo. leaving the garrison without provisions, and so weakened by desertion, that it might have fell a sacrafice to the Indians. I was then at Mobile informed by express of this mutiny and outrage. I ordered the mutineers and deserters to be pursued apprehended and brought back. They ringleaders Harris at their head were apprehended and brought to Mobile in irons after I had left there, and charged Genl Winchester with the command. these were tried by a courtmartial and condemned to die, five were shot and the ballance pardoned. The ballance who deserted became alarmed at their situation and after several days march homeward returned to their duty and was forgiven by me—was with me when I marched to pensacola in 1814 and followed me to Orleans and regained their former good character by their valorous and soldiery conduct and were honourbly discharged. it is for the public to Judge whether this professed embassador of christ did not well deserve death for the crime of robery and arson, and this outrageous mutiny that not only Jeperdised the safety of our country but the remainder of the garrison from its exposed situation, and whether such a wolf in sheeps cloathing who led others to aid in this criminal conduct was not a fit subject for example. Harris wrote me on this subject after condemned to die acknowledging the Justice of his condemnation, and stating, that he had no hope of a pardon here, but from his repentence, hoped for forgive-

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in that famous region of Carolina so devoted to the freedom of these states, and within a few miles of the spot where the first declaration of independence was formally and devotedly proclaimed. He was among the actors at the court house in Charlotte, Mecklinburgh county, on that memorable occasion, as well as a participator in the subsequent robbery of the British army in the neighbourhood by a few hundred stout hearted whigs, who surprised Cornwallis, and to use his own language 'cut out' twenty two of his baggage waggons, and made a great fare of their contents the next day in Charlotte. To this day the surviving heroes in that feat preserve the trop[h]ies of their daring; several of which remain in the mansion of my father near the village where you last saw him." The writer's father, one of the early teachers of Jackson, was Rev. Dr. Francis Cummins (1752-1832); Sprague, *Annals*, III. 418-421.

ness hereafter—which I hope he obtained through the attonement made by our blessed saviour, and his sincere repentance. Let it be recollected, that this mutiny was at a time when every nerve of our country was strained to protect it from the invasion of an overwhelming British force, whose agents were then employed to stir up the Creeks to the indiscriminate murder of our defenceless border,

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, September 2, 1826.

. . . . I have read the instructions to the commissioners for holding a treaty with the Chickasaw and Choctaws with attention, and hasten to give you my opinion with regard to the restrictions therein contained. 1st. The current expenses of the treaty including compensation to the commissioners is not to exceed twenty thousand dollars the sum appropriated. you are not restricted as to the price to be stipulated for any land you may obtain from the Indians. This as it ought to be, is left to the discretion of the commissioners. on the event of a Barter you are only restricted as to acre for acre, but as it must have been well understood that a barter could not be obtained without Boot, this is also left to your discretion, but the treaty having to be approved by the president and Senate the sums stipulated to be given must await this approval and an appropriation by congress. I would advise in all stipulations for money, a stipulation for an annuity for a term of years *only*. The object of the Govt. is to obtain a cession of this Indian country for lands west of the Mississippi. it is the duty of the commissioners to obtain this cession on the best terms they can, leaving the President and Senate to ratify or reject as their judgt may dictate. It is well known that a barter cannot be obtained without giving the Indians Boot. was I a commissioner before I would fail in the object I would give in boot the excess in value of the acre of Indian land ceded, to the acre given by the U. States, taking into view the expence of surveying and selling the public land. This section of country is of great importance to the prosperity and strength of the lower Mississippi, a dense white population would add much to its safety in a state of war, and it ought to be obtained, if it can, on any thing like reasonable terms. . . . .

Major Henry Lee to Jackson.

Buffalo, September 14, 1826.

dear Genl. I have been in this neighbourhood some days, vewing or reviewing the falls of Niagara and examining the various Battle scenes on the Canada side; having it in contemplation to write a history of the last War. On my way I visited and conversed with Govr. Clinton to whom I was recommended and by whom I was treated with much civility. His standing in the political world renders him an object of interest, and I proceed to give you the result of my observations. He is frendly *in his conversation* to your election and adverse to that of Adams; Still more so to the succession of Clay In answer to questions from me he said

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

" Adams has but little influence or popularity in this State ". " Clay has few partisans and no prospects in this or the eastern States." " Jackson has some friends in N. York and in ohio I think he stands well." His expressions were altogether favourable to you, and decidedly hostile to Clay, but I am convinced from the whole tenour of his remarks that his object is to secure his own elevation at the next election if possible or the succeeding one at any rate. He would go as far as I could wish in reprobating the origin the doctrines, the practices, and the character of the incumbent administration, but he would never concur with me in the conclusion which I frequently presented for his adoption, that it was necessary for every conspicuous and enlightened patriot to support you as the only man who was now able to effect their overthrow. Here he was uniformly hesitating and evasive—saying " Jackson will beat any man in his own state and probably in Pena." As soon as I was satisfied that his mind was obstinately bent on this selfish object, I said according to my present sentiments Govr. Clinton, you may rely on my exertions to support you against Mr. Clay should he attempt to succeed Genl. Jackson. This remark obviously disconcerted him, and our conversation soon after glided into general subjects. Speaking candidly to you, I fear he is a man essentially little—nothing noble and disinterested in his composition. An occurrence happened while I was with him, which though trifling appears to me perfectly illustrative of his imbecility. While we were engaged in this political confabulation, and when it was rather interesting to him, a rap was heard at the door. He told the servant to " carry them back ". The visiters (one of whom turned out to be a judge of the State, passed right by the door of the room in which we were and if they had have looked round might have seene us. Clinton stopped in the midst of a sentence as they passed, and shrank himself up into a corner of the room to prevent their seeing him. This I thought as little like a great man and as much like a little man as any thing I ever witnessed. It is impossible to concieve that Genl. Washington, or (if you will pardon me) Genl. Jackson ever exhibited such weakness.

I was surprised to find the conversation of Clinton, far below the style of a well educated gentleman. His manner[s] are heavy and his language quite provincial. For example the told me Mr. Monroe and his Cabinet " had all tried *for* to crush him ". The canal however is a lasting and a grand monument to his fame. No traveller who sees it without seeing Clinton can help feeling gratitude and admiration for its Chief promoter. Travelling is cheaper in this state and more comfortable than I ever found it elsewhere You live in the best style all the way, and are conveyed from N. york to this place a distance of 507 miles in 6 and ½ days for $13.62½. and you may come comfortably for 10 dollars. You ought to have a canal from the Tennessee to the Alabama. . . . .

James Buchanan to Jackson.

Lancaster, September 21, 1826.

. . . . There was a most artful and powerful effort made against you in this State during the last Spring. They did not dare to attack you personally; but levelled all their artillery against Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Ran-

dolph, Mr. M'Duffie etc. but principally against the former; and they endeavored to make you answerable for his political offences, as presiding officer of the Senate. They have succeeded, to a considerable extent, in injuring the popularity of Mr. Calhoun; but their arrows have fallen harmless at your feet. Your popularity throughout the State of Pennsylvania is fixed upon sure foundations which your enemies have not nor ever will be able to shake.[1]

Our society in this City has had a most agreeable addition in Mr. Cheves [2] and his family. He has purchased a farm within a mile of Lancaster and has taken up his residence amongst us with an intention, as he says, of laying his bones here. His sterling good sense and his agreeable manners have already made him a great favorite. Although he has been and still, I believe, is upon terms of personal friendship with Mr. Clay; yet he disapproves highly of his recent political course and does not hesitate upon all proper occasions to express his opinion. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, September 25, 1826.

. . . . you will discover from the public journals that the presidential canvass has commenced with great spirit from the cost, even in Boston, the former hotbead of Federalism has had a meeting, and the secretary of state always comes in for his share of public censure, he like Lucifer, is politically fallen, never to rise again. He is on an electioneering tour in the upper parts of Virginia, travelling for his *health* it being much *impaired* by *official duty,* but it will not do, he never can raise himself again in Virginia. The administration will make great exertions to succeed. every engine that can be wielded will be used, as we have a right to expect from the falsehoods and fabrications we have already seen published, by their Tools. I think Jonathan Roberts,[2] must ere this, repent of his folly. he has been severely exposed, and the reply over the signature of Major Eaton which will soon appear in the Eastern prints, will prostrate him forever, indeed the four numbers which has appeared in the Cincinnati Republican over the signature of *Vindication* has put his falsehood to rest, but as most of the replies has been over anonimous names, it was thought best, as Mr Roberts has been a senator, that a reply by a senator who were both members during the discussion of the Seminole campaign would be more relied on and better calculated to prostrate the *faction.*

When you meet with Genl Hinds present me to him affectionately. I have no hope of your succeeding. if you succeed at all you must succeed with both nations, and succeed I would, if they will sell. what is

[1] This patent effort to identify, in Jackson's mind, the causes of Jackson and Calhoun did not succeed. In his reply, Oct. 15, 1826 (see *Works of James Buchanan,* I. 218), Jackson was very non-committal with respect to Calhoun.

[2] Langdon Cheves of South Carolina, M. C. 1811-1815, president of the United States Bank 1819-1822, removed from Philadelphia to Lancaster in 1826, but in 1829 returned to South Carolina.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Senator from Pennsylvania 1814-1821.

the vallue of the soil, compared to the vallue of the population that section of country will maintain. labour is the wealth of all nations, and it is your business to make a treaty the best you can obtain, and leave it with the senate and president to approve or reject. . . . .

To a Committee of the Davidson County Bible Society.[1]

Hermitage, September 30, 1826.

Gentlemen, Your note of the 25th instant is Just recd through the post office

Whilst I feel grateful for the honor intended me, I must decline your request. Was this great and good cause in need of this effort it should be yielded with much pleasure and promptness, but as this cannot be the case, there being so many Gentlemen much better qualified for public speaking than myself and more in the habit, I must be excused—having lost many of my teeth it is with great dificulty I can articulate, and not being in the habit of public speaking of late, it is very unpleasant for me to appear in that charecter. I therefore resign to abler hands.

There is still a stronger reason for my declining—it is this—Under existing circumstances, was such an address to go forth to the world, I might be charged by my political enemies with having come forth hypocritically under the sacred garb of religion thus to electioner—never having worn this mask I cannot permit myself to appear in an attitude which might justify my enemies in raising imputations so unpleasant.

Permit me to assure you, gentlemen whilst for the reasons offered I decline the profered honor, that there is nothing that I can do with propriety that I will not do, to prosper the great and good cause of christianity and the true religion of Jesus christ by the spread of the gospel.

With great consideration and respect I am Gentlemen

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

[n. p., n. d., probably in September, 1826.]

. . . . I have no idea that you will succeed at present, but you may perhaps make a conditional treaty to be binding on the two nations should they be pleased with the country when it is explored by their chiefs selected for that purpose. It is your provence to make a treaty if you can, and the best you can. If therefore they will yield their country at all, you will have to pay them *well.* if you find that they alledge that they are unacquainted with the country, stipulate on what terms they will *exchange,* if they should be pleased with it when viewed by them, appoint an agent to accompany them, and stipulate that they shall have so many months to give their final approbation to this agreement, further stipulating that the approval of the president and senate is to be had, to this conditional treaty, in which, must be stipulated a sum to bear the expence of this exploration. to this they Indians may agree, but still this ought to be the

[1] Jackson had been invited to attend the anniversary meeting of the Davidson County Bible Society, and to move a resolution approving the report of the managers, making appropriate remarks. The above letter was his reply to the invitation.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

last proposition. Unless the Indians are acquainted with the country you propose giving them in exchange, *they will not, nay, ought not,* to enter into a final treaty before they obtain this information, but an erangement may with justice to them be made on the condition they like the country when explored. This will test how far the president and congress will approve the treaty when absolutely made, on the application for the appropriation to defray the expence of exploring the country. your powers does not justify such a conditional treaty but if you can obtain no other, this of itself will justify this thing, and may be the means of finally obtaining their country, and at a much earlier day than without it, because it will be the inducement for them to explore it when otherwise they would not. make a treaty, this is your business if you can and leave it to the P. and congress to approve.[2] . . . .

Brigadier-General John Coffee to Jackson.

Coxes Creek, October 1, 1826.

D'r Genl. By Mr. Camper I had the pleasure to receive yours of the 25th Ulto. and also my mare in fine order. I hope she is in foal. I thank you for this additional service, to the many heretofore recd. from you. About a week ago I went down to A. J. Hutchings farm and went through the crop and examined it well, the Cotton is indifferent owing to the droughts, it seems to have been very well cultivated, but most of it in the oldest land is very small and badly bowled, and the wet season had started it to a second growth, that was also injuring it very much, it was forward and they were picking it very fast. Winburn informed me that he had out at that time 35 thousand, since which he had a week,s picking he must have by this time 45 thousand out. his calculations were from what he had picked that he would gather in about six hundred to the acre, when all done—he had at that time Gined his packing room full and was waiting to get Baging and rope to begin to bail. he will be done baleing as soon as he is done picking, or very soon thereafter, as he carries on both branches of business at the same time, he says his hands pick remarkably well, so much so, that he himself attends the Gin, and keeps all hands in the field. I bought Baling and rope, and sent it to him the day after I was there, say on yesterday was a week ago. he would bale on monday last all that he had picked, and continue Gining—the Scotch Baging (which was the same price with the other) cost 30 cents a yard, and Rope 12½ cents p lb. I omitted to purchase for myself or that farm, untill very lately, when that was the best bargain I could get, taking enough for both farms.

The old ground corn was also rather light, but the new ground was very fine with a good crop of Pumpkins, the Corn Crop will abundantly supply the place but nothing more. he could not tell how many hogs he could command to make pork, but he said there would not be enough to supply the place, the hogs were very much scattered, running after the whiteoak mast that had begun to fall, and which is in great abundance this year. I

[2] This letter relates to the futile attempt to get the Choctaws to cede lands and remove to the Arkansas River region; see p. 310, note 2. The report of the commissioners' proceedings is in *Am. St. Pap., Ind. Aff.*, II. 709-717.

think it unnecessary to make any provision about the pork untill it is known the quantity that may be wanted, as it is likely to be very low here this year, I can get delivered at the place, at that season upon better terms than a contract can be made, or to have it driven out, and I hope to be here and will attend to it in due time.

Winburn is very desireous to remain on the place at his old wages say $200. he is about to Marry one of Old Mr. Scrug,s daughters, a young girl of 16 or 17 years of age, and that is the reason his sister Mrs. Nicholson is about to move away, another of her brothers and herself are about to settle a new place in the woods and carry on afarm. I am at a loss to determine whether Winburn ought to be continued or not, he is very anxious to do so, and I believe he is doing the very best he can with his judgment, but both him and his wife are young and will necessarily be at some loss to manage the young negroe family—in reply to that objection, her Mother is very near and possibly would counsel when called on for the purpose, this might be somewhat of a palliative, but not a compleat removal of the objection, and I would not consider him equal to such a man as Nicholson was yet he will do the best he can I beleive.

The man you mentioned in your letter who had written to you, and who had overseed for Booker, has I am told engaged with James Jackson. But if it should be determined to turn away Winburn, and get another, I can employ a man by the name of Hudson in this neighbourhood at $300. and his family found, who is an old overseer under an excellent name. he applied to me last year before Winburn had been engaged, and I mentioned him to you by letter, I think I should have then employed him but he was under a partial engagement with John Craig and could not get off. he has about as much family as Nickerson had, is a man about 35 years old from appearance is said to be a first rate overseer, he is a very decent man and so is his family as I learn, I think he would be able to manage affairs better than the other, and would be a more responsible person, but his family would be a little more expence, and his wages is $100. higher than the other—both of them seems desireous to continue on the place if employed, untill Andrew would arrive at age to take charge himself—under all circumstances possibly it would be better to empl[o]y Hudson, as he certainly would have more judgment in the management of the negroes and every thing else appertaining to the plantation, and if equal to his reputation as an overseer, he would relieve you measureably of responsibility.

I have given you as near as I can the history of the two men with the prospects before them, you can better determine which to employ than I can. If Winburn is to be employed you need not say so positively to him yet untill he brings his crop nearer to a close, and if he is not employed it will [be] more necessary to keep the information from him least he relax in his duty—therefore if you should wish to employ Hudson you may instruct me to that effect by a line and I will do it without giving the other notice of it, at least untill he progresses further with the Crop, As I expect to set out to the treaty on the 11 or at furthest the 12th of the month, the sooner you determine and write me the better, and if you conclude to employ Hudson, write such a letter as would do to shew to my Neighbour Major Allen, that in the event I should have started from

home before it came to hand, I would request Mrs. Coffee to send for the Major and get him to see Hudson and close the contract for me. he is well acquainted with Hudson, and recomm[en]ds his being employed, I will speak to Major Allen on the subject before I leave home, provided I do not receive your instructions before I start. . . . .

Major Henry Lee to Jackson.[1]

Washington, November 18, 1826.

dear Genl. The letter in which this is enclosed, you will find I wrote to you some time ago from Quebec. I did not think it worth the postage and therefore have detained it until I could get it franked. Perhaps in a liesure moment it may afford you some amusement. Since my return I have resigned my situation in the P. office. It was laborious and responsible without being honourable or lucrative. The sweets of liberty I again enjoy, and that stimulates me to vindicate the liberty of the nation. Your election I think will be its greatest triumph and I am therefore about to write a distinct and fair account of your life and character. I know that in general Biography, as well as anatomy, [one] should dissect only dead subjects. But the peculiar circumstances in which Envy and Merit have conspired to place you, render it important that a better knowledge of you should be communicated to your country men, than they now have. Will you do me the favour to communicate to me under cover to Genl. Houston any anecdotes you can remember of your early life—of your father and your mother, espicially of the latter, and your own views of your own conduct on the points in your public life which have been most assailed—such as the execution of Arbuthnot and ambrister—that of the Indian prophet—your imprisonment of Callava, and your controversy with Fromentin. The invasion of Florida then a Spanish territory you also know has been much canvassed, as well as your proceedings at N. orleans in relation to Judge Hall and Govr. Claiborne and the declaration of Martial Law. If you think proper to communicate any confidential details either of your public or private life; they shall be sacredly cherished within my own bosom, but they might still enable me to give a juster and firmer colour to your history. I have heard you censured for over-praising the militia at the Battle of the Horse Shoe, and for being silent about Williams and his Regulars. In respect to Cockes Mutiny too I should be glad to get particulars, and should wish to learn how it was you thought of hanging the members of the Hartford Convention under the 2nd section of a certain article of war—as intimated in your letter to Mr. Monroe. I have supposed you wrote hastily and from the accounts you had seen of these infamous malcontents thought they wd. come under that clause. But as truth is my object, I want facts. I hope you know me well enough to believe that I will do you justice. . . . .

To Sam Houston.

Hermitage, November 22, 1826.

D'r Genl, I set out tomorrow for the neighbourhood of Florence to make some arangements relative to the interest of my little ward, H.

[1] Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.

whose cotton Ginn and all the cotton has been consumed by fire. I therefore before I leave home trouble you with this letter.

I am anxious as early as your convenience will admit, that you should see Doctor Wallace and Colo Gray, and obtain their statement in writing of what the Sec of the Navy [1] should have said, at the Public dinner given him at Fredericksburg, va, relative to my leaving the army without leave or orders etc. etc. and communicate a copy to me and retain the original yourself. So soon as this is done present my note to the Sec and transmit me his reply. I trust you will attend to this thing promptly for me; for, I find the heads of Departments have been ranging the union and secretely intimating slanderous things of me. This I mean to Expose, and put down, one after the other, as I can obtain the positive proof. *Let it not be long before I hear from you.*

I have recd several letters from the western District.[2] since you left Nashville the current has *changed there*, and you will (unless a mighty change) receive an overwhelming majority. The result of your Political quarrel, and Major Eatons reelection, has put down the faction, and uninimity and harmony will prevade our whole state.

Present me to Mr John Randolph and all my friends in the senate. If you find it convenient, you may suggest a desire I have of obtaining a good filly got by Sir Archey, and full bred by the dam side. Knowing that he has the purest blood, if he has a filly of this description broke to the halter, that he can sell for $300 or under that sum, say a two or three year old, if he will deliver such a one to you, and you will bring her out, I will be prompt in remitting him the amount. . . . .

[P. S.] Capt A. J. Donelson who has engaged my stud coalts, desires me to say to you, if a faithfull good keeper of rone horses can be got, he will give them good wages. a freeman of colour, who could be well recommended for his capacity and honesty would be preferred. from one hundred dollars to one hundred and fifty of standing wages would be given, besides other priviledges, but none except those well recommended would be employed, he must be sober, honest, and capable—under such recommendations, I will guarantee any engagement for the Capt, that you may make.

Jackson's Marriage: Sworn Statement of Mrs. Elizabeth Craighead.[1]

Spring Hill, Tennessee, December 2, 1826.

The following is the statement of Mrs. Craighead, widow of the Revd. Thomas B. Craighead late a member of the West Tennessee Presbytery.

Mr. Craighead and myself came to this country about forty two years ago; and Mrs. Donelson, the mother of Mrs. Jackson, and family came

[1] Samuel L. Southard of New Jersey.

[2] The Western District was that part of Tennessee lying west of the Tennessee River. It was acquired from the Chickasaw Indians by Jackson and Governor Shelby in the treaty of 1818.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. This statement was widely published by the Jackson men in the presidential campaign that ended in 1828.

and settled at the Clover Bottom in Davidson County, Tennessee, the same year. With the family of Mrs. Donelson I was well and intimately acquainted, indeed my family had a knowledge of the Donelson connections for about seventy years. The whole family were respectable, and I lived in habits of intimacy with Mrs. Donelson during her life, and with Mrs. Jackson nearly forty years. The character of Mrs. Donelson, the mother of Mrs. Jackson, was without a blemish and her standing in society was inferior to that of no other lady in the country. She respected religion whilst she lived, and died in the hope of a happy hereafter.

Mrs. Jackson, then Mrs. Roberts, was brought to this country, from Kentuc[k]y, by one of her brothers a few years after the family had settled themselves here in consequence as I understood, of the cruel treatment of her husband, who was said to be a man of jealous disposition and vicious habits. This was manifested by the suspicions he entertained of the improper conduct of his wife. At the time she lived with him, at the house of his mother in Kentucky, an attorney by the name of Short also boarded with the old lady. With regard to the unhappy difference which took place between Roberts and his wife, it was believed that it arose from the circumstance of Short's living in the same family with Mrs. Roberts, and showing her, perhaps, a little more than ordinary politeness.

Mr. James Brown, my brother, who is now at Paris in France,[2] came to this country shortly after Mrs. Roberts arrived from Kentucky; and, speaking of her, deeply regretted her misfortunes. He said that he believed her to be a chaste and virtuous woman, and gave as a reason for thinking so, that he was intimate with Mr. Short, and has conversed with him particularly with respect to Mrs. Roberts, that he assured him, in the strongest and most solemn terms, Mrs. Roberts was a worthy, virtuous woman, and that the suspicions of her husband were entirely unfounded, cruel and ungenerous.

Mrs. Roberts after having been driven from her mother-in-laws by the cruel treatment of her husband, Capt. Roberts, lived with her mother, Mrs. Donelson, several years, and conducted herself with the greatest propriety, entirely withdrawing herself from all places of public amusement, such as Balls, parties, etc. About two years after his wife left Kentucky, Roberts came to this country for the purpose of being reconciled to her. He made every acknowledgment, and appeared to be quite penitent for his past conduct; stating, as I understood at the time, that he did not blame his wife for leaving him and coming to live with her mother. Shortly after his arrivel, by the interference of her friends and acquaintances, she agreed to live with him on condition that he would settle himself in her mother's neighborhood, to which he gave his consent and actually purchased a tract of land. After they became reconciled Mrs. Donelson, for the first time, took into her house as boarders, several young gentlemen, (there being then few, if any regular boarding houses, or taverns,) among whom were Judge Overton and Genl. Jackson. Having agreed to live together, Roberts went back to Kentucky for the purpose of moving his property to this country. Upon his return, having

[2] Senator from Louisiana 1813-1817, 1819-1823, and minister to France 1823-1829.

found Genl. Jackson in the family, his jealousies appeared to revive. This was more particularly manifested towards Genl. Jackson, in consequence, I suppose, of his gay, sprightly disposition, and courtly manners. From my acquaintance with Mrs. Jackson I have no hesitation in stating it as my firm belief, that his suspicions were entirely groundless. No lady ever conducted herself in a more becoming manner during the whole of that period. I have lived within a few miles of Mrs. Jackson ever since that time (with the exception of about two years) and have been intimate with her, and can say no lady maintains a better character, or is more exemplary in her deportment, or more beloved by her friends and neighbors.

P. S. In addition to what has been stated above it was my understanding, and the understanding, I believe, of the settlers generally, that on the application of Capt. Roberts, the Legislature of Virginia divorced him from his wife, and I never heard any thing to the contrary until lately.[3]

James K. Polk to Jackson.

Washington, December 4, 1826.

. . . . On my way through Virginia, to this place, I learned from a source in which I place confidence, that it was contemplated by some of the leading men of that State, about Richmond, to address you soon, for the purpose of ascertaining your opinions at large, in relation to the construction which you place on the federal consti[tu]tion, and more especially in relation to the power of making internal improvements, through the territory of the States, by the General Government. Your opinions on this subject I have no doubt have long since been settled, and when called on in a proper way I have as little doubt will be given independently, and regardless of consequences. Virginia you know is exceedingly sensative on this subject, and the only object I at present have, in writing you is, that you may not be taken unapprised; and be called upon for a hasty opinion. Without great care in the phraseology employed to convey our ideas, you know the plainest sentiment in the English language may be perverted, and by the uncandid made to mean any thing but what it was intended to mean. It may be that the call may never be made; but whethere it should or not, I hope not to be deemed obtrusive in making the suggestion. It can do no harm. The information though not given to me

[3] In the Jackson MSS. is the following letter from Lewis Robards to Col. Robert Hays, written from Mercer Co., Ky., Jan. 9, 1791: "*D'r Sir* I shall be very much Oblige to you if you Will send me the horse you soald my Corn For by Mr. Miles or by the first Opporteunty You can get I shall depend on you and Mr. Overton that theire is no advantage taken of me in My absence at Cumberland you will plase to Right by the first Opporteunity if the Estate is devided as I may no how to proseed to get my Rite if theire is aney Opporteunity Offers of selling my land you will please to let Me no my price is 250 will give long Credets For one half, I will take Negroes if theay are young and likely and if you think theire no Chanch of selling it if theire is aney probibility of getting aney famileys to settel on it you will [*mutilated*] give to settel them on it. . . . ."

Colonel Hays married Polly, sister of Rachael Donelson, and was therefore Robards's brother-in-law. When he died, many years later, Jackson executed his will, and in consequence many of Hays's papers got mixed in with the Jackson Papers. There is evidence tending to show that Jackson eventually became the owner of the land to which Robards alluded in this letter.

in confidence, I presume was not intended to be made public; I feel however unrestrained in communicating it to you, and for your greater satisfaction, will state it to you confidentially as I recd. it.

At Abingdon in conversation with *Dr. McCall,* he stated to me that such a call would certainly be made on you; that he had learned it from *Col. Campbell* a very intelligent gentleman of that vicinity and one who was well acquainted with the views of the leading politicians of the State; and particularly of those in Richmond and its vicinity. Whether the call will proceed from the *friends* of the administration, or from the *lukewarm,* I am unable to say. That it will not proceed from your friends I am satisfied—1st. because they have had ample opportunities in the whole tenor of your public life of understanding and knowing your opinions, upon this as well as all other great National questions, on which it has become necessary for you to either speak or act; and 2nd. because in Virginia, your friends have now no occasion to make such a call, for Virginia, from information recd. from all qua[r]ters is now as determined in her opposition to the present administration, as Tennessee, Pennsylvania or any other State in the Union. Whatever therefore may be the design of some in Va. who have suggested this plan, with a view as I belive to injure you in that state, the effort must be wholly abortive. I must close this communication already swelled to a much greater length than I anticipated when I commenced it. It is written with the best design, and if the suggestion contained in it should possibly be of any service I shall be amply rewarded. In the progress of the session if any thing of interest should occur, which does not appear in the Newspapers I will take great pleasure in communicating it, and shall be happy at any time you can find leisure to hear from you.

I have the Honor to be

NB. Our foreign friends here rejoice with us at the success of our friend Majr. Eaton. We consider it a great point gained.

Jackson's Marriage: Sworn Statement of Mrs. Sally Smith.

Near Nashville, December 10, 1826.

The statement of Mrs Smith widow of Genl Daniel Smith formerly the representative of Tennessee in the Senate of the U states.[1]

As well as I now recollect Mr Smith and myself settled in this country in the year 1784. At that period, or shortly after it Mrs Donelson and family were among the few families who came and settled in the country on the south side of Cumberland river, where, altho they were but a few miles from me, yet, in consequence of the river running between us, and the danger of visiting in those days, I did not become personally acquainted with them for two or three years after. The family however was universally spoken of as one of the most respectable and worthy in the whole county. The first time that I ever saw Mrs Jackson, then Mrs Roberts, was at the station of Col Mansker. One of her Brothers had not long before brought her from Kentucky, where she and Mr Roberts had been married and settled—the cause of her return to Tennessee, was then

[1] See vol. I., p. 7.

attributed to the cruel and unjust treatment of her husband who was spoken of every where as a man of irregular habits, and much given to jealous suspicions.

About 2 years after I first saw Mrs Roberts, I learned that Roberts had arrived in the country, and by the assistance of the family of his wife that their differences had been reconciled, and that they were again living together at Mrs Donelson's. They were not long however together, before it was understood that the same unhappy apprehensions seized the mind of Roberts, and the consequence of which was another separation, and as it soon appeared, a final one. All the circumstances attending this rupture I cannot attempt to state with much particularity at this late day. But it is hardly possible, considering the free and unreserved intercourse that prevailed among all the respectable classes of people here at that time, that an incident of this nature should occur without being fully and generally known; and that every person should concur in the same views upon its character, without the best reasons. In this transaction Mr. Roberts alone was censured; and I never heard a respectable man or woman intimate that the conduct of his wife differed from that of the most prudent, and virtuous female. Genl Jackson boarded at the time in the house of Mrs Donelson, and it was the common belief that his character and standing, added to his engaging and sprightly manners, were enough to inflame the mind of poor Roberts addicted as he was to vicious habits and the most childish suspicions.

Mr Roberts had not been long gone from Tennessee when information was received here that he had obtained a divorce from his wife. Whether this information came by letter or by a newspaper from Virginia addressed to my Husband, I cannot now say with certainty, but I think by the latter. It was after this information came that Genl Jackson married Mrs Roberts, and I recollect well the observation of the Revd Mr Craighead in relation to the marriage—it was that it was a happy change for Mrs Roberts, and highly creditable to Genl Jackson who by this act of his life evinced his own magnanimity as well as the purity and innocence of Mrs Roberts. And such was the sentiment of all my acquaintances. Since this period I have lived within a few miles of Mrs Jackson, and have never been acquainted with a lady more exemplary in her deportment, or one to whom a greater share of the respect and regard of friends and acquaintances can be awarded.

Given at my plantation in Sumner County State of Tennessee, on the 10th day of December, 1826

Done in the presence of Daniel S Donelson, as witness my hand and signature.

DANIEL S DONELSON [Seal]

To MAJOR WILLIAM B. LEWIS.[1]

HERMITAGE, December 12, 1826.

My dear Major, Inclosed you will receive a copy of Mrs. Genl. Smith's statement on the subject spoken of. Capt. Donelson is not acquainted with

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. (transcript); original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

Mrs. Bowen, and how her statement will be obtained I cannot devise, unless you and Mr. M Lamore will ride up and see her, and perhaps neither of you are acquainted with her. Mrs. Bowens, together with Mrs. Craighead and Mrs. Smith will be all sufficient. Mrs. Bowen is sister to Colo. Russle, late of Fayette county Kentucky, deceased, and I believe sister of Genl. Russle, step father of Mrs. Frank Preston. The high character of these three ladies, and their numerous respectable connections, will carry credence with their statement whereever it is seen.

I am more anxious on this subject than perhaps I ought to be, but the Rascallity of the attempt to blacken the character of an ancient and Virtuous female who has thro life maintained a good reputation and has associated with the best circles of society in which she has been placed, and this for the basest purpose, by a coalition at the head of which I am sure Mr. Clay is, raises in my mind much feelings of indignation that I can scarcely control, but a day of retribution as it respects Mr. Clay and his tool Colo. Hammond, must arrive should I be spared.

You cannot confer a greater obligation on me than by obtaining Mrs. Bowen's Statement. Could I move in this thing, I would apply to her Myself, but if I did, it might be used injuriously. I will come down and see Mr. Overton as soon as I can make some arrangements about my cotton.

I am very respectcully, yr friend

P. S. I have to send you the original which I have not time to copy. My Dr. Sir, will you have it copied, and the original I will get when I go down or Capt. A. J. Donelson will copy it when he goes down on Friday next. Keep the original safe.

To Sam Houston.

Private

Hermitage, December 15, 1826.

D'r Genl, The business of my little ward (Hutchings) drew me to Alabama shortly after you left me from whence I have Just returned. The Legislature of Alabama has chosen Mr John M[c]Kinley their Senator. James Jackson, Colo. N. Davis, Judge Clay, and Doctor Moore, names were before the people as candidates with Mr McKinley—finding Judge Clay the Strongest of the coalition, Jackson, Davis and Moore united upon Judge Clay against McKinley, and were defeated by three votes—however it is said Judge Clay came forth publickly against the administration, but my friends it appears, had not as much confidence in his avowals, as they had in McK. you will therefore infer that Major McKinly has been elected by my political friends, and I hope he may notise their expectations. The major will be with you shortly, and you can soon Judge whether the confidence of the people is well founded or not. Clay will endeavour to wield him to his views, but I cannot believe he will succeed.

As far as I could Judge from the voice of the people as I passed through Tennessee your popularity is Daily increasing, but you will have to return early in the spring and pass through the state. We are now looking

to the city for the President communication to Congress which will afford the type holders some employment, and develope to the Nation its political prosperity and situation, and give us a clear view of the panama Congress, as I see Mr. Seargeant [1] has Just *sailed before the meeting of Congress:* the necessity of this movement, must have been as urgent, as the cause of accepting the invitation to be represented there, a few days before the meeting of last Congress.

I am anxiously awaiting a letter from you, after your arival at the city, and having seen our friends of Fredrickburge va., and presented my note to Mr Southerd. I am determined to unmask such part of the Executive council, as has entered into the combination to slander and revile me; and I trust, in due time to effect it, and lay the perfidy, meaness, and wickedness, of Clay, naked before the american people. I have lately got an intimation of some of his secrete movements, which, if I can reach with possitive and responsible proof, I will wield to his political, and perhaps, to his actual destruction. he is certainly the bases[t], meanest, scoundrel, that ever disgraced the image of his god—nothing too mean or low for him to condescend to, *secretely* to carry his cowardly and base purpose of slander into effect; even the aged and virtuous female, is not free from his secrete combination of base slander—but *anough, you know me,* I will curb my feelings until it becomes proper to act, when retributive *Justice will vissit him and his panders heads.*

Since my return from Alabama I have recd a letter from my friend J. S. Barber [2] accompanied with his speech on Mr McDuffies proposed amendment to the constitution. present him my respects and thanks for this letter and pamphlet, it has afforded me much satisfaction and the speech is fraught with much sound construction of our constitution, and real republican doctrine. When leisure occurs I will write him. present me to all my Tennessee friends and all members who inquire for me to Judge White and Branch of the senate.

When I wrote you last I made a request of you for Mr Donelson—he has wrote you himself; if Mr Randolph has returned, and you should think it right, present him my compliments as an admirer of his independence and virtue, not as a flatterer. yr friend

Jackson's Marriage: Sworn Statement of Mrs. Mary H. Bowen.

Sumner County, Tenn., December 21, 1826.

The statement of Mrs. Bowen, widow of Col William Bowen deceased, and sister of Genl Russel and also of the late Col Russel of Fayette county Kentucky: also Mother of the late John H Bowen Esqr. late a Representative of Tennessee in the Congress of the United States.

My Father married Mrs Campbell the sister of Patric Henry of Va, and settled at the salt Works in Washington county a few miles from Abingdon Va. After this event about the year 1785 Mr Bowen and myself moved from Washington and settled upon the spot where I now live

[1] John Sergeant of Philadelphia, sent by Adams to the adjourned session (at Tacubaya) of the Panama Congress.
[2] John S. Barbour of Virginia, M. C. 1823-1833.

in Sumner County Tennessee. Soon after our arrival we became acquainted with the family of Mrs Donelson, the mother of Mrs Jackson, who settled the fall after our arrival within a mile of us, and since this period have lived in the same neighborhood. With this family we have always lived in habits of intimacy, and friendship.

At the time of my first acquaintance with the family of Mrs Donelson, that is in 1786, her daughter Mrs Roberts was then in Kentucky where she was settled, and married. In the year after this I became acquainted with her, having been brought down to this country by her Brother Samuel Donelson, who as I understood then, and have always since believed, went after her, in consequence of the cruel treatment which she had received from her husband. upon her arrival here, I was introduced to her, and from the intimacy and confidence which soon prevailed between us, I was convinced that the conduct of her husband was illiberal and unjust. I can safely say that the deportment of no lady ever seemed to me more guarded, or more free from those faults which usually give rise to jealousy and illwill. Some time after this Mr Roberts came to this county with the view of becoming reconciled again to his wife, as I understood; their differences were made up, by the interference of some of the relations of mrs Roberts, and they agreed to live together again, and did occupy, as I then heard, a separate house in the yard of Mrs Donelson. It was at this period that the unhappy difference arose which caused another rupture between Mr and Mrs Roberts; the circumstances so far as I now recollect them, are as follows. Genl Jackson and Judge overton with some other young Gentlemen were boarding in the family of Mrs Donelson. Genl Jackson soon became the object of Mr Roberts' jealousy and illwill, who seemed to indulge the same cruel suspicions in regard to the conduct of his wife which had led to their separation in Kentucky; the effect of which was the voluntary withdrawal of the Genl from the family, while mr and mrs Roberts remained with it. Mr Roberts however did not long remain before he set out for Kentucky: whether with the intention of returning or not I do not know; but he was not long gone before it was understood that a divorce had been granted upon his application separating him from his wife. In this transaction, I can safely say, from my intimacy with both Mrs Donelson and Mrs Roberts, as well as Genl Jackson, that not the least censure ought to be thrown upon any person but Mr Roberts. When the circumstance happened this was the language of all the county; and I never heard until now that there was any person living, who had from a knowledge of the facts, entertained a different opinion, except Mr Roberts himself, in whose weak and childish disposition, I think, the whole affair originated.

Done at my plantation in Sumner County Tennessee, this 21st of December, 1826 as witness my hand and signature

The above statement was twice distinctly read to Mrs. Bowen; after which her name was signed by her son, in my presence, by her direction, alledging that her hand was so tremulous she could not well write it.

W. B. Lewis

To Major Henry Lee.

Hermitage, December 25, 1826.

Sir, Your letter of the 2d of Oct. last from Quebec with that of 18th Novr from Washington has been received: being absent on business to Alabama when they reached Nashville will account to you for the delay in acknowledging their receipt.

The historical facts detailed in yours of the 2d October are highly interesting. The name of Wolfe must always live in the memory of every military Patriot, and every incident, therefore, of his life and death deserve attention. I tender you my hearty thanks for the gratifying detail which you have given me of his last moments.

Before the receipt of yours of the 18th November I had seen announced in the newspapers that you were about to write my Biography. I will with great pleasure furnish you with any official, public, document necessary to you for this purpose, that you cannot obtain from Latour's history of the southern campaign [1]—the cause shewn by me on a rule of the U states court at new orleans, why a writ of attachment should not issue against me; [2] my memorial to the senate of the U states on the subject of the report of its committee touching the measures of the seminole War; [3] and the pamphlet written and laid on the tables of the members of congress in 1819, titled the vindication of the President and his commanding generals in the prosecution and termination of the seminole war by a citizen of Tennessee; [4] and the correspondence between the President, secretary of State and myself on the subject of the affair with Callava [5] (the copy of one of the most important communications from me to the Secretary of state you will find in the hand of Genl Houston). of this correspondence, all that you may not be able to lay your hand on in Washington, or obtain from my friend Majr Eaton will be furnished on application. But further than this, notwithstanding the confidence which I repose in your pledge, I cannot speak of myself, or relate anecdotes of myself which have not been worded by others—should I attempt this, the most secret recess, could not conceal my shame.

As to the praise bestowed upon the militia at the *Horse shoe,* and the complaint of Col Williams rumoured to have been made, it will be sufficient to refer you to my communications to the commg Genl Pinckney and to the secretary of War on that subject; also to Genl Houston who was an active agent in the affair, and got severely wounded there. From these sources you will at once discern upon what foundation rests this charge against me.

It is true that I wrote hastily those letters to Mr Monroe to which you refer, and that I never calculated that they would be published. the sacred confidence, however, which characterised them, served to increase the malignity of those who were anxious to destroy me, and the circum-

[1] Lacarrière de Latour, *Historical Memoir,* etc.
[2] In Eaton's, *Jackson,* pp. 450-466.
[3] *Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff.,* I. 754-760.
[4] By Judge Overton (Washington, 1819); see p. 167, *ante,* note 1.
[5] *Am. St. Pap., Misc.,* II. 799-913.

stance of incaution and looseness in the manner and substance encouraged the hope that their publication would effect all that was desired. But they have been mistaken, whether from a sentiment of disapprobation to the base manner by which I was thus brought before the public. and from a conviction that the views submitted to Mr Monroe were in the main right, or the contrary, rests with the people.

When I take a view, now, of the difference of duty operating on our citizens in a state of peace and War, the Constitution declaring our militia the bulwark of the national defence, that in time of War the President is commander in chief not only of the army and navy of the U states, but of the militia also when *called into service,* and that he is charged with the national defence; I cannot see upon what constitutional grounds he can be refused the power of punishing all delinquents who fail to comply with the legal orders of the government in the form and manner contemplated by the consitution and provided for by the Legislature in the rules and articles of War.

It cannot be said that our Government is constitutionally incompetent to its own defence and protection in a state of War, so long as these powers are admitted to be granted, and so long as in obedience thereto rules and articles for a state of war are declared to be in force, among which, in the 56th and 57th article I think it is written that all who aid the enemy or who hold correspondence with him, directly or indirectly, or who aid and comfort him in any way whatever, are made punishable with death by a courtmartial. Now if there be no mistake about the Powers referred to, and if there had been none in the Public prints, when they charged the Hartford convention with carrying on illicit correspondence with the enemy, by its agents, with a combination to disobey the calls of the President, for the just *quotas* of militia, thereby paralysing the arm of government and aiding and assisting the enemy by with[d]rawing themselves illegally from the ranks of their country, I ask if the conduct as charged against the members of the Hartford Convention, and the correspondence with the British agents (if true) did not bring them within the purview and meaning of the 56th and 57th rules and articles of war—if not then they are a dead letter and ought to be expunged. Surely it cannot be contended that when we are in a state of declared war and the President makes a legal call for the militia that he is not clothed with the power thro the medium of the *law martial* to take cognizance of delinquents who fail to comply with the order—otherwise his power would be a mere letter, and altho entrusted with defence and preservation of the country, the force competent thereto might be witheld from him. These are my impressions of the powers of the Government when involved in war, and when our energies must be brought into instant action for its preservation and safety.

From these remarks your discriminating mind will easily collect to what extent my observations to Mr Monroe relative to the members of the Hartford convention went, and all that may be necessary to do justice to the subject. I have not my confidential letters before me and therefore forget the precise language used in them, but I have no hesitation in

saying that if I had been placed in command in that country by the orders of the President, I should have at once tried the strength of the Powers of the government in a state of war. Whether it was competent to wield its physical force in the defence of our country by punishing all concerned in combinations to aid the enemy and paralyse our own efforts. In this course if my judgement had been condemned, all good men would have at least commended the motion—wishing the joys of the season, respectfully yr mo obdt servt

Sam Houston to Jackson.

Washington, January, 1827.

. . . . There is nothing said here of your "confidential correspondence seeing the light", but I have not in my life seen a cause rising so fast as *that of the people is, nor,* one sinking faster, than the cause of a *wicked,* and *corrupt coalition!* Every movement tends to its more complete overthrow. Genl Coffee can give you particulars; which are too numerous to place on paper! The elections in Delaware, Missouri, and the certainty, that Van Buren, and the probability that Ellis of Mississippi,[1] will be elected, has struck consternation into the "Wigwam", and desperation is their only hope!!

Mr Randolph bears himself in the most manly, and noble mood, and is far above his former self! His enemies tremble, while his friends are delighted with him! Moore who attacked him in the legislature of Virginia has got into difficulties, and will be compell'd to challenge Dr Crump; and no doubt will get worsted! Moore is a distant connexion of mine, as also of Col. Benton's by his wife—neither of whom will take any part with him, but leave him, with Mr Clay, and his friends to take care of!

I have spoken to Mr Randolph on the subject, of the *archy filly,* that you wished to purchase of him. He says that he has none of three years old nor, under four, as I understood him to say — perhaps he has yearlings—for his four year old Fillys he asks $400.00 I will expect you to write me on this subject. It has not been in my power to hear of a good Groom, which can be had. Shou'd I hear of any I will forthwith apply to him, for Capt Donelson. Mr Randolph requested me whenever I wrote to you to present his kindest and best wishes to you—at the same time he was very kind in his inquiries for your health! . . . .

To the Secretary of the Navy (Samuel L. Southard).

Hermitage, January 5, 1827.

Sir. Being informed through a friend that at the table of Mr. John S. Wellford of Fredericksburgh Virginia, the following conversation took place between you and Doctor J. H. Wallace, to wit, you asked Doctor Wallace upon what ground he supported the election of Genl Jackson to

[1] Powhatan Ellis, senator 1825-1826, 1827-1832. Van Buren was re-elected senator from New York.

the Presidency. With other reasons, the Doctor mentioned my services during the late War, to which you replied, *" that Mr Monroe and not Genl Jackson was entitled to the credit for the victory at New Orleans—that Just before our troops were ordered to New Orleans Genl Jackson left the army and was returning home when Mr. Monroe sent him a peremtory order to return to the defence of that place, and that this, with other energetic measures of Mr Monroe was the salvation of New Orleans.* Colo. Gray of that place who was present, asked *" where could that order be found"* remarking, *that it would be of importance"*. Mr Southard said, *he did not know, but he had been informed such order was Issued and did exist.*

I have thought it my duty, not less to my own character, than to the high and responsible situation which you occupy, to address you stating the facts precisely as they have been communicated to me. A charge of so serious a nature as that implied in your declarations, as stated, to Doctor Wallace, it cannot be expected of me to pass without some notice, especially, as it seems to be adopted as true by an executive branch of our government, and as an act of Justice you cannot be surprised when I demand of you the name of your informer, or the source thro which you have felt yourself warrented in making this statement; which I am compelled from principles of truth, to pronounce false and unfounded, and that nothing during my military command ever happened like it, nor can it be said with truth, that I ever left my army, or ever slept one night beyond the limits of my camp, so long as I had one, or that I ever was on the sick report, or asked for leave of absence during the whole time I held a military command.

I have enclosed this letter to my friend Genl Houston, with the request that he present it to you, and enclose your reply, which I have no doubt, you will promptly make.

I have the honor to be very respectfully yr. mo. obdt. servt.

Sam Houston to Jackson.

Washington, January 5, 1827.

. . . . Two kind favors have come to hand from you, one before you visited Ala' and one since your return. For each and both of them I thank you. Since the receipt of the last I have not seen Mr Randolph, but will on to day, when it will be *fit* to execute your suggestions. When I have seen him he has always been very polite, and enquiring for you with much interest. I presented you to him, which appeared to give him much pleasure. The business part of your letters shall be attended to, with pleasure so soon, as his election is over—which is daily expected.

Mr R. throughout the session has been truly dignified, and silent, and I have heard his friends say, that he will rest his claims to a reelection on his last winters acts, and says he will stand, or fall by them, which by the by, I deem manly and honorable. He has surely never been so much himself, as he is this session, he is amiable, kind, and courteous to all he meets with. Times have been squally at Richmond, but his friends here say he will be elected easily, and it will be over in a few days, from this

time. The *powers that be here*, are greatly busied in trying to defeat his election, which will not help their cause in Virginia.

Of matters generally at this place I have written to my friend Dr Shelby, requesting him to let you see my *data* so far as they are assumed by me! Mr McKinly [1] has arrived, and your friends here deem him, a good, and *true* man for the country! So far as I can judge, I woud say so too. Matters at this time here are surely favorable to a change in the administration, and as you will learn from my letter to Dr S. they are so elswhere.

The baseness, and corruption of the present incumbents of power, woud displace men of more talents than what they possess. I have heard of some *schemes of Clay in the west*, and have no doubt if he shoud by his agent Mr Hammond, prossecute them, but what he will most timously "meet retributive justice" and first from the hands, of an indignant and manly community!!! I have seen letters from Ohio, and Ky on *this* subject, and it was not until a week ago, that I knew of his Hellish designs; thro his base *pandors*, to be effected.

You will see that they dare not attempt or rather, execute; what their *foul* souls have conceived, Tho' the game *is* desperate. Like the wounded serpent, when they find that, their adversary, is beyond the reach of their fangs, they will be compelld, in the anguish of disappointment to strike themselves; and of *their own* poison—perish! You loose no friends, but gain daily! It will be so until the great day of deliverance to our country arrives. Dr. Floyd of Va.[2] is a devoted friend of yours, and indeed, *almost all* the Crawford men. Govrs. Branch, and Holmes of N Carolina with many others direct me to present their warmest regards to you!

. . . .

Hugh L. White to Jackson.

Washington, January 17, 1827.

Dear Sir, On the 8th Instant in this city some of those disposed to commemorate it, had a dinner, at which I was present; and in answer to a toast made some observations which you will have seen. It was my wish to glance rapidly at some of the leading events of the last war, without saying aught in your favor which truth did not justify, and without in malice alluding to the acts of the Administration.[1] I am this moment informed President Monroe feels himself not only injured but offended by what I said, and is preparing materials to shew, my *statements untrue*. Having said what I *then believed* and yet do *believe* was strictly true, in manner, and form, I shall certainly not change one Syllable, until convinced 'tis wrong. I ask the favor of you to run your eye over it, and if in any thing, I have done the Administration of that day, injustice, to point out in what that error consists.

No matter by whom attacked, provided the man is respectable, I shall by all fair means sustain my statement without caring to whom it is offensive.

With the highest respect I am,

[1] John McKinley, senator from Alabama 1826-1831.

[2] John Floyd, M C. 1817-1829.

[1] White's remarks are noticed at length in the *National Intelligencer*, Jan. 9, 1827. See also *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun*, p. 243.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson.

Washington, January 24, 1827.

My dear Sir, I duly received your letter of the 18th July last, and, which I would have answered long since, had any event worthy of being communicated occurred. I cannot, however, to permit the opportunity, which the return of Genl. Coffee offers to pass without availing myself of it to renew our correspondence. He will make known the state of things here fully and accurately, which will supercede the necessity of details on my part; but I cannot but congratulate you and the country at the certain termination of the present corrup[t] state on the 4th March 1829. I never did doubt its overthrow from the begining, because I firmly relied on the good sense and virtue of the people. This great foundation of our whole system has at all times, and under all circumstances been the basis of my hopes and actions. It has never yet failed me, and, I feel assured, will not in this instance. Every indication is in our favour, or rather I should say in favor of the country's cause. The whole South is safe, with a large majority of the midle states, and even in New England strong symptoms of discontent and division now appear, which must daily increase. If events should continue to march on in the present direction, and I can see nothing to arrest them, the triumph of principle will be one of the most signal, that ever was achieved; and you will have the proud satisfaction of having restored in your name the great principles of popular rights, which have been trampled down by the coalition.

As to myself, it is my pride, that I have been the object of unceasing attack by the corrupt occupants of power. From the begining I saw the real character of the coalition, and the means, which it would adopt to perpetuate its power, among which was, if possible, my distruction; but I determined to have my danger on the side of liberty, and to sustain the whole weight of their attack, let the consequence be what it might to me. Finding all other attempts fail, a conspiracy the most base, and with a man guilty of forgery, swindling and perjury, was artfully got up to blast my private reputation.[1] I saw the assassins aim, and immediately appealed to the House, where alone, I could defend myself. A packed Committee was appointed, which has been sitting for three weeks, collecting irrelevent testimony, and hearing the testimony of a perjured wretch in order to bury the whole in an incongruous mass of suspicion, for the purpose of breaking the force of publick indignation. But it shall not avail them. Having through my whole life been governed by disinterested and patriotick feelings, I shall not permit my character to be stabed by conspirators, who would immolate me and my name, simply because I will not bow to power.

Make my best respects to Mrs. Jackson, and believe me to be with sentiment of great respect and esteem Yours etc

To Sam Houston.

Hermitage, January 27, 1827.

. . . . I will [be] happy to hear of my letter to Mr Southard having reached you. Whilst living, I wish to put down that vile slander, and ex-

[1] Referring to the affair of the Mix contract; *Corr. of Calhoun*, pp. 239, 791.

pose the slanderer (be he whom he may, and if such order, as aluded to, is on file, the *villain* who has placed it there, shall be unrobed whilst I am living, and the nation advised of the *Treachery* and hypocracy of their public functionaries. If it had passed unnoticed whilst I was living, when dead, it would have been said, if not true, why had this thing not been enquired into whilst I was living. We have an evidence in Mr Calhouns case, I admire his course, it was one worthy of him, his promptness in adopting it has astounded his enemies, *now says the hired presses,* It was improper to stir this thing in congress, it will delay public business etc. etc. had he not, it would have been circulated like lightning, recorded in all the ministerial prints, and hereafter would be said, *If not guilty why had he not applied for investigation.* he has applied, and I for one rejoice at it. public officers, ought not only to be honest but unsuspected, and when any charge emanating from or through, any of the departments ought to be investigated promptly—hence my anxiety to hear that my letter to Mr Sec Southard has reached you. Mrs. J. Joins me in good wishes believe me yr friend. . . . .

To James Buchanan.[1]

Hermitage, January 29, 1827.

. . . . I suspect the administration begin to perceive the necessity of public confidence without which it is an arduous undertaking to execute the solemn duties confided by the constitution to the chief magistrate. The Panama *"bubble"* and the loss of the trade with the British west Indies are the result of this defect in the Cabinet, for it cannot be supposed that such reputed diplomatists would have committed errors so obvious had not some influence stronger than the public good operated upon their minds. My hope, however, is that the wisdom of Congress may remedy these blunders, and that my friends the *"factious opposition"*, may in your own language never forget the support due to the country. I had predicted from the movements of Seargeant and Rochester [2] that the Panama subject was done with, and that the charge of *factious opposition* would be hushed, but it appears that I was mistaken—Tacabayou is to be the theatre on which these mighty projects are to be unfolded—alas, what folly & weakness

Present me to my friend Mr. Kremer and believe me very respectfully yr. mo. obdt. Servt.

Major Allan Campbell to Jackson.

Louisville, February 4, 1827.

Dear Genl. I have given you the annexed list, for the purpose of enabling you, if you should think proper, to write to certain men in this state, and at the same time, to give you the best data now at command, from which to estimate your present strength in Kentucky.

[1] Hist. Soc. Pa., Buchanan Papers. Printed in *Writings of James Buchanan,* ed. J. B. Moore, I. 237.

[2] John Sergeant, envoy to the Congress at Tacubaya, William R. Rochester, secretary.

To defeat, or check the purposes of the aristocracy, it became indispensibly necessary for the Republicans, to have recourse to extraordinary means and exertions. I therefore originated, and with the cooperation of about half a dozen, intelligent and zealous friends, carryed into full and successful operation last year, a plan, or System of Committees, from a Principle or Central Committee at Louisville, down to Sub-Committees into every ward of the Town, and Captains Company in the Country. In the execution of which, our Sub-Committees not only kept the secret so well, that our adversaries remained entirely ignorent and secure, until overwhelmed in disgraceful [ruin] but likewise went so far in detail, in the [regu]lar reports, as to give the names of each voter, how each would vote, both on the local and National questions. By which I find, that in Jefferson and Oldham Counties (which vote togeather) seven eighths of the New Court, and three eighths of the Old Court voters, will at this time support you for the next U. S. Presidency.

The organization of this Committee Plan, so as to embrace the whole state, has already been commenced by your friends, and it is expected to be in full and successful operation, before the next August elections, with a view not only to your elevation, but likewise to the resuscitation and success, of our local Republican cause or question. . . . .

To Hugh L. White.

Hermitage, February 7, 1827.

My Dear Sir, I have Just recd. your letter of the 17th ult and hasten to answer it. I had before its receipt seen and read your address to the assembly who were celebrating the 8th of January last in the city. feeling the obligation I was under for your kindness in representing me at that festive board, I had requested my friend Major Eaton to present you with my gratefull thanks for your kindness on that occasion. I can assure you, I was not prepared to hear that any thing you had said, would have given offence to Mr Monroe, for however much he might have thought that my services had been overated by you, still he had often seen himself eulogized for aid afforded in the defence of the lower country which had never been given, without anything said by me, and without giving me any heart burnings.

Mr Monroe, has often heard through the public presses as much praise ascribed to me for the defence of the lower country as has been spoken by you; and why was he silent then, and offended now. *he ought to be silent,* for he does know that orders Issued by the Sec of War were witheld from me, alltogether important for the defence of the lower country, and that I was entirely destitute of funds, but what I procured at my own responsibility late in octbr 1814 that enabled me to march on Pensacola and dislodge the British and Indians, and he does know, that the proper means of defence was neglected to have been furnished me; I was only prevented from making a full expose of the destitute state of the means of defence in which that section of country was left by the goverment, and that it was only preserved by the kindness of an overruling providence, and the vigilence and great exertions made by those engaged in its de-

fence. But upon cool reflection and the advice of a sage. I forebore. recollecting that it might detract from the national charecter, that it was my pride and boast to exalt. I cannot therefore believe, that Mr Monroe will appear before the public, unless indeed he has been under the rose, aiding the coalition to destroy my force, and inducing the Sec of the Navy at public dinners, to pronounce that he Mr Monroe is entitled to all the credit of the defence of Orleans, and whilst I was arrested in my desertion from the army by Mr Monroes *energetic order.*

should I find Mr Monroe engaged in such a base course, which I hope I never shall, I will unrobe his hypocricy and strip him, of much of his borrowed plumage. altho I have had many warnings of his duplicity, still I cannot believe that he has *hitched* himself to the car of the coalition. if he has, I will not only furnish you with the means for your defence, but will lay all facts before the nation, who will then Judge the *administration by its acts*, and determine how far the military skill, its orders, and means furnished for defence of the lower country by the goverment, merit applause or censure—for it is certainly true that the lower country, was left without the proper means of defence altho timely notice was had by our goverment to have furnished them, if proper vigilence had been used.

Whether blame was to be ascribed to the Department of War, or to its subordinates, is for them to settle amonghst themselves, I will detail a few facts, and you can Judge how far you have done injustice to the then administration, and how far Mr Monroe has Just ground of complaint, and I refer you to Mr Edward Livingston who was an active agent with me in the defence of New-orleans, who will Testify to the total want of means furnished by the goverment.

Now to the facts. In the month of June 1814 I transmitted to the sec of war documents sent to me by express informing that the British force was at Pensacola, in full command of the Town and was organising and diciplining the hostile Indians and furnishing them with supplies, and exciting them to war on our frontier borders, and requesting the sec of war to furnish me with the necessary orders, on the fact found as stated to be true, to march and expell them. It appears, that the then Sec of War Genl Armstrong on the 18th of July 1814, Issued a discretionary order authorising me, if the British was in Pensacola etc. etc., to enter and expell them, as we had a right to do, on the broad principles of self defence. This order never reached me untill after peace was declared, altho I have been informed by a friend, to whom Genl Parker, then adjt Genl and Inspector said that he had put this letter himself in the post office and on the next day had seen it on the table of Mr Monroe then sec of State. See Major Eaton on this subject.

After sending the sec of war the forgoing documents, being on my way to receive the submission of the Hostile creeks at Ft Jackson agreable to the orders of the goverment, I dispatched my faithfull spy Capt John Gordon to Pensacola who returned and reported to me at Ft Jackson on the 10th of August. on that day I wrote the sec of war, that from the report of my confidential agent sent to Pensacola, that it was true that the British was in compleat possession of Pensacola, their flag flying

on the Spanish forts, and the Indians armed and uniformed by them, and all in readiness to make an attack upon us. This was acknowledged to have been recd by Mr Monroe, then sec of war, of date 7th of Septbr, no order to expell the enemy, who was concentrating all their force there to invade us, or quarter masters stores, or funds to procure them, to enable me to operate and destroy them before their reinforcements daily expected Joined them. On the 27th of August I recd. confidentially, information on which I relied, of the sailing from Plymoth, and the concentration of a very formidable force by Great Britain to invade Mobile and Neworleans. This required every exertion in my power and the goverments, to meet the approaching crisis, and if possible strike the enemy at Pensacola and destroy or expell him before reinforcements arrived.

I immediately dispatched by express to the sec of war the information received, made requisitions on the governors of Tennessee Mississippi, Louisiana, for all the Troops I was then authorised to call for by the govt. viz, from Tennessee 2500 infantry, Mississippi, 500, and Louisiana, 1000, and wrote to Govr Shelby and appealled to his patriotism for aid in this trying emergencey—and on my own responsibility made an appeal to my old vollunteers in Tennessee to repair to the defence of the Eagles of their country that was [*mutilated*] me on my own responsibility, fifty thousand dollars to enable me to commence opperations and to expell the enemy from Pensacola before the expected reinforcements arived, which was necessary to be done before I could leave that section of my command and repair to N. Orleans. I had given the necessary orders to Colo. McCrea and Governor Claibour[n] to have Neworleans placed in the best state of defence the means in their reach would permit. Genl Coffee reached me on the 28th of Octbr. preceded by Colo. Butler and quartermaster Thomas Camp, with $25.000 procured from the Nashville Bank. This enabled me to commence opperations.

I marched for Pensacola, and stormed it on the morning of the 7th of Novbr. 1814 and on the 14 of Novbr. made report of this opperation to the sec of war. *Note,* it was Genl Coffees corps, brought into the field, on my own responsibility armd and equipped by your own exertions and the funds procured [on my] own responsibility and the aid of friends, that enabled me by this movement to clear the left flank of my district from the enemy and enabled me to move with Genl Coffees Brigade on the 22d of Novbr. for Orleans ordering the Genl to Baton rouge there to remain for orders. With this Brigade, the regulars about 500 strong, faced the uniformed Batalions of .[1] Genl Coffee by a forced march of one hundred and twenty miles in two days reached me in time to fight the enemy on his center. I would like to be informed what great agency the Govrt. had in these movements, it is true, that some time in Octbr. the General goverment placed in the hands of Govr. Blount, one hundred thousand dollars in Treasury notes which enabled him to move the last requisition from Tennessee, who by a providential act, the rise of the water and the great exertions of the officers who lead them reached

[1] Four lines mutilated so that they cannot be read.

me at a happy moment to repell the enemy, but would have been entirely destitute of arms had it not have been that Genl Carroll falling in with a boat with arms, placed under a guard, and compelled it on, gave his division and Genl Coffees brigade a small supply. Note—Genl Coffees men were armed but the wet weather and no tents, they became very rusty and damp the springs of the locks broke.

I had written to the Sec of War on the 5th and 8th of Septbr. 1814 that the British with their alies and [*mutilated*] were preparing to attack [*mutilated*], and begging him for orders to expell them—still silent—I wrote him again on the 17th of Septbr. informing him of the combined attack by sea and land of Ft Bow[y]er, by the British and Indian force, and of their repulse and retreat to Pensacola, and of my intention so soon as I had a force competant that I would strike the enemy in his hold at Pensacola. The sec of war had wrote me on 27th August [2] rece[i]pt of mine of august 23d, 24, 25th and 27th—still no orders to attack the British in Pensacola. I send you a copy of this letter, that you may be able to contrast it with his letter of the 16th of Decbr, and his orders of the 7th to genl Gains and the Genl report of the 4th of Febry 1815—hereafter noted. you will discover, that I was daily bringing to the view of the goverment the necessity of expelling the enemy from Pensacola and thereby give security to this District, before which, I could not proceed to Neworleans, which in all my letters on that head I kept the Sec advised, that and that alone was my object and the moment it could be effected, I would with the Vollunteers of Genl Coffee repair to cover and defend N. O.

Let it be remembered, that the requisition from Tennessee were infantry, they were ordered to Mobile, they were mostly from East Tennessee, had not arrived, and I had no force to spare from the defence of that section untill the British was beaten from our border, or untill the East Tennessee troops and those afterwards ordered for its defence had arrived. had I left that section of country before I had expelled the enemy from Pensacola, our frontier borders would have been deluged with blood, Ft Bowyer taken, Mobile and our whole country overrun by the British and Indians and a lodgement made on the Mississippi at the chikesaw Bluff, the supplies for the lower country, from the upper entirely cut off, and the lower country [3] information the Govr. had received that Louisiana was to be attacked through Mobile. such was my information, and such my anxiety to receive orders to that effect, but seeing that the Salvation of my country depended upon this movement, I was determined under every responsibility to make it expell the enemy from Pensacola before their reinforcement arrived and cut off all supplies. this I did, and preserved Neworleans and Mobile both.

I ask what aid did the Govrt. give me in this movement—let us see, I have said before that I had recd. the first and only funds on the 22d of Octbr. and on the 7th of Novbr. I entered and reduced Pensacola, and no military man I am sure will say but this movement was the only

[2] Two lines here are illegible.
[3] Two and a half lines illegible through mutilation.

movement to preserve my country and to enable me to repair to defend and cover Neworleans. Mr Monroe writes me on the 7th of Decbr, that he has recd. mine of the 23. and 31 of Octbr, and hopes, that his of 21st of Octbr had reached me in time to prevent me from marching on Pensacola, and if I had to deliver it, *saying* I had only entered it to free it from British violation—read the letter referred to and you will see he was altogether for negotiation with Spain and the order Issued by Sec Armstrong still witheld from me. I send you a copy of this letter for your perusal and information. I will barely remark, he as a military man from the information I had given him could not suppose, that I charged with the defence of the lower mississippi, if I knew any thing of military matters, would or could leave that section of country whilst the British were organising and concentrating their force to invade Louisi'a through Mobile? a military man, retire from the point the enemy was concentrating to invade, leave him unmolested in his preparation, retire to another section of country where the enemy had not appeared and leave the enemy an open march to the banks of the mississippi—where with the overwhelming force of the enemy he could have cut off all supplies from the country, and all below must have surrendered at discretion. I did not pursue this course, I had a carefull eye over neworleans intending to anticipate him so soon as he unmask this to be his view. Therefore as soon as I had expelled the British from Pensacola, I set out for and reached Neworleans on the first day of Decbr, 1814, having seperated from Genl. Coffee, ordering him to Baton Rough, myself taking a reconesance of the Gulph and lakes to see whether an enemy could land and penetrate to the rear and to the river above Neworleans, and to give orders for stock of all kind to be removed from coast into the interior to be put beyond the supply of the enemy.

My first object of inquiry on reching N. O. was to see and examine into the state of the arsnal and to my great surprise and mortification found it destitute of every means of formidable defence—no field artillery in readiness for the field but two Twelve pounders one 9 inch Howitzer 2 6 lbs, and not one piece of Batering Cannon on carriages, and none of any kind of corse calliber but what belonged to the Navy—no spades or intrenching tools, no arms but what were already in the hands of the militia fit for service, and no flints, and but few musquet catridges, and fixed amunition, and but 25 artillerist in the arsnal, and these 25, the only artillerist that we had to work our batteries before the enemy. all these def[e]nces, were to be made and procured somehow, and our cannon of large cannon procured from the Navy, and mounted. these belonged to the blockship on her stocks at or near Madison [4] and brought across the bay.

Thus situated, I was looking up the river for arms and ordinance and ordinance stores, requisitions have[ing] been made as early as Septbr. 1814, and acknowledged to have been recd, and that the requisition should be filled. when the steamboat from Pittsburgh arived, and reported no arms, ordinance or ordinance stores on the way, that a propo-

[4] Madisonville, La., on the Chefuncte River, near its mouth, on the north shore of Lake Pontchartrain.

sition had been made by the Supercargo to bring the arm and stores for 75/100 pr ct, and obligate himself to deliver them to me at Neworleans in 18 days. This offer was rejected by the Capt of Ordinance at Pittsburgh and the arms freighted by a Mr Maples, who it appeared was a kind of merchant Pedlar, at 50/100 pr ct, with priviledge to barter his goods on the way for wheat, etc. etc. and it did appear before the Court Martial before whom he was brought, that he had stoped at Louisville, and had a cargo of wheat ground into flower—and producing his articles entered into with the Capt of Ordinance at Pittsburgh Mr Maples was acquitted, these proceeding sent to the Dept of War, with a request from me that the agent should be arrested and punished for this conduct. This was not done—see my letter and proceedings of courtmartial in the war office at the city. It is believed, I write from memory, that Capt Woolly of ordinance, instead of being punished was retained in the service at the reduction of the army on the peace establishment.

Thus situated without arms or flints and the enemy on our borders, it was made known to me that the Baratarians, on promise of pardon, on evidence of good conduct, would submit, and furnish us with all the arms and flints in their possession. I readily gave my assent to this proposition and through my volunteer aid Mr Edward Livingston the arangement was effected, and I procured from them 7500 flints for pistols and boarding peaces, which was solely the supply of flints for all my militia and if it had not been for this providential aid the country must have fallen. I refer you to Mr E. Livingston of the House of Representatives for a detailed information on this and all other circumstances relative to the defence of Neworleans. I ask again, why has, or how can your address have raised the ire of Mr Monroe, when we find a country as important as Neworleans is, and its importance adverted to in his letter of 10th of Decbr to me—left so exposed and destitute of the means of Defence. If these facts and circumstances does not Justify, they ought to excuse your expression as it respects myself. I ask where is their one solitary act done by the sec of war to aid in the defence of the lower country but his authority to make the requisitions on the states—and forwarding to Govr. Blount 100, 000$ in Treasury notes. where is the order by the sec of War to his agents to send on arms and other munitions of War for the militia—Where the punishment afflicted upon the subordinate for disobedience of the orders of the Dept, for not forwarding on supplies agreable to requisitions and when Mr Monroe was informed, as he was, that militia from Tennessee could be got, but there were not arms to put into their hand. see copy of Major Lewis certificate inclosed.[5] I hold it the duty of

[5] This certificate is not preserved, but the substance is perhaps contained in the following extract from a letter from Lewis to Jackson, Feb. 10, 1827:

"On the first day of September 1814 I left Nashville for Washington city, and arrived there about the 28th, I think, of the same month. After I had been in the city a day or two Genl. Parker, then principal clerk in the War Office, called on me and observed that Col. Monroe, who was then acting as Secretary of War, was desirous of seeing me. I told him that I would do myself the pleasure of calling on him Mr. Monroe at any time it would be convenient for him to see me. Genl. Parker then requested me to call at Col. Monroe's office on the next day at a certain hour, which I did and was, if I mistake not, introduced to Mr. Monroe by him. After some conversation of a general nature, with regard to the Western country, Mr. Monroe observed to me that the government either had, or was about to make a requisition on the Governor of Tennessee for 5,000 drafted

all superiors, in military opperations, not only to give orders, but to know that there orders are carried into effect, and particularly when an important section of our country was invaded with such an overwhelming force.

It may be well asked If I did not create the means of defence, from whence did it come—was it furnished by the War Dept, no — or by whom besides me and my officers who were with me. I not only created the most of the mean of defence of the lower country but at my own responsibility the means to get those brave men home again who had so nobly aided me in its defence, I had to make arangements with the Banks on my own responsibility for fifty thousand dollars to get the Troops home. I drew bills on goverment, being so authorised, my bills were protested and sent back—the first and only bills of mine ever protested, these bills were afterwards taken up by the Govert.

I cannot close this long narative without stating, that from the time I left Mobile I never recd. a communication from the Govrt. untill the 18th of Febry when I recd. under cover of Lieut Smith of artillery of the 7th Febry 1815 a Duplicate of Mr Monroes letter to me of the 10th of Decbr 1814 [6] from the tenor of these letters, the time of recpt. being marked by express. I inclose copies for your information, as well as my answer on the moment of its receipt, on the 18th of Fbry 1815. I also inclose you a copy of the Sec of Wars order to Genl Gains of 7th Decbr. 1814 and the Genls Report to me the 4th of Febry 1815. I wish you to compare these carefully, particularly that part of Genl Gains report when he says he had solic[it]ed indulgence to spend three weeks in Tennessee, but meeting the newspaper at the mouth of cumberland etc. etc. etc. he hastened etc. etc. to me—and see whether you can draw any other conclusion but both the order to Genl Gains, and Mr Monroes dispatch to me of Decbr 10th 1814 were Issued for the purpose of having in the war office on file, believing for the want of the proper means of Defence New Orleans had fallen and myself with it. I add Major Lewis Certificate, which leaves no room for Mr Monroe to get out of the delemma of either himself or his Subordinate neglecting their duty, one of whom if Orleans had fell ought to have sufferred death for this shear and I might add criminal neglect, leaving such a place as Orleans so destitute

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militia and on Kentucky for 2,500, and enquired of me if I thought there would be any difficulty in getting so large a number of troops into the field from Tennessee. I replied I thought not; but at the same time observed that I apprehended the greatest difficulty would be in procu[r]ing arms for them, that I was sure they could not be had in Tennessee, and unless provided by the general government a large proportion of the men would march without arms. This I told him I was confident would be the case in our state; and that I had every reason to belive it would also be the case in Kentucky, as there was a general scarcity of arms, (such as ought to be placed in the hands of a soldier,) in the Western country. I well recollected the difficulty there had been in procu[r]ing arms for the Militia ordered into service du[r]ing the creek campaign, indeed after every exertion that could be made, to procure arms, a large number of the men marched against the enemy without any. Having a personal knowledge of these facts, I was particularly anxious to impress upon the mind of the Secretary of War the necessity of providing the men with arms. Col. Monroe observed to me, as well as I now recollect, that arms either had, or would be sent to Orleans for them. This conversation took place in the early part of October 1814."

[6] See vol. II., pp. 110, 173.

of the means of defence.[7] I just add a copy of Capt Woollys letter of the 18th January 1815 and he say the supply sent is without order or requisition. let it not be forgot that a requisition had been made in Sept 1814 and recpt acknowledged. This letter speaks Vollumes that the Govt. believed I was gone and the supplies if sent would fall into the hands of the enemy, but I beg you to examine the supplies, I had required 32lb and 24ds, he send 6 prs and fixed amunition for 4ds.—one other fact and I close, that my men for the want of Shotpouches or catridgeboxes had to tie a string around their middle, and carry their catridges in their boosoms.

I have stated a few facts, you can now Judge how much penance you owe to the administration of that day for the injury Mr Monroe complains of—should Mr Monroe come out, and really for his own sake, I wish him to keep silent, when I see the ground that he assumes, there are still [some] facts if necessary to sustain [you] in what you have said. Still I hope he will have prudence to be silent. It may be that he assumes the stand taken in terrorum to shield Mr Southard from the delicate situation in which he has placed himself by a public declaration at Fredericksburgh Va. I hope and trust he cannot be the author of Mr Sec Southards declarations, which I have stated positively untrue. If he is, notwithstanding the regret I will ever feel to find Mr Monroe acting hypocritically, or giving out intimations unfounded and untrue to effect my charecter under the auspices of sincere and professed friendship, he cannot he must not expect me to be silent.

On the receipt of this I wish you to converse with Mr E. Livingston who can vouch for the want of every means of proper defence when I came to orleans

I am respectfully yr friend

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, February 8, 1827.

. . . . Your letter I say has been recvd and read—I am glad to be possessed of the sentiments it contains. To Judge White it has been shown, and to none else; and those were his remarks, which I offer to you because they have force and reason and good sense . . . . "The generals vews" says he, "are certainly good; but then upon this subject there is no necessity of his giving any opinion. He is called upon by no one, and if he should be, let him not answer, for inasmuch as his votes upon this subject are matter of publicity and known, none should ask for information about that, which his public life already sufficiently dis[c]loses. His frends will not care to enquire, and those who shall enquire will do it for no other vew than to see if something against him can not be produced and made public. I could wish therefore that the general should not in any way commit himself in opinion upon any subject, that when he comes in, he may be entirely free to shape his course accordingly as his views in referrence to the best interest of the Country may dictate to him

[7] Against the latter part of this sentence Jackson has written in the margin the word "softened."

to be right" . . . . I think the reasoning good, and such as should have its effect; for indeed such are the veiws or rather conduct of many that for political interest and gain to themselves they would rejoice in any thing to be said, or published by you out of which they could make a noise. I shall therefore show your vews to none, but retain them as a relick of my own; and I hope that should any one write you on this, or any other political subject, you will forbear to place yourself upon paper, resting in confidence in this, that the application is for occult purposes and to be used if possible against you. There is nothing in the shape of ingenuity to devise, that they will not essay against you, and for this obvious reason, that they now plainly and certainly discover that you must and will consign them to retirement and private life. I know of nothing that can prevent it, if health is preserved; and as the Country and its interest is vitally concerned I again say, what heretofore I have said to you, that to forbear all political letters, enquiries and discussions is the true policy. Be still—Be at home is the great and open path to tread, heedless of whatever may be said or done by any of the *"corrupt crew"*. . . . .

I sent you to day the Presidents declaration of War against Geo.[1] it produces no ferment here; it is understood to be a tub to the whale, to divert public opinion from them. None are so silly to believe that this Civil administration, and Civil cabinets who so oft have denounced mil. cheiftains will raise the sword against a soverign State: the thing is too preposterous and absurd for belief. Will he send his little army of 6,000, they will be eat up before they get to Georga, while the mil'a of the So and west will never arm in such a cause. How idle then for peicable men like our present rulers who so often have denounced mil. cheiftains, to talk of War, and upon their own citisens. If the laws be not strong enough let the laws be amended and the Judiciary settle the matter—not the *bayonette.*

Secretary Southard to Jackson.

Washington, February 9, 1827.

Sir. Your unsealed letter of the 5th Jany was handed to me, in my Office, on the 3rd of this month, by Genl. Houston, with the remark, that he had received it as an enclosure from you, on the preceding day. Disposed to regard it *only* as an enquiry, dictated by the persuasion, that you have been injured, and feeling that I have done you no intentional wrong, I cheerfully give such explanation as is in my power.

About the first of July last, I was at the private table of my friend John S. Wellford, in Fredericksburg, in company with five or six of his immediate neighbors, who, I beleive, had been invited to spend an hour or two with me after the cloth was removed. There was much conversation on a variety of subjects, occasionally, political. That part of it which related to Mr. Monroe and yourself, was probably the foundation of the tale which has been borne to you. You will perceive, from the time and place, that it was, in no aspect, official. I do not profess to have a

[1] Georgia Message of Feb. 5. Richardson, II. 370-373.

very distinct recollection of every part of it—particularly of the language used. No effort was made to retain it in my memory because I was not aware of the presence of any one who would seize such a time and occasion to treasure it up, for future use. I can rely on memory however, for the substance of what was said.

I cannot recollect that I asked Dr Wallace upon " what ground he supported the election of General Jackson to the Presidency "—The question would have been superfluous, as the Doctor's habit of talking upon that subject, has rendered the enquiry unnecessary, for anyone who has fallen in with him, at least, since his visit to Washington during the winter before last. I am also satisfied that he did not then, or at any time, state " other reasons ", besides " your services during the late war ", as I feel very sure, that he has never, in my presence, given any other than one reason for his choice—The battle of New Orleans.

I have no hesitation in denying to you the statements of my remarks, as they are presented in your letter—And assuring you, that I have never charged you with neglect or desertion of your military duties—nor denied to you the merit and glory of fighting the battle of new Orleans. But as a conversation relating to that subject did occur, at the private table of Mr. Wellford, and as it may have been misunderstood, and has certainly been mis-represented, I think proper to give you my recollection of it, and feel the more confidence in my correctness because I then intended to express what I have frequently expressed elsewhere, and what I have always beleived to be in conformity with the truth of history.

The conversation was, on this point, commenced and principally sustained by others. In its progress some one, probably Dr. Wallace, remarked that the battle of N. Orleans was proof that Genl Jackson was fit for any station. Some other answered, that fighting no one battle could be proof of fitness for high Civil stations. The reply was, that it was not the fighting of the battle alone but also providing the materials and preparing the means for it—that this had been left to his unaided exertions—the War Department having neglected to make the preparations and left him without arms means or money. I think I had not before this, taken part in the Conversation, but considering this view of the subject as extremely unjust to Mr. Monroe who had been Secretary of War at the time, to whom I have long professed a strong personal attachment, and for whose virtues I felt reverence, as I did gratitude for his services to the Country, I thought it my duty to say in substance that my impression of what had occurred, at that period, was different, that I did not think Genl J. had been left in the manner represented, that all which could be done, had been done, after Mr Monroe came into the Department, that his exertion and devotion to his duties at that time, had nearly destroyed his life, that he early discovered or foresaw that N. Orleans would be attacked, and informed Genl Jackson of it, and provided such troops and arms as he could to meet the emergency, that he had learned that Genl J,s health was bad, and he and the President were extremely anxious, lest this cause should induce him to return to Tennessee, or he should remain so long in Florida as to prevent him from reaching N Orleans in time to prepare for its defence, that urgent and

pressing letters were sent to hasten him to that point, And that I beleived the means provided, the information given and the orders sent, enabled Genl. Jackson to fight the battle and to fight it successfully, that without Mr. Monroe's exertions it could not probably have been won, as it was won. But I did not deny to you the merit of fighting the battle well; or making every possible exertion to prepare for it, nor fail to give you the high praise which was your due. My object was to vindicate Mr. Monroe, and was not then, nor has it been, at any time, to depreciate your military exploits. They form a part of our national glory which I have no inclination to tarnish.

It is not improbable, that Colo. Gray did ask where the letters or orders which I mentioned, were to be found, and that I did answer that I could not tell except it might be in the War Dept., but that I understood, and had no doubt, that they did exist.

You will not, after this narrative, expect me to give the name of any informer. My information, whether correct or otherwise, was derived from the various sources, verbal, written and printed, from which my knowledge of the history of that day is drawn. As you request, I shall inclose this letter to Genl Houston that he may forward it.

I am Sir respectfully etc

James Hamilton, jr., to Jackson.[1]

Washington, February 16, 1827.

. . . . I am delighted to inform you that the cause of the people which is but another name for your cause is gaining ground rapidly, rather too fast for the time we have ahead, as such unexampled progress I fear will either induce our friends to relax their exertions, or attract by an indirect reaction some public sympathy for Mr Adams.

The Buck tail or Republican party are beginning to move in NewYork. Van Buren the first man in that State is *zealously cordially* and *entirely* with us. He travels to the South with me after the adjournment to spend his Spring in Carolina and Georgia, and next Summer I shall join him at the North, and pass it with *our friends.*

God be praised Genl, we have all the tokens of a glorious Victory, and that the outrage on the Constitution perpetrated in your person will be atoned thro' the same medium.

All we ask of you is to keep in good health and keep quiet, a grateful Country will do all the rest.

With the greatest veneration and esteem

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, February 18, 1827.

D'r Major, I have recd. through the Postmaster Genl. Mr. Sec. Southards answer to my letter to him thro Genl. H. I have prepared an answer

[1] James Hamilton, jr., of South Carolina, sometimes known as "the Nullifier". In 1827 he was a member of the national House of Representatives.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Transcript. Original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library. This letter shows the relation between Jackson and Lewis at the time. Jackson's tone is that of the leader. It contradicts the view, for which Parton was chiefly responsible, that Lewis took the lead.

and wish to forward it by next Sundays mail. before I do, I would be glad to see you, and have conversation with you, on one point. I cannot come down having no horse that I can ride. Will you come up, and bring with you the letter, that will enable me to write to Mrs. Ayres, and if you come please bring with you any letters and papers that may be in the Post Office.

I am respectfully, Yr. friend

To Secretary Southard.[1]

Hermitage, March 6, 1827.

Sir. I have recd your letter of the 9th ult, in answer to mine of the 5th of January under cover of your subsequent letter of the 16th of February.

On the receipt of the written statement of Dr. Wallace, affirmed to be substantially true by Mr. Johnston who was present, I addressed you, and from the high and dignified station which you then, and still hold, I had a right to expect a frank and candid answer giving the source thro which you derived information so positively expressed, and where the order Issued by Mr Monroe, that brought me to Neworleans was to be found. This from one of the heads of the Department of our gover[n]-ment was not too much to look for. I had not asked for your historical knowledge, or for your opinion of Doctor Wallace, or of Mr Johnston *who is not a neighbour of Mr Willford* as advised, or any other gentlemen who were present, believing that all must have been gentlemen and men of truth who were associated with you at the party. I asked you for a frank answer, not an argumentative one which to my mind always carries with it the want of sincerity. As you are at the head of that chivalric corps, the Navy, to whose exploits the glory of our country is so much indebted, I believed that you would have answered Just as one of those high minded honorable men would on such an occasion, but I have been disappointed. You deny any intention, however, to injure me, whilst you profess to have no distinct recollection of the language used. Whether the *unofficial "aspect" of the time and place"* shall excuse your memory, or weaken the statement of the Doctor, it is not my business to determine; I cannot suppose that you meant to intimate that the stamp official or unofficial can affect the obligation of honorable men on all occasions to speak truly and act Justly, whether at wine drinkings or at the bureaus of state. It is a matter of much regret to me that the variance between your statement and that of the gentlemen named, does not enable me to act understandingly on the subject; it was to avoid this situation, that I requested Genl. Houston to receive your statement, and thus save me the trouble of sending a copy to those gentlemen, which Justice now requires should be done. I feel sorry therefore that you could not deliver your communication unsealed to Genl. Houston.

As my inquiry was dictated by the persuasion that my character was injured by the statement presented thro Dr. Wallace; and its *only* object

[1] Copy. In the Jackson MSS. are letters dated Mar. 22, 1827, from John S. Wellford, John H. Wallace, Fayette Johnston, Colonel William F. Gray, Archibald Hart, William F. Blackford, and John Minor, all relating to what Southard had said at the dinner at Wellford's; and all written to show that Southard did not asperse the conduct of Jackson.

to expose those who wilfully misrepresented it, especially should they be high in authority like yourself, I shall add a few remarks upon your historical knowledge, and your reply to the question you acknowledge to have been asked by Colo. Gray, and your answer. Had your recollection not proved very bad as it relates to the history of the times and to myself *"verbal, written and printed"*, you would have known that I solicited the Govt, as early as June 1814, when I forwarded to it information of the assemblage of a British force at Pensacola, for permission to drive them from that rendezvous before their reinforcements could arrive, and to disperse the Indians whom they had organised there; and altho, the order requested was Issued in July 1814, it never reached me till after the declaration of peace. From your *"verbal written and printed"* information, you might also have ascertained, that I kept the Govt. advised of the preparations of the British in Pensacola to attack Ft. Boyer, and thro that point to invade the country, and that I again intreated the Govt for orders to attack them—no answer from the Govt—that after the British did actually attack Fort Boyer and invade the country, and were repulsed I again made the same entreaty of my Govt., but it was still silent. I then informed it of the meditated attack by great Britain with all its combined force as early as the 27th of august, when I appealed to the patriotism of my old Volunteers under the command of that brave Officer Genl Coffee (having ordered before, all the Troops authorised by the Govt.) and with this force called for on my own responsibility marched to, and expelled the British from Pensacola; by which movement I frustrated the original plan of invasion thro mobile, and by thus clearing my left flank of the Enemy, was enabled to move to Neworleans, ordering on Genl Coffee's command to Baton Rouge; These were the men called armed and equiped, at my own responsibility, that enabled me to save neworleans.

Tho my friendship has been as sincere for Mr Monroe as yours or any other mans can be, I will ask in what history " verbal written or printed " have you learned that he had any agency in all this, except writing to me on the 21. Octr not to march on Pensacola, that the Govt was about to negotiate with Spain etc. etc., and I would ask you as a military man whether negotiation then with Spain would have prevented invasion on the part of great Britain had I not driven her force from Pensacola and destroyed her Indian allies. But these facts were forgotten in your *unofficial* zeal, and in your *winedrinking*. I cannot but marvel what connection there is between Mr Monroe and the Presidential canvass in your mind, that at this period you should seek to adorn him with plumage which I know he could not consent to wear. To proceed however with the historical facts *"verbal, written, and printed"*, So soon as I had cleared my left flank of the enemy, having ordered Genl. Coffee across to Baton Rouge, *without the means provided, "the information given or the orders sent"*, of the Govt. I repaired to orleans reaching that place on the first day of Decbr. 1814. Now I hazard the assertion, without the fear of contradiction, that you have never seen, read, or been verbally informed by Mr Monroe, or any other person of truth, that ever Mr Monroe wrote, or sent me an order prior to the date of my arrival at

New-orleans; and that from the 20th of Novbr 1814 untill the 18th of February 1815 I ever recd a single line from the Department of War; and as you are so conversant with history "*verbal, written, and printed*", I regret in your zeal for truth that you did not read mine in inswer to the letter of the 10th of Decbr 1814 that moment recd. But further, on my arrival at orleans, I found the arsnal empty of all the meterials for vigorous and ample defence against such an overwhelming invading enemy, well armed, and supplied for attack—no arms, and what was still worse, no flints for the few arms to put into the hands of the militia. What was to be done? Requisitions had been made in Septbr 1814 and acknowledged, and the agent at Pittsburgh had promised to have them forwarded, Still the Steam Boat arrived from Pittsburgh with no arms, no fixed ammunition, no flints, no ordinance, or ordinance stores and the report was that those supplies altho offered to be brought by the Steam boat at 75 cents pr. cwt was entrusted to a pedling merchant at 50 cents pr Cwt, with the permission to sell, or barter, his goods on the way, all which, as you have read much, you might have seen on record in the war office where the trial of Mr Maples before a court martial ought to be found. Thus situated, I was advised that the Barritarians had flints and some arms, and were willing to surrender themselves and all their supplies on condition of promise of pardon on good conduct. I directed Mr. Livingston my voluntary aid to accept them, and give the Pledge. This was done and I obtained 7500 pistol flints, which were put into the arms obtained for the militia and contributed much to the defence of the city. Now I will again ask what agency had Mr Monroe in all this that it should be said his energetic orders raised the *means* for the *defence* of New-orleans. These means were procu[r]ed by myself and my agents, and enabled me to make the defence I did. I would be the last man in the Union to Strip Mr Monroe of the credit to which he is entitled, and have no doubt he Issued orders for the requisitions and for the supply of arms, but in a military point of view it is not only necessary for the Superior to order but to see his orders executed. Besides, the Govt. did know and was informed in the latter end of Septbr. or first of Octr. 1814 that the Tenneseans and Kentuckians would march, but could not be armed—in consequence the 5000 stand was sent to Pittsburgh and might have been brought to me in due time in the Steam boat; but for the pittance of 25 cents pr Cwt. were detained, and our country thereby Jeopardised, and would probably have been lost, had it not have been for the providential supply obtained from the Barritarians.

I have therefore to *request* when on your electioneering tours, or at your wine drinkings hereafter, you will not fail to recollect these historical facts which indeed you ought long since to have known from the *verbosities writings* and *printings* of the times, and that you will not forget to state that I never abandoned the eagles of my country in the day of trial and danger; nor ever failed to take upon myself the responsibility of driving from our shores, or from those of a faithless neutral, our declared enemy when I found it necessary for the safety of my country; and altho I admire the zeal you display for your friend, yet it ought to be recollected that an honorable man will never do injustice to another in

that zeal. I am sure Mr Monroe from his love of truth (or I am much mistaken in him) would be the last man to say that he had given or written me an order to repair to Orleans of prior date to the time I reached that place. I always kept him advised of my situations, intentions, and movements, and mine of the 14th of Novbr. 1814 from Pierces Block house and 20th of Novbr. from mobile,[1] as is believed, must have reached him before the 10th of Decbr was written, from the then expedition of the mail—mine being sent by Express to the direct line of mail, which at that time travelled at the rate of 100 miles in 24 hours, and the distance to the City 1200 miles.

Having given you a *few* of the "*written, printed* and *verbal*" facts of the time alluded to, I close this correspondence, and am yr mo. obdt. Servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Franklin, March 16, 1827.

. . . . I had intended ere this to have wrote you, but the various communications from Eaton White and Houston, with a great run of company has occupied all my time. The letter to Houston after a delay of two weeks beyond the regular time reached him, and was delivered to Mr Southern.[2] he refused to hand it open to Houston, and the latter refused to receive it otherwise, and it come to me under cover from the postmaster Genl. It is what I did not expect. instead of a direct and prompt answer, it is an insiduous argumentative one. altho he professes not to have a clear recollection of the conversation, he denies positively the *statement as made* and that he had no intention to injure me and I have no doubt his intentions were to prevent Doctor Wallace from seeing it. I have given it such an answer as I thought it deserved, and I have no doubt it will be the last time in his life, when decorously called on for a direct answer, that he will give such a one as he has done. I have assured him that my duty to Doctor Wallace and Mr Johnston will compell me to furnish them with a copy of his letter, and in conclusion close the correspondence with him. I have no doubt but his letter to me was the result of a caucus, that his information was derived from my friend M. and enlarged upon by him. he says he received his information from the history of the day, *verbal written and printed,* to that I reply that I hazzard the assertion without the fear of contradiction, that he never was informed by Mr Monroe, or any man of truth, that ever such an order was written before the date of my being in Orleans, or that he ever read such an order either written or printed before the date of my being there. when you see my reply you will think it is just such a one as it ought to be.

I have recd a copy of Mr Monroes letter to Judge White and his reply. The Judges is decorous and firm. Major Eaton informs me of date the 16th ult that Mr Monroe has again addressed the Judge. I have given him such public documents as will enable him to answer, fully if he

[1] See vol. II., pp. 96, 101.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] Southard.

thinks proper, and have inclosed him my reply to Mr Southard, In which I give Mr Southard by way of refreshing his memory on his next electioneering tour a full narative of facts which will enable Judge White to embrace all the material facts of the case and will inform Mr Monroe of the precipice he is approaching; for I am sure Mr Southard will show it to him. by the time you come in I will be able to inform you of the course this combination is about to pursue. . . . .

To James Allen.[1]

Hermitage, March 31, 1827.

D'r Sir, I have recd. your letter of the 22d instant and feel greatly obliged for the information communicated by it. It breathes such evidence of candour and honest sentiment, that notwithstanding my hitherto determination to interfere in no wise with the Presidential election, or to write upon the subject to any one, I am pursuaded in this case, the most scrupulous will acquit me of all sinister motives, when repelling charges of so heinous a character as those stated by you to be made by Messrs. Buckner and Johnston.

At the tribunal of the people it will be ascertained that I never have solicited the office of President of the U. States. There frank and flattering call placed me before them as a candidate for that distinguished station; and hence my determination ever has been to leave to their unbiassed Judgment the solution regardless of the abuse and slander heaped upon me by the minions of power and the panders of corruption. But in this class of wretches I could not have calculated to find any who enjoyed the confidence and respect of the people. I had a hope for the honor of the country that no man who occupied the exalted station of a member of congress could be made to *lie* or gain say, as occasion might require, in order to maintain the power of a coalition whose object seems rather to be my destruction than the advancement of the interests of their country.

I could not have believed that men elevated as Messrs. Buckner and Johnston have been, were so lost to all respect for truth and character as to take up Jessee Bentons pamphlet[2] for the purpose of Vending *tissues* of falshood and calumny to the credulous and unwary, such, however, appears to be their conduct, and if, the truth, which is mighty and will ultimately prevail shall consign them to infamy and disgrace along with poor Jessee, they cannot blame me. It can be no apology for them to plead that they are not the authors of the charges, neither was poor Jessee. He only put his signature to the pamphlet, controuled by the same influence which dictated the famous letter of my military friend H. at Washington, Pennsylvania, the same influence which now operates upon the honorable Messrs. Buckner and Johnson as the were upon the puppets.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Richard A. Buckner was member of Congress from Kentucky 1823 to 1829. References to a "Frank Johnston" seem to indicate that the other gentleman alluded to was Francis Johnson, member of Congress from Kentucky 1819 to 1827. The only "Johnston" in either house in 1827 was Josiah S. Johnston, senator from Louisiana.

[2] See p. 266, *ante,* note 2.

The charge relative to the execution of the six militia men, is the only allegation of Mr. Buckner which you say you are not prepared to refute from a knowledge of the facts, or from documentary evidence. I shall therefore first bestow some time upon it.

At the close of the Creek war the Forts in that Nation were ordered to be occupied and garrisoned. For this purpose Col. P. Pipkin was ordered with a Regt. of drafted militia for six months into the service of the U. States. Whilst stationed at Fort Jackson on the 19th or 20th of Septr., 1814, a meeting took place headed by a Captain, and in the presence of the Col. forced the guard, seized the provisions, burned the bake house and marched off forcibly leaving the Col. destitute of provisions, and without a competent garrison in the midst of the Creek nation, stirred up to hostility against us at that time by the agents of the British: at a period too when the British with an overwhelming army were preparing to invade the lower country. It was reported to me about the time of my appeal to your venerable patriot Shelby, when I made the requisitions on Tennessee for aid in so solemn a crisis. Orders were immediately given for the apprehension of the mutineers, Col. Pipkin being instructed to join me at the *Cut off* with the remainder of his Regt. and Genl. Coffee's volunteers from Tennessee on the march to Pensacola where the British were rendevoused.

The mutineers becoming alarmed, all except nine of the ringleaders returned, were pardoned, and remained with their Col. during the whole of that campaign. These ringleaders were taken, and brought to Mobile after I had left that section of command; and when I was at New Orleans were tried by a Court martial at Mobile, and condemned to be shot. Three were pardoned, having been recommended to mercy by the court which tried them, the ballance were shot, but not as Mr. Buckner falsely pronounces in his stump speech for crimes committed after their term of service had expired; but for crimes of the deepest dye, perilous to the country, at a time when every patriot's arm was stretched, when every nerve of the Govt. was strained to defend our liberties and our country from conquest and subjugation. It was at this period, too, the Hartford convention were giving to the enemy every encouragement of success either by a division or conquest of the states. These facts are on record, and ought to have been known to Mr. Buckner before he undertook the commission of traduction and slander. The mutiny, the order for the apprehension, the trial etc. are, or ought to be on file at Washington; or, if not, a copy of the record can be had from the papers of my Adjt. Genl. Thus you see, Sir, with the exception of my being commander of the division, Mr. Buckner had as much to do with the execution of these men as I had. It is well there are virtuous and good citizens who have independence and strength to check the career of the wicked and ambitious, and in whose support and approbation there is ample reward for patriotic service. The man who knows me not, and can yet charge me with a crime which from the known history of the times must be untrue, and whilst the allegation is scarcely made has the hardihood to say *he has sent to Tennessee for proof,* would not only rob me of my hard earned reputation, but betray his country if he had the power.

Inclosed I send a reply made to Jesse Benton's pamphlet on its first appearance, which I have no doubt Mr. Buckner has seen, and he must have been very negligent indeed if he has not read the report of the Senate, my reply and memorial, where many, if not all, the charges are proved to be false.

You say that Majr. Yancey informed you that Frank Johnston told the people in his stump speech (on the same day Mr. Buckner spoke and made his charges, 32 miles apart) that I left Congress about the time the sedition and alien laws passed, meaning to insinuate that I would have voted for the law if I had been there. This statement Mr. Johnston knew to be false when he made it. All my public life gives evidence of my opposition to the alien and sedition laws as well as the general administration of John Adams. My votes in the senate will shew that upon all the questions I voted with the republican party, with Tazwell, Mason and others: and being continually in the then minority I resigned to make room for Genl. Smith whose age and weight of character I thought would add to the republican strength.

You add that Frank Johnston further stated, I had drawn pay as Genl. for staying at home, and for seven servants, meaning to insinuate that I recd. pay for seven servants. This is another wilful misrepresentation, and I challenge with boldness Mr. Johnston to the production of any account in which I have ever charged for seven servants. I never have drawn a cent of public money in my life to which I was not both justly and legally entitled. Let us examine the charge of staying at home. I returned from the Creek campaign in May 1814, recd. the appointment of Major Genl. unsolicited by me, with orders to proceed to the south in June. I recd. the submission of the Creeks in July 1814, and never saw my family until after the close of the war. I returned to Nashville in May 1815, and there established my Headquarters. In Octr. I went to the City of Washington, arriving there with my family in November when my life was dispaired of. I left there the 24th Decr. under orders, and reached Nashville 2d February, 1816; and on the 9th of that month proceeded to the lower country, and took a recognizance of the whole coast and inlets for the purpose of selecting scites for the creation of Fortifications. I returned to Nashville in the latter end of May 1816, where my attention was called to the defence of the North Western frontier then likely to be attacked by the Indians. In Septr. of that year I was ordered as one of the commissioners to hold a treaty with the Chickasaws, Creeks and Cherokees which I did, reaching Nashville in December 1816, from whence I was ordered to explore the country for a proper scite for a Foundry and arsenal, and to lay out, and cause to be surveyed and opened a military road from Nashville to Orleans. This was done. In the fall of 1817 I was ordered as one of the Commissioners to hold a Treaty with the Cherokees: this service was not long performed, when I recd. an order to proceed to Fort Scott, collect a sufficient force, and put a speedy end to the war with exemplary punishment for the unprovoked crimes of the enemy. I performed this duty, worn down with sickness privations and fatigue; so much so that my friends did not expect me to recover; yet I reached Nashville in June 1818. In the fall

of that year, associated with the venerable sage and patriot Gov. Shelby, a treaty was held with the Chickasaws by which we obtained a cession from them of all the lands north of the southern boundary of Tennessee. From my return to Nashville in that year, I was employed in superintending the military road, removing intruders from the Indian lands, and by the duties of my division, being under confidential orders preparing for the defence of the lower country expected to be invaded. In the month of Octr. 1820, I, with Genl. Hinds, held a treaty with the Choctaws, and shortly after recd. orders to march for and receive possession of the Floridas. This brings me to the first of June 1821 which terminated my military service. With those services which I have enumerated, the additional duty of superintending my division, occupied every hour of my time. During my whole military command, I never had a furlough, was always under orders, and altho' in wretched health was never on the sick report. I often suggested my wish to resign, but was always prevented by the request of the President. So much for the charge of Mr. Johnston, of staying at home, and of drawing the pay of a *sinecure*.

I have been thus particular to put it in your power to correct the misrepresentations of Messrs. Buckner and Johnston whom I know to be the mere panders of the coalition of which you speak. It cannot be possible if their real characters are unmasked in time that the highminded people of Kentucky will deem them worthy of their confidence.

With sincere thanks to you, Sir, allow me to assure you, that altho' personally strangers, I duly appreciate the favor conferred upon me by the opportunity afforded of opposing to the calumnies of my enemies a naked statement of the truth. Truth has been my shield in all the perils which I have encountered for the cause of my country. I shall never part with it for the sake of office.

Allow me to subscribe myself

Yr. very obliged and Humble servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, April 3, 1827.

. . . . I recd your letter by Major Chambers boy, with my horse, and only regretted that you t[h]ought any apology necessary for his detention. I have noted your remarks about the overseer at A. J. Hutchings farm. should you find him unfit, or indolent, or inattentive, turn him away and employ young Mr Winburn. Mr Phillips has covenanted that his wife is to perform the same services towards the care of the Negro children and their spinning and cloathing as Mrs Nicholson did. I fear this will not be complied with, and if not the sooner a bad overseer is turned away the better. I have had a test experience in the conducts of persons who, I have discovered to be, the greatest villain on earth, he left me and brought suit against me, I entered into the defence as Capt D ought, and brought him to know that peace and honesty was his better course, and he agreed to reduce fifty dollars of his wages, pay all costs and dismiss his suit. upon this proposition I closed with him forever with the

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

determination to turn away every overseer on their first misbehavior, it is the only safe course, but if Phillips will hold out, and make a good crop, it will be well to let him continue to the end of the year. . . . .

Hugh L. White to Jackson.

Knoxville, April 7, 1827.

Dear Sir, ... From your old friend M———e[1] I received a very lengthy reply to my answer to his first letter, of which I did not think it worth while to advise you, as it contains nothing of consequence which was not to be substantially found in the first. I immediately gave to it such answer as it seemed to merit and there the matter rests. His and mine are both in kind terms. The real object I always suspected was to get some excuse for coming before the public, and my wish always is to furnish no reasonable pretext for a controversy, to the end that if forced to contend before the tribunal of the Sovereign people I may in truth as well as appearance be in the right.

That every means have been, and will be, employed, to destroy you and all those who advocate your pretensions no reasonable man need doubt. That *money* and *offices* can do much there is too much reason to fear; and every thing which the judicious use of them can do, will be tried, with untiring zeal, in the whole course of this spring and Summer I most firmly believe. It is a fearful and unequal contest—*money, office,* the hope of office and every thing which can be included under the term patronage on the one side, confronted by nothing but intelligence and virtue of the people on the other: but he is unworthy of public employ who will *faulter* for a moment. *Discretion, firmness* perserverance and union will carry us successfully through or leave us all honorably at home to attend to our own concerns, under nominally a Ruplican government: but practically a monarchy of the worst stamp. That any falsehood they chuse to invent can be proved either upon you or any of your friends I am well aware; and every man may prepare his mind for the worst. It is a poor battle in which none are killed or wounded—if defeated we can bury our dead and dress our wounded at leisure. If victorious we have the highest consolation, to wit, that the slain and mangled have suffered in the best of causes. . . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, April 8, 1827.

. . . . The whole combined faction of the corrupt coalition have let loose their bateries of slander against me, even Jesse Bentons pamphlet is taken up by Mr Buckner and Frank Jonston late members of congress from Kentucky as their tex book in their stump speeches. to counteract these and other slanders, has engaged me, in giving to my friends documents to enable them to counteract these vile slanders. you will see ere long all their slanders of me and my family made to recoil upon their

[1] Monroe.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

own heads. I have no doubt but Clay is at the bottom of all this, aided by the sec of the navy Mr Southard, to whose insiduous argumentative reply to my request to give me his author, I have given a quietos, such as will make him reflect and place a higher regard upon character than he has been under the corrupt rule, and management of Clay, in the habit of. I too, have in reply to Genl Allen of Kentucky, given him sufficient information to prostrate Buckner and Johnston when laid before the people of Kentucky. These things have engaged me so much of late and will account to you for my not writing.

I am happy to hear Capt Jack is recovering. I hope he will live to prosecute his *suite* to a final and prosperous issue, and to indite and sue the rascal, that attempted to assasinate him, and expose the exciters of this wicked deed, to an indignant people. Give Mrs. J. and my best respects and good wishes to him and Elisa

Inclosed I send you the agreement with Phillips overseer of A. J. Hutchings farm, the amount of stock recd by him, his receipt for five dollars by me paid to him part of his wages, and Smiths transfer of the quarter section to me as guardian of Hutchings and for the childs use, all which you will please preserve. I send the agreement with Phillips, that if he does not do his duty agreeable to his obligation that he may forthwith be removed. I hope to see you and family before long at the Hermitage, when I will give you a history of the passing political scenes.

. . . .

To Brigadier-General Richard K. Call.[1]

Hermitage, May 3, 1827.

Dear Call, I have no doubt thro the newspapers, you have seen the base attempt, by Clay and his panders, to harrow up the feelings of Mrs. J and myself. This unheard of procedure [in a] civilised community, was well calculated to harrow up my feelings, but situated as I am for the present my hands are pinioned, as it is evident that it is the last effort of the combined coalition to save themselves and destroy me—they calculated that it would arouse me to some desperate act by which I would fall prostrate before the people—in this they shall be disappointed, but the day of retributi[on and] vengeance must come, when the guilty will meet with their Just reward. This [base] attack was first Issued from the press of the scoundrel Hammond,[2] and reiterated through all administration prints. it has recoiled upon them, by a united indignation of every Just man in society—and in Ky. I am told, will prostrate Clay, for all believe that he is the author of this base and cowardly procedure. he keeps himself under the cloak of Hammond who, he knows is beneath, every other notice than a cowhide.

I regretted that whilst your dear Mary was with us, so much of my time was taken up by the calls of my friends abroad, and here, for documents and statements to enable them to meet this attempt of the secrete assasin to wound [female] reputation, and feeling, by raking up transac-

[1] N. Y. Hist. Soc. The letter is mutilated and square brackets are used by the editor to indicate the words which seem to have been destroyed.

[2] Cincinnati *Gazette.*

tions that had slept for [thirty or twenty] odd years, when allmost all the co[n]temporaries of the day, slept in their tombs, but providence has spared as many of the most creditable, and respectable as will fully refute this base attempt to stain the reputation of mrs. J. and harrow up her feelings in her declining years—when this is done, then my friend, the *blood* of this secrete mover [behind] the curtain must *attone* for this wicked attempt.

I sincerely regretted my situation at the time your dear mary left us, we went with her as far as Judge Overtons, nothing but the situation I was placed in prevented me from conducting her as far as Mr Jones in alabama—*it was impossible,* the *committee were waiting information,* the duty I owed to my own and mrs. J. fame, required my attention. *I could not accompany her* how grating this to [me.]

my letter inclosed to mr Jones to hand you, will have given you the pleasing information of that due respect which was paid mrs Call in Nashville. nothing but the situation we were placed in at the time mary was with us, prevented mrs. J. and myself from giving her a final blow out at the Hermitage. you must vissit us next year when we will attone for this should it take the last shot in the *locker.*

I hope mary, and the sweet little daughter, will have Joined you in good health before this reaches you to whom present us affectionatly and let us hear from you. In haste ad[i]eu. yr friend

P. S. I will attend to the estate of mr. K. place it where the setting aside the pretended ced[ing] will leave it. Then, unless the Executors notify you to attend and receive your proportion it will be an investment carrying 6pr.ct. interest for your children.

present us affectionatly to [Col.] Butler and his family A. J.

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, May 5, 1827.

Dear Sir, When Genl. Houston was here he informed me, that you had received a letter from Doctor Wallace on the subject of Mr. Sec. Southard's declarations at Mr. Willford's, Fredkg., Va. I would like to know its contents before I forward to the Doctor the correspondence between myself and Mr. Southard on this subject. I should have been down this week to have seen you, but had no horse without stopping a plow, My riding horse being absent on a journey. Another reason I do not wish to be seen mingling with the members of the Committee *now.* I hear Major Eaton is on his way home, this I am glad of, I wish to see him.

I am respectfully your friend.

To Carter Beverley.[1]

Hermitage, June 5, 1827.

D'r Sir: Your letter of the 15th ulto. from Louisville Ky, just received, and in conformity with your request address my answer to Wheeling Va.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Transcript. Original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

[1] Hist. Soc. Pa., Buchanan Papers. The letter here presented is a copy of the original sent by Jackson to Buchanan. Carter Beverley was from Virginia. In the spring of 1827

Your enquiry relative to the proposition of bargain made thro Mr. Clays friends to some of mine, concerning the then pending Presidential election, were answered *freely and frankly* at the time; but without any calculation that they were to be thrown into the public journals; but facts cannot be altered; and as your letter seems not to have been written for publication, I can assure you, that having no concealment myself, nor any dread arising from what I may have said on the occasion and subject alluded to, my feelings toward you are not the least changed. I always intended; should Mr. Clay come out with his own name and deny having any knowledge of the communication made by his friends to my friends and to me, that I would give him the name of the gentleman thro whom that communication came.

I have not seen your letter alluded to as having been published in the Telegraph, altho' that paper, as I am informed, is regularly mailed for me at Washington; still I receive it irregularly, and that containing your letter has not come to hand, of course I cannot say whether your statement is substantially correct or not. I will repeat however again the occurrence, and to which my reply to you must have conformed, and from which, if there has been any variation, you can correct it. It is this. Early in January, 1825, a member of Congress of high respectability visited me one morning, and observed he had a communication he was desirous to make to me; that he was informed there was a great intrigue going on and that its very right I should be informed of it; that he came as a friend, and let me receive the communication as I might the friendly motives thro which it was made he hoped would prevent any change of friendship or feeling with regard to him. To which I replied from his high standing as a gentleman and member of Congress, and from his uniform friendly and gentlemanly conduct toward myself, I could not suppose he would make any communication to me which he supposed was improper; therefore his motives being pure, let me think as I might of the communication, my feelings toward him would remain unaltered. The gentleman proceeded. He said he had been informed by the friends of Mr. Clay, that the friends of Mr. Adams had made overtures to them, saying if Mr. Clay and his friends would unite in aid of the election of Mr. Adams, Mr. Clay should be Secretary of State—that the friends of Mr. Adams were urging as a reason to induce the friends of Mr. Clay to accede to their proposition, that if I was elected President, Mr. Adams would be continued Secretary of State (inuendo; there would be no room for Kentucky—That the friends of Mr. Clay stated the west did wish to be seperate from the west [*sic*] and if I would say, or permit any

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he wrote to a friend describing a conversation at Jackson's dinner table a few days earlier, in which Jackson assured the company that in January, 1825, Clay's friends had proposed a bargain to Jackson's friends with respect to the presidency. This letter was published in many papers, and denied in some. Beverley wrote to Jackson asking him to verify what he, Beverley, had reported from the Hermitage. The letter given herewith is Jackson's reply. Beverley published it, with other matter, in the *U. S. Telegraph,* late in June of the same year, whereupon Clay published a letter of denial and called for the name of the friend of his who, as Jackson said, had made a proposition of bargain to Jackson's friends; and he restated his position in a speech at Lexington, Ky., July 12. Six days later Jackson issued a statement in which he declared that his informant was James Buchanan of Pennsylvania. Then came a statement from Buchanan, which each side claimed as favorable to itself. See *Niles' Register,* XXXII. 162, 315, 350, 375, 399, 415.

of my confidential friends to say, that in case I was elected President, Mr. Adams should not be continued Secretary of State, by a complete union of Mr. Clay and his friends, they would put an end to the Presidential contest in one hour. And he was of opinion it was right to fight such intrigues with their own weapons. To which in substance, I replied: "that in politicks, as in everything else, my guide was principle, and contrary to the expressed and unbiassed will of the people, or their constituted agents, I never would step into the Presidential chair, and requested him to say to Mr. Clay and his friends (for I did suppose he had come from Mr. Clay; although he used the term Mr. Clay's friends) that before I would reach the presidential chair by such means of bargain and corruption, I would see the earth open and swallow both Mr. Clay and his friends, and myself with them: If they had not confidence in me to believe, if I were elected, that I would call to my aid in the Cabinet, men of the first virtue, talents and integrity, not to vote for me. The second day after the communication and reply, it was announced in the newspapers that Mr. Clay had come out openly and avowedly in favor of Mr. Adams. It may be proper to observe that the supposition that Mr. Clay was privy to the proposition stated, I may have done injustice to him: if so the gentleman informing me can explain

Robert Y. Hayne to Jackson.[1]

Confidential

Charleston, June 5, 1827.

My Dear General. Nothing has prevented me from writing to you long since, but the belief that you must be *oppressed* by the number of your correspondents. You know me I trust too well, to attribute the omission to any want of attachment, to your person, or *your cause*—the cause certainly of the whole country. I have determined however to write to you now, because I think it important that you should be made acquainted with the views and feelings of your friends in various quarters of the Union, in order that you may be enabled to decide on your own course, with all the lights, which a variety of opinions can afford. I know that you always judge and act *for yourself,* and therefore feel the less scruple, in presenting my views, knowing that they will be carefully examined and will receive neither more, nor less weight than they are justly entitled to.

The *great contest* is obviously becoming every day warmer. It is now manifest that the men, who have usurped the reins of government, do not mean to surrender it, without a desperate struggle, and that they are determined if possible to sacrifice to their vengeance all those, who venture to oppose them. They are playing a desperate game, and their motto is "to conquer or die". Hence it is, that they have let loose "the floodgates of their wrath", against yourself, Mr. Calhoun, and many others of your best friends, and so little discrimination do they make, that they do not hesitate to brand our estimable and excellent friend Judge White,

[1] Hayne was senator from South Carolina from 1823 to 1832. He was a leading nullifier and in this letter was evidently trying to get Jackson committed to his views before election. Jackson however was too shrewd to be caught.

as one of " the worst men in the worst Senate the Country has ever seen." The spirit thus displayed originates from the consciousness of error. The men in power *know,* that they have done you personally, and done their country *wrong,* and that they have been detected and exposed; Hence the bitterness of their anger, and the recklessness of the course they are about to pursue. They are actuated by a spirit not unlike that which inspires a criminal flying from justice, who turns on his pursuers, and to save himself from exposure and merited punishment, attacks indiscriminately all who are in pursuit.

There is another circumstance to be taken into the account. Mr. Adams, who is not a practical man, has been persuaded to rely on Mr. Clay, as the only pillar that can sustain his administration. He has therefore practically yielded the reins of government to him, at least so far as relates to the new Department, of *political management. We* know Mr. Clay well enough, to understand the course that will be pursued in matters where his will is law. Altogether unprincipled, ambitious, daring, bold and without the smallest regard either to the courtesies or decencies of life, he inspires his political followers with a spirit not unlike that, which distinguishes a *savage warfare*—" sparing no age, sex, or condition ".

There is still another motive that lurks beneath the unmanly and ungenerous course of the Administration—it is the desire to betray you into some indiscretion. They have taken pains to impress the public mind with the belief that your *temper* unfits you for civil government, they know that a noble nature is always liable to excitement, and they *have put,* and will continue to put into operation, a hundred schemes to betray you into some act, or expression, which may be turned to their own advantage.

If I am not much mistaken, I have now exposed the true springs, which direct the movements of your political opponents. If I am right, we may pretty clearly discover their future course of conduct, and by prudence and wisdom, not only avoid the snares, set for us, but cause them to be entangled in their own nets. It is certain, that far from abating in their violence, they will henceforth display greater and more undiscriminating fury, and as it is not in the nature of man to remain unkindled in a common blaze, we may be assured that the contest will wax warmer to the end. For this we must all be prepared. Every man must be resolved to take his share, of the slander, and abuse which will be levelled at him, and to act his part manfully in the fight. But more than this will be necessary, we must each of us, in his own person set an example, of prudence, and selfcommand, and endeavour to give a tone to all around us, which will in itself go far to secure the victory.

In your own personal conduct, your adversaries will endeavour to find something to assail—hitherto they have failed, and I have no doubt they will fail forever, if you are only sufficiently on your guard, not to be tempted to give utterance to the feelings of indignation which their conduct is so well calculated to produce. Mr. Clay *will use every effort to draw you into some public controversy,* whether on the question of *the Tariff,* or *his intrigues,* or any other matter, is to him not very material. He would thus divert public attention, from himself, and Mr. Adams, present you, perhaps, as an accuser, and at all events, insist that you were

endeavouring to advance your own claims, and had relinquished the high ground of leaving your cause in the hands of the people. I doubt not that you will have *his partizans*, paying their respects to you *at the Hermitage*, and leading the way to the expression of your opinions on points capable of misrepresentation. Something has been already done in this way, and more will be attempted. In the mean time the administration presses will be loud in their calls for your opinions on the Tariff, internal improvements and other questions, on all of which Mr. Adams is as silent as the grave, and concerning which your opinions have been fully and clearly expressed in your *public and recorded acts.*

Mr. Adams and yourself stand on equality as the only Candidates for the Presidency. Will he answer questions? If so I should be glad to put him a few Interrogatories. But it is beneath *his* dignity it seems to respond to such questions, and let me ask whether one who has acted the part you have done, and whose principles have been uniformly displayed by your actions, are to be compelled to vindicate those principles from the misrepresentations of every Newspaper Editor who has been paid to slander you? In relation to the two great questions of the *Tariff* and *internal improvements,* your opinions can need no elucidation. During the two years of your service in the Senate, and frequently since, your opinions have been publicly expressed. But does it follow that any one disposed to afford a moderate protection to American Industry or to enter upon a few great works of National Improvement, should support *every measure* which bears *the name* of a Tariff Bill, or Internal Improvement? The truth is, that the Administration, have determined, if possible to ride into power on these *popular Hobbies,* and as they intend to use them only *for their own advancement,* it is perfectly immaterial, what the character of the particular measure may be, which they are called upon to support. They have in fact, *perverted the whole system* of internal improvement, into a scheme of buying up the people, with their own money—while Mr. Clay's *American policy* has degenerated into a plan for granting to a few overgrown Incorporated Companies in *New England* an exclusive monopoly of the home market.

The Bill of the last session, was in its character *prohibitory,* encreased the Tax in exact proportion to the *poverty* of the person on whom it was to operate, and above all was calculated and *intended* to crush all the small manufacturers in the union while it gave a monopoly to the large companies. *This last feature* in the Bill will be found in the provision which leaves the Woollen goods, free from any encrease of duties 'till the last of August, the consequence of which must have been a great influx of foreign fabrics until that time, the consequent fall in prices, and the ruin of all who should be compelled to sell before that period, while immense fortunes would have been secured to *the rich* who could keep their goods on hand until the time, when they would have had a monopoly. Now the people of the South (as you know) are opposed to this system in any shape, but they can and always will distinguish, between those who supported the Tariff of 1824 (as modified in the Senate,) and those who advocate such a Bill as that of the last session, between one (who like yourself) looks to the moderate protection of manufactures, without oppressing any branch of Industry, and one (who like Mr. Clay) wishes to form

a party, and for purposes *purely selfish*, convert, the whole system of Internal Improvement and the Tariff into a political engine, of management, intrigue and corruption. I repeat, the high and honorable ground on which you have always stood, of affording judicious protection to all the great interests of the Country, suppressing none, must sustain you against the misrepresentation of your enemies, and though we at the South, deny the power of Congress to legislate on these points, yet, we feel that our interests would always be safe in your hands.

Notwithstanding the boastful language of the partizans of power, you may be assured that the cause of the people is safe *in this quarter of the union*. Of all the Southern States, I consider Louisiana alone as at all doubtful. *South Carolina* is as fixed as " the everlasting hills which cannot be moved ", and if New York can be retained in *her present temper* the contest will not be doubtful. But the victory is not yet won. There will be a fierce and hard battle during the next session of Congress, and the utmost zeal, firmness, and prudence will be necessary on the part of all your friends and supporters. One of the difficulties in our way, and not the least, is the party differences which have heretofore divided those who now find themselves united against the administration. Where bad men coalesce, it is necessary that the good of all parties should combine. Where a fatal attack is about to be made, on the purity of our institutions, and the attempt is openly made to subvert the rights of the people, it behooves all who are desirous of maintaining these main pillars of our political edifice, to forget minor differences, and unite in one great and common defence. But still to maintain harmony among persons of various opinions so united it is necessary that the spirit of mutual conciliation should be carefully cherished. In looking through the U. S. I can find no man but yourself, who as the great leader of such a party, can harmonize the elements of discord, and give energy, unanimity and success to those who are fighting the battles of liberty and the Constitution. On your life and health by dear Sir, at this time, may depend the future prosperity and glory of your Country. May the God of mercies have you in his holy keeping, and may the remainder of your days be blessed, with peace, prosperity, and honor! Having trespassed far beyond the limits I had assigned to myself, I must conclude by requesting that mine and Mrs. Hayne's affectionate remembrances may be presented to Mrs. Jackson, and to assure her and yourself that all of my family (even our little boys who still remember and speak of you,) will always cherish for both of you the highest respect and esteem.

yours sincerely

P. S. My brother and his Lady spend their summer in Charleston. They are well, and desire to be kindly remembered to Mrs. J. and yourself.

Duff Green to Jackson.[1]

Washington, June 9, 1827.

Dear Sir, The espionage upon my correspondence and the laborious detail of the duties which devolve on me have prevented me from Com-

[1] Green was editor of the *U. S. Telegraph*, published in Washington as the leading organ of the Jackson party. He was attached most particularly to Calhoun's interest, and he came to Jackson when Calhoun began to act with Jackson in 1824.

municating with you often. The opportunity which offers by Mr. Simpson who visits your part of the Country as a confidential agent of the Department to which he is attached and the peculiar relation in which we both stand to the public at this moment makes it proper that I should suggest the course that I would prefer the investigation, likely to arise out of Mr. Carter Beverly's letter, should take. It is my intention to lay before the public the facts and circumstances demonstrating the corrupt understanding between Mr Clay and Adams, and if possible provoke an appeal on the part of Mr Clay to the House at its next session. This I think will be much better than leaving the subject where it now is or of permitting yourself to be brought before the public through the newspapers as the accuser of Mr Clay more than you now are. Many reasons urge upon my mind the propriety of this course. If we succeed in getting an impartial or an independent speaker he can organise a Committee which will draw to light much hidden matter and compel witnesses to testify who cannot otherwise be brought to disclose what they know. The fact that Mr Adams has rewarded Markley [2] will do much in making out the case for he is the person through whom Mr Clay operated on Buchanan. Buchanan will not make a statement against Markley and must be drawn out by a committee. I shall not give the names of the parties in the disclosures which I have to make and place it upon the ground that it is due to Mr Clay that he should call for an investigation by a Committee.

So much for this matter and now Sir permit me to congratulate you and the Country for that ardent patriotism and discriminating intelligence which marks the discussions in the public Journals devoted to the cause of the people and with which I consider your election so completely identified. Whilst your enemies have assaulted your public and private character and have gone so far as to invade your private sanctuary and assailed your amiable partner you have found Consolation and protection in the confidence and virtue of a grateful and intelligent people.

I have had many opportunities of ascertaining public opinion in the different states. The Republican party will be joined by the Clintonians in New York and arrangements are making among the leading Republicans of the north to rally with those of the north and south in the support of your election. By some it is supposed that you will have a powerfull opposition organised against you and that your administration will be embarassed at every step [of] its operations. This seems to be the policy of the Amalgamists of Boston who despairing of the Reelection of Mr Adams have resolved to make for themselves a great New England party to the aid of which Mr Clay intends to bring his western interests. Our republican friends in New England look to this state of things and desire that the canvas shall be so conducted as to enable them to stand with you on the old basis of the Republican party. I am at the same time delicately situated because a large portion of the Republican and Patriotic Federalists south of New York particularly in Delaware and Maryland are with us and altho the difference between these men is as marked as it could be, yet as names have charms which it is difficult to

[2] Philip S. Markley, M. C. from Pennsylvania 1823-1827.

break, you will the better understand the guarded position I occupy. You owe to your Country that Major Lee should be permitted to develope fully the services you have rendered. You must have ample proof in your possession that Mr Monroe deserves no thing from your forbearance. Public expectation will be much excited and his work will be greedily sought for. it [is his] intention to throw it into every section of the Country immediately.[3] I do not regret the Violence with which you have been assailed because it will illicit enquiry and place this election on its proper ground before the public.

You will appreciate the embarasments which surround me unaided as I am by that advice and necessary counsel which would guide me from committing many errors. I have endeavored to make my paper the organ of correct principles and have carefully avoided the falsehood which characterise our opponents. In such I have endeavored to prove myself opposed to them. remember me kindly to Mrs. Jackson to Mr and Mrs. Donaldson, and accept assurances of unabated respect of

Carter Beverley to Jackson.

Wheeling, Va., June 9, 1827.

Dear Sir, I did myself the pleasure of addressing a letter to you from Louisville Kentucky on the 15th Ulto., and for safety, indor[se]d it to Mr. Edmonson formerly of that place, now a resident of Nashville. I paid the postage on both letters, and urg'd on him to deliver it to you as soon as recvd. I reach'd here nearly a week since, and have been Expecting the arrival of a letter from you.[1] The public Excitement at Louisville and at Cincinati, was very great indeed, in consequence of the publication of my letter to my Friend in Fayettville North Carolina: The Friends of Mr. Clay appear to be most dreadfully exasperated agt. me; and in some instances, have presum'd to doubt the authority of the information I gave. I have found occasion, (wi. the advice of some of yr. Friends) to make a publication or two on the subject: The Louisville Advertiser contain'd 'em both. I have been variously call'd upon as I pass'd on to this place, and even here, by a number of gentlemen, to detail the facts, as I heard them from you. This I have done wi. critical exactness; and they are resolv'd to bring the whole matter to public view *at once.* They say that it is their part to have the matter ascertain'd; and that if Mr. Clay has been capable of advancing to you the proposition in reference to, and it can be substantiated agt. him, he ought to be execrated and abandon'd forever by his Friends; and that for themselves, partial as they are to him, they will forthwith give him up. Have no doubt therefore, that you will be publicly call'd upon to come forward. Mr. Clay it is thought will not advance *himself* further in the business; and his Friends, will, some of them (blind to his faults) go on to say that he has denied it, when perhaps he has not.

Some gentlemen here assure me that he *denied the whole* at a public dinner given to him last summer at this place: They say this wi. posi-

[3] Lee never published the biography.
[1] See p. 355, *ante.*

tiveness, and declare that the public will expect from you a developement of the entire matter. Some appear to doubt exceedingly yr. ability to prove it upon him. Some again say, that Mr. Clay's Friends might have made the attempt upon you, without his having any knowledge of it; and for you to have declar'd the circumstance so openly and so very candidly, without there being a full authentication of it, perfectly within your reach. Yr. Friends believe every word of it, and vehemently maintain that you are perfectly incapable of making such an assertion without proof. I think proper to make this communication to you, to prepare you for the circumstance. Be pleas'd pray to let me hear from you directed hither. I still look out to receive a letter from you, in answer to mine I wrote to you from Kentucky. I beg my respects to Mrs. Jackson, and am Dear Sir

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Carter Beverly of 9th of June 1827, not to be answd. have wrote him on the 5th June on the subject and the correspondence dropped.

Maunsel White to Jackson.

New Orleans, June 14, 1827.

Genl. Andrew Jackson.

Dear Sir, I am now in rect. of your esteemed favors of 10th 16. and 28 May, and feel much gratified that my course has met your approbation. and the result is that I have at last Obtained my price for your Cotton, say 9 cents allround, I dare not hold on any longer, and truly when it was brot. out for Examination I feared for some which was negligently handled, yet after considerable Obstinacy on the part of the Enemy, I succeeded in getting in the Whole. When we began to Weigh it I was surprised to find it loose 12, 14 and 20 lb. Bale. I immediately changed the Pattent Balances got others and tried it in every way, seeing that nothing could change, our Weights to corrispond with yours. I waited on the messr. Dicks who recd. the Cotton you sold, at home, I asked them how it held out, and they shewed me that it lost 9 lb. pr. Bale on an Average, and Laughed at me, for not being aware that Nearly all Cotton which had lain here any length of time and which was put up as planters generally do put up their Cottons in damp Weather, loose considerably, if stored in Open sheds and any way exposed to the dry Scorching weather which we have had here for nearly two Months. I then continued to Weigh it and it looses Nearly 12 lb. pr Bale on an Average, but to shew the powerful effect of the dry weather, It will be manifest when I inform you that a few Bales which lay at the Bottom of the Pile stowed away where sun or Air could not get at them well, lost very little indeed in Comparison. Mr. Foristal the Broker who bot. it from me, weighed it like gold for I stood by the time. I could not have supposed that the Weather would have had such an effect. I knew that cotton would loose from 6 or 8 lb. in three months and much less proportion afterwards and in very damp Foggy weather will again, gain, it seems to be something of the nature of a sponge with more attraction. The next question is, are your Ballances Correct, here we have them regulated twice a year, agreeably

to the standard. at any rate so it is and I feel much Mortified that they have not held out. enclosed I Send you the Accot Sales Nt proceeds $3062 55/100 and by mr Stacker who leaves here in A few days I shall send you the Balance I shall owe you. I was Afraid to hold up any longer, for fear of letting the sale slip thro my Fingers, besids having Got. ¼ of Cent more than my Neighbours, owing however to a little liveliness in the Liverpool Market which I fearing would again subside, I was determined to embrace. I know of no price now abroad which will Warrant, more's being given. it is your Name alone therefore that has sold yr Cotton.

I have only to add that your Friends here will be overjoyed to see you,[1] and one good thing is they are Sinc[e]re, and Speak with enthusiasm of the contemplated Meeting. I have not seen Mr. Delacy yet altho I called several times at his Lodgings. be assured it will give me great pleasure, to shew any civility in my power to any of your Friends, and if I were not well assure'd that you will be provided with Lodgings, I would ask you to honor my humble dwelling during yr stay with yr. Friends here. with my best Wishes for yr success, and yrs and mrs Jacksons welfare I remain

To Thomas P. Moore.[1]

Hermitage, June 16, 1827.

D'r Sir, I have this moment recd your letter of the 13th instant and hasten to reply—*you have Judged correctly.* I cannot, nor will not, do any act inconsistent with my principles openly avowed, and always practiced upon. Was I to go to your State at present, it would be Just what my political enemies would rejoice at—it would afford the friends of clay and adams a fair opening to defend their course, in the interference with State elections with which they have been charged, and instead of benefitting the cause of the people injure, and defeat the great principle for which they are contending. I would sacrafice much to serve my friends but I cannot depart from principle. The people have taken the management of their affairs in their own hands and it is safe to leave it there. Mrs Js physician has advised her to visit the Springs at Harrodsburgh for her health, and we were preparing for this Journey when an act of providence interposed which will pospone, if not entirely prevent it, this season. By a stroke of light[n]ing Mrs J. is left without carriage and I without riding horses—but more on this subject when I hear from you again.

I shall be happy to hear from you and believe me respectfully your mo. obt. servt.

[1] Probably refers to Jackson's visit to New Orleans Jan. 8, 1828, to be present at the battle-ground celebration, planned by his friends for political effect.

[1] Thomas P. Moore was member of Congress from Kentucky 1823-1829. He was an earnest supporter of Jackson.

Hugh L. White to Jackson.

Knoxville, June 19, 1827.

My Dear Sir, The letter, of which, the above is a copy [1] was recd. yesterday. On this day I [wrote him an] answer, of which, the inclosed is a copy. I send them, to the end [that you may k]now what I say, or do, connected with your election. If [there] is any thing in my views wrong tell me what it is and it shall be immediately corrected. I had hoped ere this to have seen you: but cannot 'till fall. Col: Williams is pouring out all his wrath upon me, in public and private speaches. For these things I care not. He is a mean politician who can get no man to lye upon him.

With great Sincerity Your friend

To Henry Daniel.[1]

Hermitage, June 25, 1827.

D'r Sir, Your letter of the 9 Inst has been recvd, in which you ask of me some explanation relative to the duty imposed in 1824 on Cotton Bagging. I have a thorough recollection of the circumstances of that Bill, and particularly of the proceedings which took place as to the article of Bagging.

When the Bill came to the Senate from the House of Rep my attention was directed principally towards those items which I considered essential and necessary to our prosperity in times of war, where of Hemp, and articles made of Hemp stood prominently. Duck was necessary in war as constituting a material article in the preparation of our ships. With

[1] The letter was from William H. Crawford to White, dated at Wood Lawn, Ga., May 27, 1827. It is as follows:

"*My Dear Sir,* Since the election of Mr. Adams a great revolution has taken place in this State. The only thing that produces any hesitation with well informed men in declaring themselves in favor of General Jackson is an apprehension that his election will bring Mr. Calhoun into power. I know this apprehension prevails in every Atlantic State from Georgia to Pennsylvania inclusive of both States and no where more strongly than in S. Carolina. All well informed men in this State do not hesitate to declare themselves against Adams, but they do hesitate to declare themselves for General Jackson, the apprehension that J. C. Calhoun will be patronized if he is elected. The General must be badly informed if he supposes he is under any obligations to Calhoun or his friends. I know that until Clay declared for Adams he Calhoun was for him also. I have a letter now before me in which he says 'Jackson shall know, if he does not already know, that Henry Clays phraze military chieftain was loudly vociferated by Calhoun's friends at the Calhoun caucus, and his name and fame treated as harshly by Calhouns own family relations, as it ever has been by Clay, and not until the Pennsylvania rejection of Calhoun did they remember any of his services'. Governor Taylor was upon the spot and relates only what he saw or heard.

"I have also another letter from General David R. Williams than whom a more upright man or a more sincere patriot does not exist. He says in describing an interview he had with two of General Jacksons friends, 'But one unpleasant impression growing out of these communications and in this I hope I have taken a wrong impression, i. e. that the opposition are disposed to favor Mr. Calhoun, either by keeping him in his office, or by sanctioning his appointment as one of the next Cabinet, I did all I could to produce a belief *that he could aid us* nothing, and saying he deserves nothing of us, deserves to be punished first.' If you are able to give us assurances that the election of General Jackson will not favor Mr. C.'s election you will essentially benefit the General and relieve many respectable and intelligent gentlemen from doubt and embarrassment."

[1] Handwriting of John H. Eaton. Daniel lived at Mount Sterling, Ky.

a view to an uniform and equal operation of the Tarriff in different sections of our Country it seemed proper that a relative and corresponding duty should be placed on all and every article of which Hemp was the material part: and this object appeared to have been regarded by the Ho of Rep, looking to the shape in which the Bill came to the Senate.

An increased duty tho on Russian and Holland Duck going to affect the shipping interest of N England was objected to; the amount at which it had been placed by the House of Rep was stricken out, and the *ad valorem* duty reduced to 15 p cent. Acting with a view to uniform justice between the No and South, I could not discern the propriety of placing Ducks needful to our merchant ships at a low rate of duty, and Bagging made of the same material at a more advanced duty. You will accordingly find that on the first application to reduce the 4½ Cents duty on Bagging I voted against it; and did likewise vote against reducing Russian and Holland ducks to the ad valorem duty of 15 pr Cent. (See Senate Journal 1823-24, pages 361-368). The motion to reduce however succeded, after which time I deemed it right and so voted to make a correspondent reduction on Bagging. The two Houses remained divided between 4½ and 3½: this in the end was settled by a committee of conference at 3 and ¾ to which I agreed and for which sum I voted, and likewise for the entire Bill on its final passage.

Another consideration operated! The Ho of Rep had placed the duty on Hemp at 2 Cents a pound. This the Senate had stricken out and reduced contrary to my vote and wishes to I think $35 a ton, making about 25 per Cent deduction. Uniformity being essential and right, it seemed to be quite proper, that as the raw material was reduced, so likewise should there be a correspondent reduction on the manufactured material.

These concisely are the considerations and reasons which operated with me on that part of the tarriff of 1824 about which you have solicited my views and opinions.

wishing you health and happiness I am very respectful[l]y yo mo obt

Carter Beverley to Jackson.[1]

Wheeling, Va., June 27, 1827.

Dear Sir, Since the date of my letters two days ago, one inclos'd to Mr. James Edmonson of Nashville wi. sundry documents, (and the postage pd. upon it,) and the other directed to you, I have recd. a letter from the Honble Judge Caldwell of this place, directed to Mr. Noah Zane, a resident here also, and inclos'd to me by his letter. It is a full detail of Mr. Clay's denial on sunday last, before them all, of the whole of the charges contain'd in your letter, both agt. him and his Friends. I have sent an attested copy of it by this day's mail, to Mr. Duff Green. of Washington City, to appear immediately in the Telegraph.

Your declarations are pretty generally believ'd; and Mr. Clay and the Administration are daily sinking in the public opinion. Under the whole

[1] Jackson did not reply to this letter, probably because he did not think it prudent to have confidential letters in the hands of a man like Beverley. Nov. 1, 1827, Carter Beverley wrote Jackson another long letter, filled with weak opinions and complaints. Jackson did not reply to it nor to another from the same source dated Jan. 20, 1828, and transmitted through the hands of Jackson's intimate friend, Sam Houston. These letters are in the Jackson MSS.

aspect of the business, the people will not disbelieve the *fact*, that strong attempts *were projected among* them, to get you over to them. Moreover, they believe in the negotiation between Mr. Adams and him. Your candor and openness to me in your letter, gives great satisfaction, and the prompt manner in which you met my letter from Louisville is equally pleasing to them. The partizans of the *Coalition*, had commenc'd a report, to impress the community wi. a total disbelief of me; and had gone so far, as to say, that you *never would in any shape reiterate the subject of my letter to my Friend in Fayette-ville*. The arrival of yr. letter consequently, threw them all into deep consternation; especially, as the morning after, Mr. Clay was to be here, and did arrive. The course taken wi. your letter by Mr. Zane, was a scandalous and unprecidented liberty: I have expos'd both him, Mr. Clay and the Junto upon their conduct regarding it; and sent it to Mr Green to appear in the Telegraph, that the public may veiw the grossness and vile impudence of their conduct, and that you may be satisfied of the advantage taken of my confidence in Mr. Zane, a man far advanc'd in life as he is, and of very high character. A Gentleman has just arriv'd in this neighborhood from Florida, a Mr. Floyd; and openly states, after reading a copy of yr. letter to me, that he hear'd Colo. Gadsden in Florida, say distinctly, that he had communicated to you, exactly what you wrote me; Floyd is consider'd a young man of considerable respectability, and he is relied, upon *for this fact*. Colo. Gadsden was a member then from South Carolina, and he is a man whose character stands high; of course, yr. letter is most importantly supported *at once*. This additional matter, is making great way among the people here, and every credit given to the charges.

That you may be fully and fairly convinc'd, that I have been most innocently drawn into this business, I beg leave to quote to you, part of a letter just recd. from my Friend in Fayetteville N. C. upon the subject of my letter to him, and his disclosure of it.

Copy FAYETTEVILLE N. Carolina 14th June 1827.

My Dear Sir, I have had the pleasure to receive your most esteem'd favors, from Natchez and Cincinati, (that from Louisville not *yet* to hand). They have interested me much. Perhaps I did wrong in permitting the editor of the "Observer", to publish an extract of your letter of march from Nashville; at any rate, I did it without due consideration of the subject, which is a poor excuse for a man of 57. Mr. Hale (the editor) is a young man of most estimable qualities, and a great favorite wi. me, and I am indebted to him for very many of the agreeable hours that I have pass'd here. When I recd. your letter, I was so far on my way to his reading room, I had no hesitation in shewing him your letter, as a friend, but without the smallest intention, at the time of committing any part of it to the press. Some days after, we spoke on the subject of printing the extract; which subsequently appear'd. Our reasoning was as follows. The charge agt. Mr. Clay was a grave one indeed. If true, he was unworthy of the confidence or respect of the american public. If false, he would and ought to prove it so. Genl. Jackson made the statement to you, neither in private or in confidence—(at least several persons were present). He was either then, under a delusion of a serious nature, produc'd by misstatements of those in whom he confided; or he could prove

the charge. If the first, as he is a man of high honorable character, he would be pleas'd to be satisfied of his error; If the second, he appear'd, as he ought, to seek opportunities before Gentlemen of high character, to name the circumstances; that he might be call'd upon to substantiate the charge; or, he would not have nam'd it to you, in presence of so many gentlemen, or in fact at all. Besides, the charge had gone the rounds of the public prints, at least once before, and I think twice. Hence, I did not suppose it would occupy the whole public as it has done, and I apprehend produc'd to you a great deal of trouble and anxiety of mind. If either, I shall regret it sorely. I am Dr. Sir Sincerely yr friend

I trust, should any apprehensions have at all crept upon yr. mind, as to my honorable intention towards you in this unlook'd for, and accidental, business; you will readily throw it off, and believe that it was unsought for, and altogether unexpected by me: The zeal and honor of my Friend, emboldened him, from his high opinion of yr. integrity and good Judgement, to develope it. Your letter to me exculpating me so frankly, and so greatly to yr. credit, affords me the very utmost relief. I have been most severely goaded indeed, by a junto of low-liv'd hireling printers in every diriction of this western, and north western section of the union, and by a numerious body of time serving creatures to the Coalition. They are however now completely prostrated, and are put down, and I trust and hope most effectually and permanently, wi. their whole and entire corrupt Body.

The people are speaking strongly and confidently of this matter being brought fully and fairly before the next Congress: That Mr. Adams ought to be impeach'd, and made to answer to the nation for so great a degredation upon the people: He stands charg'd wi. gross and foul corruption; and ought to be held accountable for it. This idea is gaining ground very rapidly: I see that Ritchie of the Richd. Enquirer, has already hinted at this course, as one that ought, and will be taken. Mr. Clay acknowledg'd here at Mr. Zane's House on sunday, that he had long heard of *your* free speaking, and charges upon him, reiterated by yr. Friends; but, that he never could *before,* get at it in any tangible form. He now had at last gotten it under full authority, and was enabled thereby to confront it.

I told the Gentleman, (who told it to me, Colo. Moses Chaplane) a lawyer of high respectability, and who mention'd it to me, before a mr. Forsythe a merchant here, and mr. Moses Good, a young Lawyer of high character here; that I beg'd him to recollect what he said; for, he would perhaps, have to repeat it hereafter. He said he should not forget it. Thus, you see how very artful Mr. Clay is; for he has all along known of these charges upon him, and he has fain'd ignorance and want of proof; when he *well knew,* you would have, at *any moment* given it to him from under yr. own signature. I mention this, to show you, how cunningly this creature and his coadjutors and supporters have acted, and will endeavor to persist in, agt. you. They ought to have no quarter given them, but be prostrated if possible.

I must now refer you for all further particulars to the Telegraph, and the other news Papers; for you will, I apprehend, 'ere this reaches you,

see the whole matter spread before the Community, wi. severe editorial remarks upon the Chief and his coadjutor.

my sincere respects to Mrs. Jackson

I am Dear Sir, wi. very sincere respect and esteem

To Colonel Charles P. Tutt.[1]

Hermitage, June 30, 1827.

D'r Sir, yours of the 6th instant has Just reached me, and be assured, I feel very gratefull for the information it communicates.

Whilst the conduct of the sec of war,[2] which you detail, inspires only feelings of contempt for the man, I can assure you it would give me much pleasure (and I am sure it would my friends) to see all my accounts in the Indian, as well as every other department of the govt. exposed to public view, and fairly contrasted with Genl Brown accounts, or any other officer of the army or the goverment. I defy all the panders of power to injure me by exposing all and every transaction with Govt. during my whole life—whenever I had the disbursing of public mony it will be seen, that I used it with oeconomy and Justly.

My friends in next congress will, I trust, call for a full investigation of my accounts and others. This I expect the sec of war has heard of; and the inuendoes are intended for effect, perhaps, to keep my friends from making the call for those accounts. My friends have been prohibited from a view of my correspondence with the goverment, fearing, as it is alledged, that they would have a view of others, against which "(the Honble. Sec) *has insuperable objections*".

In my public acts, as well as private, I have always viewed honesty the best policy and pursued it. Therefore I fear nothing that can be extracted from my accounts. If mutulated, or forged, accounts are given out, such as was handed to Frank Johnston it is as easy to detect them as those given to Frank, in which there appears to have existed nearly seven thousand dollars of an Error. This was an intentional error, I have no doubt, and for the purpose which was attempted; but it has recoiled on their own heads. Rest assured I am prepared at all points, and my friends need have no fear of the result.

Mrs. J. begs me to say to you, that the use you have made of the pipe, meets her entire approbation, she unites with me in a tender of our best wishes to you, your lady, and family, and desires me to add that it would afford her great pleasure, as it would myself, to have you and your family as neighbours in this country.

accept assurances of my great respect and Esteem

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

[Hermitage, June, 1827.]

D'r Sir, I wanted much to see you before I set out for Carthage. I have been told that Mr. Little has stated, that at the time Dr. Mays letter

[1] Copy.
[2] James Barbour of Virginia.
[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Here again we may see how completely Jackson took the command over Lewis in the campaign of defense in 1827-1828.

bears date, he was incapable of writing. To this fact Lytles certificate ought to be had and I urged this upon the mind of Mr. McLamore when I last saw him, will you attend to this. I am also told that Col. Anderson has stated to Mr. Barry that he gave to Col. William[s] these letters himself. This ought to be attended to and have Mr. Barrys statement of this fact, as I have no doubt, the villain Col. Williams will deny it, or he may think the statement can only be proven by the youths declarations who is dead. say to McLamore that these things ought now to be attended to and Lytles certificate and Mr. Barrys certificate must be had. Judge White has been refered to, and Barrys certificate must be had to support Judge White. I pray you to attend to this.

Inclosed I send you a rough draft of a peace for publication, so soon as the necessary statement can be had from Mr. E. H. Foster, who has promised to give it, and who has promised to give the form of the oath administered to the President and Cashier of the Bank. To this might be added Major Eatons statement with regard to the paper circulated by Mr. Tolliver or Taliafero, said to be in my handwriting which was sent from the south west with this averment that the indorsement said by Eaton to be in Andrew J. Donelsons handwriting, cannot possibly be the fact, that A. J. D. was but about eleven years old at that time and then absent at school, and had never writen a line at or about my house in his life. My dr. Sir have the obtaining of these certificates attended to. The war is now in africa, and we must strengthen Judge White who is refered to. My opinion is, that the letters signed F. May will be found in the handwriting of Wm. P. Anderson, or J. P. Erwin and signed by May. Be this as it may, the letters give evidence, of the insanity, of the writer, or it is not to [be] presumed that any man would give evidence that would dam himself. Therefore I want Lytles certificate.

I pray you to attend to it.

[*Endorsed by Lewis:*] June 1827

Solomon Penn, jr., to Jackson.

Louisville, Ky., July 5, 1827.

D'r Sir, I learn from a source to be relied on, that Mr. Clay has obtained your letter to Carter Beverly (or a copy of it) directed to Wheeling; and that the next Reporter [1] will contain a denial of the truth of the contents of that letter, and an attack upon you over Mr. Clay's signature. I view this as an effort to affect the elections in Kentucky, and it will have considerable effect, unless it be promptly, firmly and temperately met. Clay, I am told, has boasted that he has now got you in a situation, that will constrain you to write in your defence, and that he will thereby effect your destruction. He has evidently two great objects in view—to carry this State according to agreement, and to keep you before the public in a defensive attitude. A statement of the case must, I presume, now be made by you, and it should be moderately and cautiously done; as every statement or allegation, not clearly sustained, will be disproved. I make

[1] The *Kentucky Reporter,* published in Lexington; Clay's letter, etc., appeared in the issue of July 4.

this remark, because Clay and his minions, will go all lengths, even in swearing. But let the public hear from you as early as possible, as it is highly important to your friends in Kentucky that Mr. Clay's statements may be rebutted in time to counteract any erroneous impression they may make, previous to the first Monday in August. Perhaps a brief reiteration of the contents of your letter to C. Beverly would be sufficient, until the testimony can be adduced to support them. Weigh this subject well; for, on the manner in which it may be disposed of, every thing may depend.

I shall make no apology for addressing you thus freely, as you know, my dear sir, the spirit in which these suggestions are made. There will be great exultation for a time, but it will be silenced, I am persuaded, by the voice of truth.

Your Friend

To Robert Mills.[1]

Hermitage, July 8, 1827.

Dear Sir, I have received your favor of the 15th ulto. accompanied with a map of the district of Lancaster within which I was born. For this flattering evidence of your regard be pleased to accept my sincere thanks.

A view of the map pointing to the spot that gave me birth, brings fresh to my memory many associations dear to my heart, many days of pleasure with my juvenile companions; but alas, most of them are gone to that bourne where I am hastening and from which no one returns. I have not visited that country since the year 1784. Most of the names of places are changed; all the old generation appears to have passed away, and to be succeeded by another more numerous and often differently named. The crossing of Waxaw creek, within one mile of which I was born, is still, however, I see, possessed by Mr. John Crawford, son of the owner (Robert) who lived there when I was growing up and at school. I lived there for many years, and from the accuracy with which this spot is marked on the map, I conclude the whole must be correct.

With great respect, I have the honor to be, sir,

your very obedient servant,

Duff Green to Jackson.

Washington, July 8, 1827.

Dear Sir. The multiplied duties of my office have kept me so much engaged that, I have not indulged myself in writing letters as I should do. You have been of the number neglected. You will however permit me through you to tender to mrs Jackson the congratulations of a sincere

[1] This letter, in the possession of Thomas D. Dimitry, of New Orleans, was printed in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune,* Jan. 10, 1915. For a copy of it the editor is indebted to Miss Stella Herron, of New Orleans. Robert Mills, to whom it was written, was a civil engineer and architect of South Carolina, who later resided in Washington. He was architect of the Treasury, Land Office, and Patent Office, and made the original design for the Washington Monument. The map must have been a sheet from the atlas which accompanied his *Statistics of South Carolina* (Charleston, 1826). Jackson's birthplace is marked on it.

friend on the satisfactory and conclusive vindication of her innocence which has been presented to the public by the Nashville Committee. To a lady of her great sensibility the knowledge of her own innocence would bring much consolation but that sensibility must have been the more acute when she saw that the e[n]venomed shafts of malice were aimed at her on your account. Let her rejoice—her vindication is complete—the voice of slander is hushed—and she must be gratified to know that your magnanimity to her is rightly appreciated by an intelligent public, That so far from impairing the confidence of the people in you this attack has made you many friends. I am aware of the delicacy of the subject and under other circumstances would be last to intrude such remarks upon your notice but I have not been without my share of difficulty in this matter, I saw the necessity of bringing home the matter to mr Adams' own family and by threats of retaliation drove the Journal [1] to condemn itself.

This you have no doubt seen and understood. The effect here was like electricity. The whole Adams corps were thrown into consternation—soon they had no doubt that I would execute my threat and I was denounced in the most bitter terms for assailing *female* character by those very men who had rolled the slanders on mrs. J. under their tongues as the sweetest morsel that had been dressed up by peter Force and Co during the whole campaign. It was plainly hinted that my paper must not be taken at the public offices and *some* of those who has been suspected of Jacksonism were weak enough to discontinue, and some others to threaten me with a meeting of your friends to disavow any aprobation of my remarks unless I would make some apology!! I put them at once at difiance—told them that they had done nothing for the support of the cause—that I had never looked to their fears or their hopes for counsel, and that I looked to the people and *not* to the attachees of the palace for approbation. The gentlemen were check mated and some of them have bowed to me most politely since—especialy if no spies are near when we meet.

I find that I have dwelt much more at large on this unpleasant topic than I intended. One great object in addressing you this is to say that I suspect mr Monroe is apprised that you have discovered his treachery to you and is desirous to lend the influence of his name to promote the reelection of Mr Adams. I am told that numerous documents in relation to the Campaign of 1814-15 have been furnished him from the War Department and that he and Southard have been in active correspondence. Is it not probable that the late notice of your correspondence with Southard, in the National Intelligenc[er] is intended to provoke a publication on your part, so as to give mr Monroe an opportunity to retract? If this conjecture be right it would appear to me proper that Monroe's former treachery (for I can call it by no other name) should be exposed. How much did the sight of that letter change my opinion of the man!!

I have written to Doctor Wallace to send me a copy of your correspondence, that I may be prepared to act. I shall endeavor to do the best I can and altho I will not unnecessarily bring mr Monroe into the controversy—if he obtrudes himself he will find me prepared to do him ample justice.

[1] The *Daily National Journal*, administration organ.

I feel the want of confidential friends and advisers. I have a few fast friends who are true, and ready to aid with advice but there are but two or three in whose opinions I can confide. Our atmosphere is infected—those in office br[eathe] upon permission of the President and his influence is felt in every workshop in the city. It will not do for me to receive my impulses from such sources. I should soon sink even below Gales and Seaton were I to do so.

Your friend

To James Buchanan.[1]

Hermitage, July 15, 1827.

D'r Sir, You will see from the enclosed publication of Mr Clay repelling the Statement made by me respecting the propositions said to have been made by his friends to mine and to me and intended to operate upon the last election for President, that it becomes necessary for the public to be put in possession of the facts. In doing this you are aware of the position which you occupy, and which I trust you will sustain when properly called on. Ever since the publication and the enquiry before the House of Representatives in January and February 1825 questions have been propounded from various sources calculated to draw from me the information I had upon that unpleasant subject—Many no doubt with sinister views placing me in selfish connections with the facts, from my accustomed silence have sought to fortify the character of Mr. Clay: But in a number of cases where enquiry seemed to be prompted by a frank and generous desire to obtain the truth I felt myself bound to answer in a corresponding spirit; and accordingly the Statement made by you to me has been on several occasions repeated, as it was to Mr. Beverly who visited me at my house where he found a number of his friends and relatives. Having tarried all night, in the morning conversing on politics, the question so often put to me before was asked by Mr. Beverly. It was answered—Mr. B. went to Nashville and wrote to his friend in No. Carolina who it appears published his letter. On the 15th of May last he wrote me from Louisville requesting to be informed whether the statement made by him was correct and observing that his letter was not intended for publication. not having seen the letter as published there was no safe alternative for me but that adopted of making the statement as you will see in the inclosed paper.

I shall now in reply to Mr Clays appeal give my authority accompanied by the statement you made to Major John H. Eaton and to Mr. Kreamer and leave Mr. Clay to his *further enquiries.* He cannot be indulged by me in a paper war or newspaper discussion. Had his friends not voted out Mr. McDuffies resolutions when Mr. Clay threw himself upon the House the truth or falshood of these statements would have been made manifest and the public mind now at rest upon this subject. That they did will appear, reference being had to the National Journal of the 5th of February

[1] Hist. Soc. Pa., Buchanan Papers. This letter is in the *Works of Buchanan,* ed. Moore, I. 261. Buchanan's reply to it, Aug. 10, 1827, is in the same volume, p. 269. His statement with respect to Jackson's charges, dated Aug. 8, 1827, has appeared in many places, as for instance in Colton's *Life and Times of Clay,* I. 352, and in *Works of Buchanan,* I. 263.

1825. You will recollect that Mr. McDuffie moved to instruct the committee to enquire whether the friends of Mr. Clay have hinted that they would fight for those who pay best, and whether overtures were said to have been made by the friends of Mr. Clay offering him the appointment of Secretary of State for his aid to elect Mr. Adams, and whether his friends gave this information to the friends of Genl. Jackson and hinted that if the friends of Jackson would close *with them* etc. etc. giving the committee the power to examine on oath.

I have no doubt when properly called on you will come forth and affirm the statement made to Major Eaton, then to Mr. Kreamer and then to me, and give the names of the friends of Mr. Clay who made it to you

I will thank you to acknowledge the receipt of this letter on its reaching you

Duff Green to Jackson.

Washington, July 18, 1827.

. . . . By a note from Major Lee I find that there are some difficulties in the way of his examination of your papers necessary to the execution of the Work which he has undertaken. I regret this for many reasons but chiefly on account of the delay which it will produce in the publication of the work. More than 15 months ago I urged upon major Eaton the necessity of issuing a cheap edition of your biography and at that time understood that some important facts had been omited in his work. it was not contemplated to do more at that time than to abridge his work. I urged upon him to undertake it. I was willing to undergo the risk of all expense incurred in the publication—but I had a greater object than any profits to arise from the publication. Your biography was necessary to a proper estimation of your public services which form as much a part of the history of the country as of your own life and are as essential to our public character as to a proper estimate of your claims to public gratitude. When I left him in Nashville he was at a loss and I understood him to say that he could not undertake the work. anxious to bring it out upon my arrival at Washington I saw major Lee and suggested to him the execution of the work, he immediately engaged to enter on it and we should have brought it out ere this had not the Secretary of War refused him access to your official Correspondence. I then wrote to major Lewis and it was upon the receipt of his letter that Major Lee resolved to go on to Nashville. Had I supposed that major Eaton desired to write out such a work I would have been the last man to interfere in any way; but supposing that we both concurred in the propriety of its being done, I fear that I have misunderstood his feelings and wishes and committed myself to major Lee under circumstances calculated to embaras us all. Knowing that what I now write can have no influence in any determination he may make upon the subject this explanation is written as an apology to you for the trouble that Major Lee and myself have caused you. To major Eaton I am under obligations [for] kindness for which I shall be mindful and which [will] make his wishes on such an

occasion my supreme [object.] I would not wound his feelings for any inducement and I [feel] that he knows me too well to suppose otherwise.[1]

As to politics, I fear that I often do wrong, I shall however draw largely upon the forbearance and forgiveness of my political friends. they must substitute the will for the Deed and if I do err place it to any thing else than a want of zeal in the cause or attachment to you. You flatter me much in the estimate You are pleased to place on my exertions—my position does much, I wish I had talents and information suited to the immergency. I am truly gratified to find that all the attacks of your enemies recoil upon themselves.

Be pleased to tender my best wishes to Mrs Jackson and to mr and mrs. Donaldson, for yourself recieve assurances of friendship from

To William Owens.[1]

Robertson's Springs, July 25, 1827.

Dear sir: Your letter of the 22d inst. was handed to me late last evening, and I hasten to answer the inquiries, as requested, in regard to the case of Harris and the other five militia men who were executed at Mobile.

The regiment to which these unfortunate men belonged, was received into the service by the orders of the general government, was mustered for a six months tour, and was paid accordingly, for said service, as will appear by the muster and pay rolls, and by colonel Pipkin's report to me. These rolls, with colonel Pipkin's report, the proceedings and sentence of the court martial detailed for the trial, and all the circumstance connected with the subject, are or ought to be, on record at Washington city, where I have no doubt, Mr. Buckner has had a full opportunity of examining them. I confidently assert, that they stamp the allegations of Mr. Buckner with falsehood.

The letter which Mr. Buckner now makes use of, in order to injure my character, is well ascertained to be a forgery. It was first published by Binns, editor of the Democratic Press, purporting to be a letter from the unfortunate Harris to me. Now this man never wrote but one letter to me, that I ever saw, or heard of before this publication, and in that he acknowledged himself to be guilty of the enormous crimes charged against him, and stated his willingness to meet the just sentence of the court. If Mr. Buckner was as desirous to cull the truth from the archives of the nation, as he is to pluck from me my hard earned reputation, he would have seen that general Winchester, who commanded at Mobile at the time that this *Binns* letter is dated, made several communications to me after that date, and before he had any knowledge that the battle of New Orleans had been fought. Does not this circumstance show the impossibility of Mr. Harris having this knowledge at the time stated, and

[1] Lee had a ready and efficient pen and, contrary to the idea expressed in this letter, he did not give up his design to write a life of Jackson. A part of the book was actually written and in a rather lengthy stay at the Hermitage in 1827-1828 Lee obtained a strong influence with Jackson. Later on the impression grew that he was mainly a Calhoun man and, seconded by Duff Green, he used his influence with Jackson in behalf of a Calhoun succession, and finally fell away from Jackson. See also p. 291, *ante*, note 1.

[1] Reprinted from the *Kentucky Gazette* (July 31, 1827) in *Niles' Register*, XXXIII. 20.

still more that he could have gained it in time to have made it a ground of application for mercy. The letters of gen. Winchester to me show that he did not receive intelligence of the victory until the 17th January: this forged letter give the intelligence to Mr. Harris two days before. Strange indeed, that Mr. Harris closely confined in jail should be so much earlier informed than the commandant of that post.

It would give me great pleasure to send you printed copies from the documents in my possession, properly certified, proving what I have here asserted, but it is impossible that this can be done within so short a period as that requested. I trust, however, that the statement here made will be sufficient, with all honorable men, to counteract the false impressions sought to be forced upon the freemen of Kentucky by Mr. Buckner.

As a public or private man, speaking of transactions which concern the reputation and characters of others, every manly feeling should remind him, that he ought to be guided by established facts, not by the *hearsay* of a party; and when he thus produces facts, or the least plausible ground upon which to bottom such charges, as those which you have recited, I pledge myself to be at all times ready to meet him at the bar of my country.

It may be proper to remark in conclusion, that the finding of the court proves conclusively that those men were legally in service—or otherwise, that they must have been acquitted. I approved, of their condemnation, because they were the promoters and ringleaders of the mutiny and desertion, committed at a period when the safety of our southern frontiers was threatened, at a period which called for the most energetic measures, and when every nerve of the government was stretched in the defence of our liberties. When they violated the law in such an attrocious manner, the public good demanded their sacrifice. Had they have done their duty as faithful soldiers, their country would have rewarded them with its protection and gratitude.

I am, sir, your most obedient servant.

P. S. It will be recollected in the revolutionary war, at a time of great trial, gen. Washington ordered deserters to be shot without trial. Captain Reed under this order, having arrested three, had one shot without trial, and his head brought to the general; but he, (gen. Washington), reprimanded Reed for not shooting the whole three. General Green, near Rudgly's mill, South Carolina, says Gordon's history, had eight men hung on one pole for desertion. Johnson's life of Green says five, without court martial. I only approved of the proceedings of a court composed of men who were the friends and neighbors of those to be tried by them.

Respectfully,

To Duff Green.

Hermitage, August 13, 1827.

D'r Sir, I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt of your two letters of the 8th and 18th ult, the letter in answer of mine of the 29th June last.

The manner you have treated the Beverly business is proper, and one which I approve; Mr Clay must throw himself on some tribunal cloathed with power to investigate this matter and to coerce the attendence of

witness and examine upon oath, or sink in the estimation of all the honest and virtuous portion of society. The course of my friends, ought now to be as heretofore on the defensive; should the administration continue their systematic course of slander, it will be well now and then to throw a fire brand into their camp by the statement of a few facts, but female charecter never should be introduced or touched by my friends, unless a continuation of attack should continue to be made against Mrs. J. and then only, by way of *Just retaliation* upon the *known guilty*. My great wish is, that it may be altogether *avoided*, if *possible*, by my friends. I *never war against females* and it is only the base and cowardly that do— your course, has hitherto been, approved by my friends, and must continue to be approved, so long as you adopt truth and principle for your guide, never departing from either.

Before this reaches you, you will have seen my reply to mr Clays appeal to the people. His speeches to dinner parties before my reply was recd, give evidence of his intention to forestall public opinion, by making up an Issue for himself that my statement did not warrent, and displays his inward dread of the disclosure to the public of the individual who made to me the communication. They are also proof to me that he knew as well as I did the gentleman who had made the communication to me. I had no fear but Mr Buchannan would come out when properly called on, and his letter to you is a clear pledge that he will—he cannot do otherwise, having first made the communication to Eaton, then to Kremer, they refusing to communicate, then coming to me — in short Mr. B. knows that Mr McDuffies resolution was based upon this information and the declarations of Frank Johnston, in the presence of Col Sandford, made to Kremer.

? will Clay make the call upon Buchannan. If he does will not Mr B. reply, place yourself before a tribunal competant to investigate, and to send for persons and papers, and interrogate upon oath, before which I will detail all I know, and have communicated to Genl Jackson, with the source from whence I derived my knowledge and induced me to make the communication to Genl Jackson? or, what will be his course.

If Mr Clay places himself before a proper tribunal to investigate; there must be circumstantial, presumptive, and positive proof, sufficient to authorise a Jury to convict on a charge of murder. Trimbles speech, Frank Johnstons declarations, Moors, Calls and others information; and lastly, Clays being appointed Sec of State must be viewed as the positive proof of the bargain, and this act, as its full and compleat performance. I have recd several letters disclosing channels thro which testimony can be had, one, if true, that fixes upon clay proof that will convince worlds of his corruption. I have Col Sandfords statement. I never have heard that Major Eaton was hurt at any conduct of yours.

I have said to major Lee that he can have copies of any correspondence of mine with the goverment, not confidential. If, as you intimate, Mr Munroe does come out, then these documents may be given to the public. I act on the defensive, The copy of the letter of Mr M to the sec of war on the subject of his view of the orders to me, and to which you alude, which was forwarded by Genl Houston, is not, as to me, confidential,

major Lee having given me the original, and taken the copy. he can do with as he pleases. When you have leisure I will be glad to hear from you.

with my best wishes aieu

P. S. I have recd. several letters from my friends in N. Y. approving of my reply to Mr Clay.

To Rev. Hardy M. Cryer.[1]

Hermitage, August 18, 1827.

Dear Sir, Busines having brought me to Gallatin I rode over to see you and pay you for the season of my mares. I have to remark that no laches on my part, shall place you in a delicate situation—I have therefore to request you to see Mr Shelby, settle the bisuness, draw upon me for the amount, and I will sight check for it.

I wish you to say whether I shall pay you now, for my gray mare, or when she brings the coalt, if she should be so fortunate as to do so—I believe it was understood as she had lost both her coalts, if she lost this, I was not to pay for the season. If that is your understanding I am willing to pay you now, and if again unfortunate, the money to be returned when the event is known.

Nothing has prevented me from sending the check with but the want of a knowledge of the amount—you should have had a check enclosed from the Springs but I did not know the amount. I request you to see Mr Shelby, settle the amount due him, and notify me and I will send you a check, or of you prefer it, the cash. Why I say a check, I seldom have the amount at home.

I had a great wish to see you, and hope you and your lady can pay us the promised visit next week.

Respectfully your friend,

To John Overton.[1]

Hermitage, August 18, 1827.

D'r Sir, I enclose you a letter, containing the peace aluded to in my note to you the other day. The statement your deceased brother is made to make is the vilest forgery and falsehood ever penned—I have no doubt but it is furnished from Nashville or its neighborhood. To put this down, and that the villians should be unmasked, I would suggest that it might be proper for Genl W. Overton to demand of the Editor his author and *corner it*; in this way, such dishon[o]rable *talcs* as it relates to the memory of your deceased brother ought to be put down. The whole statement is a base fabrication by the forger, and if the Editor has not fabricated it, himself, he ought to be made to give up his informant, In time, they may discover whether Jackson has *a tremulous hand.*

Respectfully yr friend

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc. Rev. Hardy M. Cryer was a Methodist minister. He was passionately devoted to blooded horses and continued to breed them. This love of horses and his high integrity of character bound him to Jackson, and they remained warm friends through life.

[1] Transcripts of Overton letters in the possession of Professor St. George L. Sioussat. This letter probably refers to the duel between Thomas J. Overton and John Dickinson. See this series, I. 117, 119.

Charlton Hunt to Jackson.[1]

Lexington, August 29, 1827.

Dear General, We have closed a very animated election, And although beaten in this County, still when every thing is considered, it should be viewed as a triumph of correct, republican principles over wealth and power. The Candidates were announced on each side late in March. viz. Breckinridge, True and Combs for Adams: McCalla, Payne and myself for his opponent. Breckinridge is a man of fine talents, and had been elected the two previous years. True has been our representative for six or seven years, Combs is a gentleman of some standing at the bar and a most indefatigable electioneerer. All three of them belonged to the Old Court and Antirelief party which has been the prominent and popular party in this County for several years back. Gen. McCalla although a popular man had been twice defeated before as a partizan of the New Court and never elected, Mr. Payne belongs to a respectable and numerous family, but was defeated last year as a New Court candidate. I was an Old Court man but at the commencement of the campaign I did not know 500 voters in the County and had to contend against the idea that I was but a boy: which suggestion I had to laugh away the best way I could and refer them to a fine, promising son of mine as an evidence, that I had advanced a little beyond boyhood.

Under these circumstances, the canvass opened and the most powerful exertions were made upon both sides from the first. The contest turned on our preference for the Presidential Candidates. Their relative claims, qualifications and merits formed the subject of our numerous stump speeches. The wealth of the County was in the main arrayed against us and Mr. Clay's visit just before the election was as fortunate and well timed as any maneuvre you ever atchieved in the field of battle. In his electioneering dinner speeches you were most bitterly and unsparingly denounced. He stimulated his friends to the highest exertions of which they were capable. It was however a mortifying circumstance that his dinner of 1200. should have been succeeded by a dinner in honor of Jackson and the peoples rights" attended by 4000, this is a fact without the least exageration. I would not exagerate to gratify a friend and my information is of the most authentic kind. If you had visited this section of the Country as Mr. Clay did, the opposition would have vanished, but I was not so selfish as to desire that you should jeopardize your prospects elsewhere, that my election might be secured. I became a candidate that I might contribute my mite to pay a debt of gratitude that so many considered cancelled by the base calumny and slander, which they unceasingly heap upon you. The election commenced and the two first days McCalla and myself ran ahead, which eventuated in our defeat. Our friends were enthusiastic and bouyed up by the idea, that the day was ours ceased their exertions, and remained about the Court House giving full play to their enthusiasm and joy, in the mean time the other party

[1] One of the interesting things about this vivid account of political conditions in Kentucky is that it says nothing of political activity by the Bank of the United States. The election was for members of the Kentucky house of representatives.

had their emissaries in every point of the County, riding day and night, bringing in sick and maimed, and passed us on Wednesday. The number of illegal votes is inconceivable, I was a novice at the Business and did not find out the game they were playing upon us until it was too late. During the seven years war of the Relief and Judge questions, when the greatest efforts were made there were never more than 2600 votes taken, and McCallas vote and mine never was beaten before. This year they took 2700 and we know of at least one hundred, who were prevented from voting, by sickness and a brick bat fight that occurred Wednesday at Noon, arising from an attempt upon the part of the Adams men to plant a flag and Hemp stalk over the Court House door. The votes stood thus at the close of the polls,

	Lexington	Chiles	Athens	Total
Clark	1095	140	179	1414
Taylor	1081	38	93	1212
Breckinridge ..	1128	138	169	1435
Combs	1095	131	174	1400
True	1041	138	171	1350
McCalla	1142	44	119	1305
Hunt	1150	43	104	1297
Payne	1021	37	96	1154

You perceive that in Lexington just under Mr. Clays own door McCalla and myself obtained a majority of the 2200 and odd votes that were taken here: at two remote little precincts where they took between 4 and 500 votes our prospects were ruined. In the Chilesburgh precinct Mr. Robert Wickliff owns about $100,000 in land and negroes. he attended the precinct the first day and used every exertion against us. he is the man, who voted for the resolu[tions] of 1824, requesting our Members of Congress to give the vote of [this] State to you, denouncing Mr. Adams as an Apostate federa[list] and he is the man, who for seven years back, has received my warmest and most active support. He tells my friends that I electioneer with great success, if he ever appears before the people again he will wish that he has formed a false judgment of me. It is a source of the highest triumph to me, that I beat the whole concern of them under the immediate range of Mr. Clay's eye. And if his eye ever glances at the name of as humble an individual as I am, I am proud that he will look upon it with scorn and mortificifation in the present instance. You can form no conception of the high and devoted enthusiasm that is felt for your success in this quarter.

Your friends in this place state that Mr. Clay wrote you just before the election by Congress, inviting you to pass through Lexington to accompany him to Washington—if it is agreeable to you to inform me I would be glad to know if it is a fact, not with any view of giving up the Author but to prevent our friends from making a statement that may be untrue. . . . .

To Amos Kendall.[1]

Hermitage, September 4, 1827.

. . . . I have seen Mr Buchanan address, it is such a production as surely I had not a right to expect from him; but we live in days of wonder. Mr. B. situation tho was a delicate one. It would be now only necessary for me to publish Major Eatons statement and Mr Kreamers, contrast them with his, and it would appear that his recollection had materially failed him, Surely no one could believe that Mr. B. would go to my friends, make statements to them, to be communicated to me, and when they had refused—come to me himself, then make a different one; and that I should understand the statement made to me, as my friends did, that which was made to them. And could it be, that Mr. B. would approach me so guarded and cautiously barely with a view to make the inquiry, whether the rumor abroad was correct, that I had said if elected, I would appoint Mr Adams secratary of state. This was a question that might have been asked by any one, without delicacy, and which I would any where have promptly answered. This however is a subject of much delicacy, and is one upon which I shall deliberate fully before I act. . . . .

Martin Van Buren to Jackson.[1]

Albany, September 14, 1827.

my dear Sir, I am reminded by a letter from your friend and neighbour Mr. Balch of the propriety of apprising you of the State of public opinion with us. It was my intention to do so as soon as I could possess myself of the requisite information. I have recently been through many of the Counties respecting which I felt the most anxiety, have seen most of the leading men from others and the Legislature are now and have for some days been in session. From the information thus derived I am sure I cannot be mistaken in believing, that we shall be able to give you a very decided majority of the votes of this state, if nothing turns up hereafter to change the present aspect of things. I do not think I should hazard any thing in saying two thirds. at all events we can settle the question unless we are greatly disappointed in other states. Nothing that can be done by the people at Washington, or by any particular influence that can be brought to bear upon us at home, can prevent this result—if it is prevented it can only be by some indiscretion of our own. This is not the opinion of the friends of Mr Adams and a short time since the public indications were certainly very different. The politics of this state like those of Pensylvania and most of the northern states are yet governed by old Party feelings. For four fifths of the time since 1800 the old Republican Party has possessed the power of this state. It does so now to a greater extent (the Govr. alone excepted) than it has done for many years. Until within the last two months, it for reasons (unnecessary to

[1] This extract is reprinted from the copy in the Jackson MSS. It appears also in the collection of letters from Jackson to Kendall in the Cincinnati *Commercial*, Feb. 4, 1879.

[1] Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS. Alfred Balch, of Nashville, was consistently a Van Buren man. He probably had some influence in bringing the New York Crawford group into the Jackson following.

state) paused on the Presidential question. Upon that hesitation and the general avowal of the old Federalists in favour of the administration, it was, that its friends counted so confidently upon the result in this state. The scene is now greatly changed and will soon be altogether so. Out of the fifty Republican Presses we have in the State very many have already come out in your favour, and the rest with at most three exceptions will do the same soon. The Legislature have come in in fine feeling, and the Republicans throughout the State are avowing themselves in your favour, and making your support the Party standard. At the ensuing fall elections they will literally put to rout the discordant factions by which they have heretofore been opposed and thereafter rally under one common standard on national politics. All that is necessary to secure this gratifying result is that we be let alone. Attempts will doubtless be made to entangle your friends in the Vice-Presidential and other questions but they will I am persuaded have good sense enough not to meddle in them. I have no other feelings in relation to the Vice Presidency than as it may operate on the main question. Let it be left to the natural course of public sentiment and it will fare best. It is as far as I can see the only point upon which we can have difficulty and the true policy in regard to it for the present, clearly is, to let it alone. one word more and excuse me for the liberty I take in refering to it. I can well appreciate your feelings under the torrents of malignant vituperation to which you have been exposed, and I am sensible of the difficulty of avoiding replies to direct application[s] which are (sometimes with the best intention but not infrequently from mere vanity on the part of their authors) made to you from diff[er]ent parts of the Union. But I think I hazard nothing in saying that for the future the case must be an extreme one that can make frank explanations from you personally necessary. The obvious design to bear you down by calumny has produced a great re-action, and I am quite certain that they have so much overacted their parts as to render their past as well as future vituperation entirely harmless. Our people do not like to see publications from candidates. It is a singular fact that in almost every case in which they have (with us) been attempted on the eve of an election they have operated agt. the cause they were intended to serve. Do not infer from this that it is my intention to complain of the past. On the contrary I am clearly of opinion that all that has been done was not only proper but unavoidable and has been useful. Although our friend Buchanan was evidently frightened and therefore softened and obscured the matter still the fact of your entire aversion to all and any intrigue or arrangement is clearly established, and nothing could be of more value, or more acceptable to the people. The sentiments contained in your letter to Dixon in 1801 [2] and of your 4' of July toast at Nashville are those best adapted to the feelings and opinions of our people. Make my best respects to Mrs. Jackson and believe me to be

Your sincere friend

P. S. as the publication of any opinions from me would only furnish texts [*sic*] for misrepresentation here I beg that it may be avoided.

[2] See vol. I., p. 58.

Martin Van Buren to Jackson.[1]

Private

New York, November 4, 1827.

my dear General, You must excuse me if my anxiety to avoid any movement that may impair our present good prospects leads me to say what under different circumstances might seem officious. I see by the Telegraph that it is desired to bring you to Washington next winter and my reading of the paper is confirmed by letters from the Editor of that paper to those of the Argus and Enquirer in this state. The reasons agt. such a step are manifold and to my mind conclusive. To that effect have our editors written to Genl. Green. I forbear to assign those reasons because I cannot but think that it will strike you as it has me. Should I be mistaken in this I would be happy to be heard before decision upon the point is made.

You have doubtless seen the nomination of Gov Clinton in this State.[2] At this distance from the scene of action I cannot with certainty define its object. It is either a small continuance from Washington under the auspices of Gnl Brown (who resided in that County (Jefferson) or it is a bonafide attempt on the part of the Govrs. friends to feel the public pulse or it is got up by them to give him an opportunity to obtain the merit of declining. I have no evidence that Gov Clinton had any hand direct or indirect in the matter and I am perfectly satisfied that (unless it should take to an extent not to be anticipated) he cannot be so mad as to enter the field under existing circumstances. But come it from whence it may or be it persisted in as it may you may positively rely that it could do us no possible injury but on the contrary secure us *every district* in the state. The reason for this is very simple. The party that has heretofore supported Gov Clinton was composed of the old Federalists consisting of about eighty or ninety thousand electors and some portions of the old Republican Party that have from time seceded with prominent individuals. The present question has completely severred and destroyed their combined weight. About 7/8ths or perhaps nine tenths of them are warmly and virulently for Mr Adams on Federal and other grounds and the residue will go with us if Mr Clinton is not a candidate. Of Consequence if both ran we should have the entire democratic vote and their accustomed opponents would divide between Clinton and Adams, the larger portion going for the latter. Of the result of such a contest there cannot be the shadow of a doubt as we are able to carry the election as matters now stand in a larger majority of the districts by our own strength (that is what is called abroad Bucktail [3] but is here the old Republican Party) and would fall but a few short in any of the districts. You and your friends therefore may dismiss from your minds the subject of this nomination all together and with perfect safety.

Our election commences tomorrow. In this City it will be unusually animated but we shall succeed here as we will throughout the state. My

[1] Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.
[2] DeWitt Clinton, governor of New York 1817-1823, 1825-1828 (d. Feb. 11, 1828).
[3] Anti-Clintonian Democrat.

full belief is that we shall carry our Bucktail Jacksonian Senator in every district in the State.[4] But one is in my judgment at all doubtful. Of the assembly we shall elect three fourths certain and I believe more. Both parties have made their selections of candidates almost exclusively from what is known with you as the Bucktail party. This is produced by the decided ascendancy which that interest has obtained in the state and which is felt by all. But those who are seduced to go on the administration tickets are generally men who have been disappointed and are consequently disaffected and if not they loose their weight in the party from the moment of their seduction.

Of New Jersey it is impossible to speak with certainty. If no *horse race law* or other local question interferes our chance is I think the best, but the state is always an uncertain one. But happen what may in that quarter I am entirely confident that all that is necessary to make the election perfectly safe is that we be discreet.

Remember me kindly to Mrs. Jackson and major Eaton and believe me to be

Very sincerely your friend

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, December 5, 1827.

. . . . I have been informed by Mr Eastin, that Mr Phillips, A. J. Hutchings overseer, has made debts to Mr Simpson and him to more than the amount of his wages, having given to him a letter of credit first to Mr Simpson, and then to Mr Easton stating minutely the amount that would be due him. I was astonished that they have permitted him, but having referred Mr Easton to the letter I had wrote to Mr Simpson, and he reposing in the oeconomy of this man, never applied to Mr Simpson to know the amount taken up at Mr Simpsons. The consequence is, that Mr Easton for the ballance, must immediately look to Phillips, you will therefore please, on Mr Eastons return, assume to Mr Simpson, and then to Mr Eastin the amount due Phillips, deducting the amount of five dollars I paid him on engaging him, and which you will find expressed on the article of agreement, and close the business with him. Mr Easton says Phillips alledges he has an account against the estate for axes etc. This cannot be, for to guard against his having any thing to do in that way, was my letter given to Messrs Simpson and Eastin to furnish all that might be necessary for the plantation, to have their accounts as a check upon him. he was a stranger, and I never will have an account with an overseer. It will be well to look into the items got for the plantation and see that they are all forthcoming, that have been charged, and also the Blacksmiths account. Phillips course has been such, that I have lost all confidence in him as an honest man, and I am happy I exchanged him and it is well to look into the accounts of articles got for the farm. . . . .

[4] Of the nine senators elected, "nearly all", says Hammond (*Political Parties*, II. 259), were Jackson men.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

John Branch to Jackson.[1]

Washington, December 11, 1827.

My Dear Sir, I have this moment been informed by maj. Eaton that a safe opportunity is afforded to write to you as freely as I think. Permit me then to say that the Republic is safe, and that in regard to the Coalition that their days are numbered and their destiny fixed. *Tekel tekel mene Tekel*[2] is inscribed on the wall in such legible characters that he who runs may read. The election of Stephenson D. Green etc. etc. speaks a language that cannot be misunderstood.

All that we have to do is to act calmly and dispassionately and to adjourn as soon as a proper regard to the public interest will permit. Some of our friends are aspiring, particularly those who formerly espoused the cause of Calhoun and Crawford and there is some danger that unpleasant feelings and jealousies may be excited. But Sir nothing can arrest the progress of public sentiment, and *some of our friends* are whipd into the ranks under a full conviction of the truth. This is however *inter nos.*

Present me in the most polite and friendly terms to mrs. Jackson and accept for yourself my undiminished confidence and esteem. Adieu

To Major Henry Lee.[1]

Hermitage, December 17, 1827.

D'r Sir, Herewith by Mr Williams I send you the manuscrip Book you requested the other day—it was then at Nashville—you will find the letter of Mr Monroe aluded to, where the leaf is turned down. I recollected the Subject, but thought it was by Armstrong then Sec. of War—but find it was Mr. M. acting as such, the other being absent.

Before we set out for N Orleans I will thank you to return all the manuscrip Books, so that I may leave them in security untill we return. If the Nashville papers have come up by the mail today, please send them by Mr Williams

respectfully yr mo. obdt. servt.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, December 22, 1827.

. . . . I am pleased that Phillips is gone. I was uneasy that he was there, when I found he was without honest principle from the statement of Mr Easton. I hope Jourdan will turn out better. I would like that the whole of the cotton should be got to markett and out of the way of the farm as soon as possible. I think that cotton must take a rise in the spring. I have made but 48 bales weighing 24,300 baled from 130 acres, last year

[1] John Branch was senator from North Carolina from 1823 until he resigned to enter Jackson's Cabinet in 1829.

[2] "Mene, mene, tekel, upharsin." Daniel v. 24-28.

[1] The letter is addressed to "Major Henry Lee, Present". Lee was then in Nashville, with an announced plan of preparing a campaign life of Jackson.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

from 120 acres I sent to Markett 56,000 baled and my present crop is equal to any of my neighbors. I am compelled to sell or I should hold on until April or May, it must *rise*. . . . .

ARTHUR P. HAYNE TO JACKSON.[1]

NEW ORLEANS, December 27, 1827.

Private.

My dear General: I arrived here to day, by way of Havannah, from Charleston. It is my intention to join you at some point on the River, previous to your arrival at New-Orleans. I considered it my duty, to be at your side, on the approaching *military* festivities. And now General, in accordance, with that privilege, you have always granted me, unqualified and unfit as I am to give advice, especially to such an individual as yourself, yet still, I beg leave most respectfully to suggest two ideas for your consideration, and which I should like to see embodied in that address of yours which will be made publick—for I hope you will consent to publish but one of your addresses—altho' I understand three will be required of you—to wit, one on the field of Battle, one to the Govr. and Legislature and one at the Dinner party. The first idea, I would wish to see expressed is this—That, Like *"Cincinnatus"*, you left your Farm, the shade of your own *"Vine* and *Fig Tree"*, at the call of your Country, in the hour of peril and danger, and that like *"Cincinnatus"* you returned to your Farm, the first moment the publick service of your Country would allow: The next idea I would have you advert to, is, some mild, manly and proper allusion, to the wicked, false, unmanly farfeeling attacks made by your enemies, on your domestick happiness and fire side. In every other respect it appears to me, that your addresses should be altogether *military*—the gallantry of Louisiana, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee afford for the occasion delightful subjects. It appears to me also, that your address shd. be concise, and like *Washington,* whom of all other men you most resemble, I would wish you to read them, rather than deliver them extemporaneously, altho' your friends all know it wd. be as easy for you to adopt the latter as the former mode. Will you not my dear General, think me forward in suggesting what I have done? To which question, *I distinctly respond no*—because you know my heart—*there all is right,* and you would be the very first to excuse my head if necessary.

Present me respectfully and affectionately to my friend Genl. Coffee, and to Judge Overton, whose presence on the approaching festivities will be cheering to you.

I remain dear General, your faithful and affectionate freind

[1] Jackson arrived at New Orleans on Jan. 8, 1828. His political friends from many parts of the country came to add splendor to his reception. His four days in the city were filled with festivities and adorned with speeches. The papers of the whole country republished the latter, and in most cases with favorable comment. On the manner in which Jackson's intimates hovered around him during this trip, see R. G. Dunlap to Jackson, Aug. 10, 1831; also W. B. Lewis to Jackson, Dec. 24, 1827, Jackson MSS.

Jackson's Views on Protection.[1]

[1828?][2]

The goverment of england pursues her own policy with a eye single to her own prosperity, and the agrandisement of her own subjects, she excludes as is acknowledged in the extract bread stuffs, and every other product of our labour, even to the starvation of her subjects, to promote the interest of their own agriculturists; regardless of the injury to other countries—and would not buy a pound of our cotton if she could do without it, and get it of the same quality, and cheaper from other countries; her situation compells her to buy, and she dare not lay a counteracting duty upon our cotton, it would throw it into the marketts of her rivals, and give to them the ascendency in the cotton manufactories, and prostrate those of England. When we see the politicians of England so sensitive upon the subject of the late Tariff law, it is conclusive evidence to my mind, that the[y] foresee the benefits that must result to america from it, and the injury to Britain, hence as usual their endeavour to alarm us, divide us, and in this way, raise discontent against it, to have it repealed if possible, before its benefits to our country can be discovered by its operation, and hence the exertions of British partizans, about Florence[?] and elsewhere to raise a clamor against it. There was an equal clamour raised in 1816 by the British partizans, against the Tariff then adopted. It was then said, as now, that the south was taxed, for the benefit of a few manufaturers of the north, and the duty imposed upon course cottons would ruin the south; what is the fact—one fourth of the amount of all the cotton raised in our country is consumed by the american manufacturers, creating a safe, sane, and permanent home markett for the raw material, and the former gets the course fabricks of cotton one hundred and one hundred and twenty five percent lower than those fabricated in england and fifty percent better. This is a real saving to the labourer of better than one hundred percent but still this is all wrong because it lessens the price of the British labourer and curtails the profits of the merchant upon his goods, gives profittable employ to our own citizens; but horrid to relate, reduces the price of labour to his British Majesties subjects; creates paupers there, and preserves our own citizens from pauperism. hence the expression and the determination of those under British influence not to buy or use our own fabricks if given to them of better quality; nay, not even cotton bagging altho better and cheaper. Nay, if offerred as a compliment. Now I ask [*incomplete*]

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

[n. d., late in 1827, or early in 1828.]

D'r Genl, I have received your letter of 6th instant and rejoice to find that you and family enjoy health—ours were very good, when we re-

[1] A fragment in his handwriting.

[2] The reference to the "late Tariff law" seems to indicate the law of 1828. On the other hand, the sentiment expressed is more like Jackson's tariff views of 1824, when he seems to have been turned toward the home market theory by his nationalistic leaning.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS. The date is fixed by Jackson in a letter to Coffee dated Feb. 26, 1828, in which he refers to this letter as written "some time since".

turned home; Mrs J. is still good, but mine, has been a little impaired, by hard and close labour, and confinement, still, I trust providence will spare me untill my enemies are prostrate. Truth is beginning to shine forth, and it will soon display the association of corruption, in all its deformity. The Testimony before the Senate in Kentucky, has *pinned* to the letters of Clay himself, to Mr Blair, *that if Adams was elected, Clay, would be sec of State*; and Blair solicited Kendal to write to White to vote for Adams, *as it was assertained, if elected, Clay would be sec of State.* I refer you to the Ky Argus for details. Thus the light begins to shine. It is hinted from Washington that $70,000 has been used out of the contingent funds, and only $20,000 of which there is the least semblance of vouchers for. The Ballance I suppose as I have thought throout the year was distributed at the Ky elections, and elsewhere; and paid for published calumnious pamphlets against Mrs. J. and myself. A confidential letter from a member of congress says, that it is said, there is heat in the wigwam and warm words and blasfamous has passed between Clay and Adams—The Committee is expected to report in a short time. It has leaked out from one of the committee, that the fact I have stated is true—a short time will develop all matters, and things, about this corruption, at present it is confidential.

I am happy to hear that the overseer at the Hutchings place promises well.

I have recd a letter from Mr Thos Simpson, Mr N. P. Cyrus and Doctor W. T. Rucker, wishing to obtain part of one of my lots to build a Masonic Hall. I have said, if the lot solicited is mine and not one given to one of my young friends, they shall have ¼ or ½ of a lot, for one half I paid for it—that is to say, I will deduct one half of the original sum the lot cost me, apportioning the cost of the whole lot, by the ¼ or ½ whichever they may choose, but in their selection it must be so made, as to equalise the part taken to the part left me—I authorise you to make the erangement with them, as I know such a building will add to the prosperity of the town. Indeed, if you think I ought, I will give them ¼ of a lott gratis, and authorise you, if ¼ will satisfy them to give it, but if they take a half lot, they pay me one fourth what the lot originally cost.

All friends are well except Mrs E Donelson, who I expect cannot remain with us long. Mrs J has rejoiced greatly on hearing Polly had joined the church, I rejoice also, it is what we all ought to do, but men in public business has too much on their minds to conform to the rules of the church, which has prevented me hitherto—Mrs J and myself salutes you and family in affection,

Your friend,

To Edward Livingston.[1]

(private)

Captain McCutching's, January 12, 1828.

Dr Sir Having a moment's leisure after my visit to Orleans, I employ it in writing you. I shall not attempt to give a description of the good

[1] From the collection of the letters and papers of Edward Livingston, preserved at his former residence, Montgomery Place, Barrytown, N. Y.; printed by the kindness of Brigadier-General John Ross Delafield.

feelings with which I was saluted by the citizens of Orleans, and my old compatriots in arms, believing you will receive it from more able pens; all I have time to say at present, is, that I am truly gratified with my visit. It inspired me with emotions more easily conceived than expressed. The splendour of the scene of the Steam Boats, the waving of the various flags from the shipping, and else where, the cheering of the citizens on the places where we met the enemy and saved the City, were well calculated to inspire feelings inexpressible, all I regretted that you were not with us, and that your letter, containing your sentiment, did not reach Orleans untill the 9th, but I am informed by Major Davezac, who read it to me, that it will appear with the proceedings.

Major Davezac informs me, that from a letter rec'd from Mrs. Levingston, you have not rec'd my letters. I have answered promptly, all your letters that have come to hand; but the last,—This you wrote me from the City, after the election of the Speaker of the house of Representatives, which I rec'd on my passage to Neworleans. I sincerely regret that my letters have not reached you, as it appears, Mrs. Levingston is fearful, that I have heard something, that has weakened my friendship for you—be assured, this is not the fact; I only write to my friends, and in answer to their letters, having long since known that there were a system of espoionage introduced in some lines of the post, equal to that during the war in France,—therefore, I trust nothing to the post office, that I would fear for the whole world to know. At the request of an old soldier who states his claims upon our government, I inclose his statement to you, knowing with what pleasure you will procure him aid if you can. I do this more to gratify him than under a hope that you can obtain any relief for him, but on his solicitation I could not forbear forwarding it to you.

When a leisure moment occurs I will be happy to have a line from you. It gives me pleasure to find your popularity has greatly increased in Louisiana, whilst your colleagues has sunk, you will find this, from the public expression of the citizens almost every where. I refer to the papers.

Mrs. J. unites with me, in the most affectionate regard, to you, your Lady, and amiable daughter, with our best wishes for your happiness, and believe me yr friend

P. S.—I write in great haste, and as it is *for your own eye,* you will pardon all incorrectness. A. J.

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Washington, January 21, 1828.

D'r sir, I am constantly importuned by your friends here, to write you, and urge you by no means to notice Clays Book[1] which has *fallen still* born from the press. My answer to them, is, *fear not,* genl Jackson will not so far insult his friends as to take his own cause into his own hands, or from his frends!!! You will have seen by the Telegraph, that the

[1] This refers to Clay's "Address" concerning Jackson's charges of bargain and corruption. It was published in December, 1827. See *Niles' Register,* XXXIII. 296-315.

Jackson Committee of corrispondence,[2] at this place, intend taking up this matter: a rampart of facts will be forth coming now I think, over and around which, clay with all his host of compurgators will scarcely be able to get 'round: they are waiting for some facts which I understand will very shortly be at hand. He will find some new accusers, and stronger than any that have yet appeared

Mr. Calhoun has lately found out, that you have a private letter of Monroe; the one you showed me, last fall. Would you have any objection to send me, a Copy of it, merely that he may see it, I myself retaining it in my own possession. He thinks it must be of the date of the 7. of August 1818; and that the design of Monroe in writing it, was he well knows of the most favorable kind towards you; and begs me to say, that he is fully aware, Mr Monroes feelings in relation to that Semenole affair were never otherwise than sincere and firm towards you. Be this as it may, I should be glad, if proper, to procure a copy of the letter which shall rest with me to be used as I have before stated. As regards Monroe, your course of policy is to notice nothing respecting him; indeed the news papers, happen what may, should be altogether avoided There let your frends who are fully competent battle the affair; your course under any and all circumstances is *retirement* and *silence*. All things are well, and some act of indiscretion might joperdise matters as they are now. Let us look to the main battle without regard to the small picket guards that, may come into conflict, with each other.

The die is cast, and the contest over; under no circumstances, as indicated by the present *signs of the times* can your vote be less than 170.[3] It cannot but be complimentary to you, to know that a majority of both Houses in Congress are your frends and advocates. They will take care of your cause and interest without any interference on your part; they only ask of you under any and all circumstances to be *still* and let them manage whatever is to be done

With my kind and sincere regard to mrs Jackson

I am very truly yours

To George W. Campbell.[1]

Hermitage, February 14, 1828.

My D'r Sir: I have just recd the letter you had the goodness to write me by Mr Donelson on the 12th instant, with enclosures, for which I thank you. The reply you have made Mr M. is such as I approve, and which I would, had I been present, requested you to have made—Indeed under existing circumstances, delicacy and propriety would admit of no other. My real friends want no information from me on the subject of internal improvements and manufactories, but what my public acts has afforded, and I never gratify my enemies. was I now to come forth, and reiterate my political opinions on these subjects, I would be charged with

[2] During this winter several of these committees were organized in such cities as Nashville, Washington, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati.

[3] Jackson received 178 electoral votes.

[1] Collection of Mrs. Susan P. Brown, care Dr. Lucius P. Brown, Franklin, Tenn.

electioneering views for selfish purposes: I cannot do any act that may give rise to such imputations.

Plans have been formed by my enemies, resolutions written and forwarded by men calling themselves a committee appointed for that purpose, to inveigle me into a reply, but still I could not be got out, because my opinions were before the public, and I was convinced, my friends could not wish me to reiterate my opinions, for surely, no honest man having the good of his country at heart, believing that I would change my opinions for selfish views, could support me, and I was determined not to furnish food for my enemies to annoy me with.

I thank you kindly for the trouble you have taken, I return you inclosed Mr Montgomeries letter. . . . .

To Nathaniel W. Williams.[1]

Hermitage, February 23, 1828.

Sir; Having received a letter from a high minded, honorable gentleman of Virginia, who loves truth, and knows how to appreciate character, I lose no time in laying before you the postscript of his letter, which is in the following words, to wit, " It may be well to say that a letter was handed about at the Adams Convention, I hear, accusing you of being concerned in Burr's conspiracy, upon the authority of Judge Nathaniel Williams of your State.[2] The report it, that this Judge Williams, when a young man, he applied to you, then a judge, to sign his license as a lawyer; that you did so, but recommended to him, as you conceived him to be a man of promise, to push his fortune by joining Burr, who was then in your house; promising, if he would do so, to procure him a commission as Captain in Burr's army. This story is going the rounds from the Adams delegates, who have returned home, notwithstanding they ought to know that you was the first person to put Governor Claiborne on his guard, against the schemes of Burr. Verbum sat ".

The records of the country contradict this statement, as it is well known that I resigned my appointment of Judge before Col. Burr ever was in the State of Tennessee. I cannot, then, for one moment, permit myself to believe, that you, elevated as you are, to a seat on the judicial bench of Tennessee, could give your authority to such an unfounded falsehood. Duty to myself, as well as justice to you, therefore, requires that I should, without delay, advise you of this libel upon my character, so that you may at once declare whether you are or are not the author of this calumny, before I expose it as such.

[1] Copy, with signature.

[2] The letter handed about at the Adams convention was directed to W. W. Kerr (Dec. 18, 1827), and contained the following statement: "It is madness to think of Jackson for President of the United States. This Burr matter I cannot be mistaken about, my eyes and ears are my witnesses. He (Jackson) offered me a commission of Captain in Burr's army, or told me I could get one if I would accept. And during this affair he said to me, in the presence of Judge ——— (who though now says he does not remember it) 'depend upon it, gentlemen, the division of the United States has taken deep root. You will find a number of the Senate and a number of the members of the House of Representatives deeply involved in this scheme'." See *U. S. Telegraph, Extra,* Oct. 11, 1828.

I am, and have been, well advised of a secret combination of a base and wicked few in Tennessee, whose object is to slander me, but until now, I have never heard or had the least intimation that you were of that group. Nor do I now believe that you, who must be so well satisfied of the falsehood contained in the postscript of the letter referred to above, as well as the rectitude of my conduct since your acquaintance with me, could be so lost to virtue and truth as to have originated and put in circulation so base a calumny. With this impression I send D. S. Donelson to you with this communication, having no doubt, as an honorable man, that you will send me a frank and prompt reply.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, February 26, 1828.

. . . . I have just heard from our friend Col Maunsel White. he has sold my cotton at 9c and 8c and Hutchings at 8½c. This I have no doubt is a fair sale, for quality this year is not equal to that of last. I expect the proceeds by the first boat. so soon as the roads dry and I can leave home, I shall come out and have the accounts with the estate of Hutchings closed and see what is in my hands. I have noted your last letter as it respects yourself, but I am anxious to know how I stand, with regard to that estate. I am fearful that the burning of your public papers, has brought upon you *great labour* or I should have asked you to have brought up the books, to the present date, debtor, and credit, so that it might be seen, how it stands. I do not want to be indebted to the estate if I can avoid it, therefore am anxious to know how it really stands, and so soon as I can, will come out, and if you will inform me, when you will have leisure to give your attention to it, say in April, or May, I will go out. . . . .

Nathaniel W. Williams to Jackson.[1]

Sparta, February 27, 1828.

I can very frankly deny ever having written the letter spoken of by the gentleman who wrote you from Washington, but I did write a letter to a relation of mine, at that time in Richmond. The letter, if seen, would show that it was designed as a confidential one. I do not, at this time, recollect accurately, what the letter did contain; I believe, though, I can remember a part, if not the whole, of what I intended at the time; and, I will state it, as it is but just that what has been by my means privately circulated, should be publicly avowed under the necessities of this case.

Some time after Burr had passed Nashville, once or twice, to the lower country, Before Mr Jefferson's Proclamation, in riding from General Jackson's house to Nashville, General Jackson, in reference to that conspiracy, said to me, " that I could, if I would accept it, obtain a commission of Captain ".

Afterwards, during the setting of the county Court of Sumner, at a time when Patton Anderson told me that either Burr or Adair, or both

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] *U. S. Telegraph, Extra,* Oct. 11, 1828.

of them, were at General Jackson's house, in a room of a tavern then kept by Edmund Crutcher, General Jackson said to me, I think Judge Stewart was then in the room, "Take notice, gentlemen, you will find that a division of the United States has taken deep root; you will find a number of the members of the House of Representatives are deeply involved in the scheme".

I am not certain that the above was contained in my private letter to Mr Nathaniel Kerr, but as I have made these statements privately, it is but just that I should now avow them. I am in hopes, Sir, that this letter will be altogether satisfactory to you, for General Jackson may be assured (the Presidential question aside) no man can feel more bound to Gen. Jackson than myself, for the great honor conferred by him on my country.[2]

[2] The following statement of Robert B. Currey, long postmaster at Nashville, made about this time (*ibid.*), has a bearing on Judge Williams's trustworthiness, and adds something to the stock of knowledge of the Burr affair:

"Having seen in the public prints a statement of N. H. Williams that I was present at the burning of Col. Burr's effigy, and knowing the same to be destitute of truth, I was led to examine into the accuracy of some of his other assertions, and am astonished that any person having pretensions to candor, should hazard statements so inaccurate both as to dates and matters of fact.

"The Ball which he now would wish to be considered as having been got up as a mark of respect to Burr, after the receipt of the President's proclamation, was in fact one of our regular Assembly Balls and though Judge Williams may have lost the recollection of my given name, as well as other things of more importance, yet if he has a lucid moment, the Judge must recollect he called on me the day preceeding the Ball, to address the managers to exclude Col. Burr, which he said I could do with more propriety as one of the original subscribers by the season (which I think he said he was not) and that I positively objected, and gave as my reason, that it would be violating the hospitality already offered, on mere rumor, which might or might not be true. I believe that the performance of this piece of etiquette was not imposed on the managers. Col. Burr attended, and was politely received, as far as my observation extended.

"In giving the following statement, my recollection, though it perfectly serves me, is supported by a reference to a correspondence with the Postmaster General on the subject. The message and proclamation of the President, accompanied by General Eaton's communication, arrived at Nashville on the 27th Dec. 1806, several days after Col. Burr descended the river, and not before; and it was on this occasion that the effigy of Col. Burr was burnt. It was conjectured then that Col. Burr must have reached the Ohio, and might be on the Mississippi, if not detained. I was not one of Mr. Williams' party at this effigy burning, as he asserts, nor did I ever witness a ceremony of the kind, believing that such measures were better suited to the ignorant, than an enlightened community of freemen, whose laws and ballot box are open for the punishment of offenders; and find that in mentioning this effigy in my letter to the Postmaster General (for the credit of our town) I deemed an apology necessary. These communications were made in compliance with instructions from the Postmaster General to inform him of the state of affairs, etc. etc. I was not commissioned Postmaster for some time after this, but had been acting Postmaster for several years.

"Seth Pease, Esq. arrived here early in January, 1807, and showed me his instructions from the Postmaster General, requiring my co-operation in inquiring into Col. Burr's projects, etc. After remaining as long as he deemed necessary, he set out for the Mississippi Territory; being then, or shortly after, appointed Surveyor General of the Territory. Mr. Pease, while here, was persevering; mingling occasionally in mixed companies in cognito. He told me before he left this place, that he was perfectly satisfied if Col. Burr had any treasonable views he had not disclosed them here; but that he had imposed on some by false pretences, of an expedition against Mexico in which he was to be aided or at least sanctioned by our Government, that if the U. S. army then on the line should fail to co-operate, and they were overpowered it would cover their retreat, and they could fall back, settle on Baron Bastrop's grant, and wait a more favorable opportunity, as a war with Spain was inevitable; and that he imposed on others, by the promise of Washita lands, inducing them to believe that his views extended no further than a peacable settlement there.

Caleb Atwater to Jackson.[1]

Circleville, Ohio, February 29, 1828.

. . . . On the very afternoon, before he died, he wrote me a letter, urging me to go on for you. he said; "If you wish not to see a second reign of terror, support Gen. Jackson—if you wish for the restoration of pure, republican principles, support him—if you are a patriot, and love your country, support him. You have put your hand to the plow, and cannot look back. My advise to you is, to go on for him, decidedly, firmly and faithfully. I know not what causes of dissatisfaction you may have, for I have mine, but we must support Gen. Jackson, zealously, faithfully and efficiently. All the active republicans here, support him, and as to a reaction, it can never happen".

These were probably the last words he ever, wrote, because having finished that letter, in a conversation with his sons, he fell back in his chair, and in ten minutes, he was dead! The letter, I have, and if we ever meet again, you shall see it.

. . . . When the assaults of D[uff]. G[reen]. upon Gov. Clinton, gave umbrage to, and aroused indignation in a million of bosoms, Gov. Clinton, told us, to go on for General Jackson, who was in no way, accoun[t]able for the conduct of that man. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, March 3, 1828.

D'r Major, I send enclosed the Honble. N. Williams letter in reply to mine of the 20th ult. When you read it, and compare it with mine which is inclosed, you will see how prone he is to misrepresentation, even when my letter was before him. I state my "information is recd. from *a high minded Virginian* etc. etc. the Judge says, "in which you state to have recd. *by a letter from Washington",* now I stated no such thing, in my letter to him. This poor devil being caught in his vilany, will make any shift to screen himself from being damd for willful lying. He now says, it was after Burr was gone, or while Adair was here. in his letter, first, he says, it was at my house, when he applied for *his license,* when Burr was at my house, and when I signed them. In his first Judge Stewart was present, *now* he thinks so. Tell me in your reply, does not his letter bear the impress of falsehood on its face.

"Mr. Williams called on me frequently after Col. Burr became an object of suspicion, and in my office, conversed freely on the subject, and as I thought witheld nothing, yet he never told me that General Jackson wanted to enlist him to fight the Spaniards, nor even mentioned his name as connected with or even knowing to any of Col. Burr's schemes.

"It would appear superfluous in me, a private, though an old citizen, to offer my testimony of the innocence of General Jackson, further than known facts may serve to defend his well earned fame from foul aspersions; Those who know me, know him, and I feel confident that no one who does know him, can conscientiously and solemnly say, that they believe or ever did believe, that he knew of and approved, or even connived at treason. no; but rather that his firm integrity in support of the Union, the constitution, and our republican institutions in their purity, has whetted the envy of his opponents because of the contrast."

[1] Atwater was a leading Clinton man in Ohio, who went over to Jackson when De Witt Clinton was no longer a presidential possibility. Clinton died Feb. 11.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

The first time Burr was here, he had just left the Vice Presidents chair, he came without the least suspicion around him of plans, or conspiracies, and was given a public dinner in Nashville. When he returned in 1806, he was followed by rumors of plans, and conspiracies, took lodging at the Tavern at Clover Bottom, where Genl. Adair must have met him in the latter end of Octbr. or first of Novbr. remained two or three days, and went on. In a few days after Col. Burr descended the river. About five or six days after I recd. the information that occasioned me to write to Govr. Claibourne, Jefferson, and Genl. Smith then in the U. S. Senate. My letter to Gov. Claibourne bears date the 12th of Novbr., 1806.

I inclose the extract from the Journals of the Senate shewing the date of the acceptance of my resignation as a Judge; the extract from the Tennessee reports of it being made in June, on which is indorsed, the date that Burr *Killed Hamilton,* taken from Ramseys history. From all of these, together with Judge Stewarts reply to my letter, (which I hope you have recd.) Major Lee can answer Mr. Millers, with the assurance from me that his honor emphatically lies, when he says, I either told him he could get, if he would accept, or that I would get for him commission of any kind from Burr.

If it is thought best to inclose Mr. Miller a copy [of] my letter, with a copy of Williams answer, you must have the goodness to copy them, and return me the originals with Judge Whites letter, and Judge Stewarts answer, as I wish to write to Judge White as soon as I get Judge Stewarts answer. . . . .

To Rev. Hardy M. Cryer.[1]

Hermitage, March 6, 1828.

My Dear Sir, My fine mare has brought me a colt, it is eight days old today. I think it a fine one, but I send it, that you may spend your opinion.

From the scarity of money, and the high prices at which fine horses, stand, I have almost determined, to abandon breeding horses and turn my attention to mules. I am pleased with the blood of Sir William, but have never seen him. I am pleased with my coalt from Stockholder—but it is the only coalt from him, that I have seen. Having the utmost confidence in you and your impartial judgement, I will leave to you on the following terms, to decide for me.

I have six mares, if they all do well, I may say seven, that I would put to Sir William, or Stockholder, paying the cash as soon as I can collect from Mr Jarnygan or Mr Cage, for two, I would pay so soon as the season was out. Now sir if your terms are such that you cannot comply, I enclose a note, that Dunwwody can carry to Mr Shelby, and if he will, accept of the terms proposed. let my gray be put to Stockholder. If he will not, put the gray to Sir William, and I will send my other mares to the Pacific, half brother to Bartrand that stands near me.

[1] Lewis was at this time very busy in connection with Jackson's canvass. A letter from W. C. Emmit to Jackson, May 26, 1828, seems to indicate that Lewis's personal finances were confused and that Jackson was helping him to take up a note for $1000.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.

Mrs J. unites with me in kind respects to you and Mrs Cryer and believe me your friend

P. S. Should you meet me on the terms proposed, you will destroy the note to Mr Shelby, and say nothing about it: otherwise send it.

N. B. I will engage six mares and if my mare is put, I have directed Dunwody to pay half a Dollar to the groom—J.

This 5th January 1829 I have settled with the Revd H. M. Cryer agreeable to the terms of the above letter, that is to say five mares at Twenty Dollars each, and three at twenty five Dollars each.

To Rev. Hardy M. Cryer.[1]

Hermitage, March 22, 1828.

My D'r Sir, I send by Dunwody a sorrel mare of first blood, a fine breeder (one of Cottons) she is just taken from her foal, and is in season, she will have to be *fed,* so soon as the mare now sent is done with the horse, I will send A. J. Donelsons Pacolet, and try her once more. she has brought one coalt, but has failed two years. I have shown your letter to Mr Donelson, and his Pacolet mare was one of the 8 named in my letter, if you did not mean to extend your terms, only to me, please inform me, as I have but six of my own, one of my wards, A. J. Donelsons, son of Wm Donelson deceased, and one of Capt A. J. Donelson above named, all of these will be sent under my terms, and were those intended in my letter to you, but as you might not understand it so, I now explain, as I wish no concealment, and wish your answer. I will thank you, if you have Stockholders Stud Book, to inform me when, each of my four mares now here stood to the horse, they are all in foal, but shew no sign of dropping their coalts early.

To Hugh L. White.

Hermitage, March 30, 1828.

My Dear sir, I have Just recd. your letter of the 2d instant, and thank you for it; and permit me to assure you, I duly appreciate your motives.

one of the most painful occurrence of my life would be to have cause to change that good opinion of and feelings of friendship I have always entertained for Mr. M.[1] I cannot disguise tho, when the letter alluded to reached me, it smelled so much of deception that my hair stood on end for an hour. I am happy to receive the explanation given, but I cannot refrain from making the remark, that it is unfortunate that my communications of such importance have been lost, and more recently, documents mislaid, " in the dark recesses of the war Department ". However I am willing to receive any apology for the past, as I always intended to act on the Defensive, and I hope nothing may hereafter occur at *wine drinkings* etc. etc., to arouse my suspicions of the sincerity of my friend Mr. M. as I have a great desire to carry my good opinion of him to my grave. I am told he and his soninlaw has been for the last six months engaged in writing a Book.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.
[1] Monroe.

When I first recd a copy of the letter of the 9th of Sept. 1818,[2] I was induced to believe from my inquiries, that it had been obtained by the friendship of Mr. C.[3] that I might be placed on my guard and Judge of the sincerity of the professed friendship of Mr. M—as the letter had no marks that it was either confidential, or private, I supposed this probable; but I had doubts of its being genuine, and to put this to rest the original was in due time placed in my hands, as had been promised to put an end to my credulity and the copy first sent me, taken by the individual who handed me the original.[4] It is due to Mr. C. as well as myself that a call should be [made] upon him to know from whom he got the intelligence that I had this letter in my possession, and if without his consent it was furnished, I can soon get into this mistery. I wish you and Major Eaton therefore to see Mr. C. and make the inquiry sugested—and if the original was addressed to him, and has been taken *secretely* out of his bureau, it shall be safely preserved and returned to him, thro any safe channel, he may suggest.

There is mistery in this thing, I would like to unravel it, and will, so soon as I receive you[r] answer after seeing Mr. C. Mr. C. can say who had access to his papers that would do such an act without his consent.

In haste respectfully yr friend

General W. R. Swift to Jackson.

New York, April 8, 1828.

Dear Sir, I have just now shipped on board Ship Dewitt Clinton for N. Orleans and addressed it to care of W. C Withers Esqr. of that place a Barrel Scuppernong Wine forwarded me by my friend Gen Lewis D Wilson of Tarborough;[1] Mr Withers is requested to expedite it to you, as a present from my friend Genl. W. and I wish it safe to hand.

Having disposed of that, it may not be unacceptable to you to learn how we progress in our great state with regard to the important question now so interesting to our citizens. You will observe by the Enquirer (Noahs)[2] of yesterday the *very spirited* appeal of the Republican General Committee to their Republican brethren throughout the state. It will produce a good effect, and which it is but justice to Mr Noah to add was drawn up by himself, and by him recommended to the venerable chairman Capt. Bailey. Mr Edemons is very desirous the mode of election should be changed before the rising of our assembly to the General ticket system, being very sanguine of a large majority in your favor—this he told me a few days since and that he had written Mr Cambreleng on the subject with a view of operating on Mr Van Buren.[3] Noah is less sanguine

[2] Monroe to Calhoun; see *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,* ed. Jameson (Am. Hist. Assoc., *Ann. Rept.,* 1899, vol. II.), pp. 260-264.

[3] Calhoun.

[4] The letter was sent to Jackson by Sam Houston. See Jackson's memorandum to A. J. Donelson, Mar. 8, 1831, *post.*

[1] State senator in North Carolina for many years.

[2] The New York *Enquirer* (afterwards *Courier and Enquirer*), edited by Mordecai M. Noah.

[3] John W. Edmonds, N. Y. state recorder; C. C. Cambreleng, M. C. from New York 1821-1839.

of *so large* a majority, but considers half the votes *at least,* under any circumstances *certain.*

The Morgan affair [4] now revived for party purposes, and which there is little doubt Mr Clay has had a principal hand in, makes no little noise in our interior and requires to be managed with great delicacy—plans being on the tapis to cause in good time a serious re-action in our favor from this most unprincipled appeal to the worst passions of the multitude, and as a mason myself, cannot conceive how Mr C. can reconcile it to his feelings and conscience as one of the craft likewise, in taking any part in the corrupt measure. In N Jersey the Chairman of the Central Committee, calculates with great certainty upon a majority in our favor of 1200 to 2000. The opponents to the present administration require to be very active in that state. My feelings were much gratified in finding at Trenton, Princeton and N. Brunswick so many, and so decided in their expressions with the great majority of our country. I only found one exception and that at Princeton. At Elizabethtown and Newark, they were far from being so unanimous. The last winter I passed with your influential and zealous advocate and my sterling friend Jno Gray Blount of Washing[ton] NC. That state is safe enough. I was asked by a mutual friend of Mr Gastons [5] and mine in passing through Baltimore what had caused the change in Mr. G's sentiments, the gentleman declaring that at his table two years past he warmly espoused your cause. It matters little, as his influence is *very, very* limited in N. C., and the flourish he made was only intended to operate on other states.

I have been prolix, and quite unreserved in my present communication, which I trust you will excuse and attribute to the honest zeal I hope I feel in the pending contest. Be pleased to present my respects to Mr. McLemore. I should be much gratified by your acknowledgement when leisure permits of receipt this letter, remaining Dear Sir very respectfully and faithfully yours,

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, April 8, 1828.

. . . . I have no doubt you have heard that A. J. Hutchings has been suspended, for bad conduct. I have had him ever since, at a school in this neighborhood, and will endeavour to get him again into college, but I fear when out of my sight he will not be controlled, his conduct has given me much pain, indeed this, with my other perplexities, has been as much as my fortutide can well bear. To be in a situation that I can neither speak, or punish the calumniators, is unpleasant. they know it, or I am sure such men as Doctor Armstrong would not hazard the risque to come forth to lie for Andrew Erwin about me. But providence I hope will prolong my days, untill I can both speak and act, when an awful retribution upon the heads of the leaders, and exciters, will come. upwards of 15,000 copies of the vilest slanders from the pen of Hammonds [2] have

[4] The Antimasonic agitation respecting William Morgan.
[5] William Gaston, M. C. from North Carolina 1813-1817, and an eminent judge.
[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] *Truth's Advocate and Monthly Anti-Jackson Expositor,* Jan.–Oct., 1828, by Charles Hammond of the Cincinnati *Gazette* and others.

been republished at the city, and franked by the members of congress, over the whole union. such profligate conduct as this, to be countenanced by our executive government, and aided by the franking privilege of members of congress, if not frowned down by the indignation of a virtuous people, then will Mr Adams have reallised, what has been ascribed as his motives, "that he would join the republicans and urge them into such measures as will disgust the people with their present government, and incline them to accept one similar to that of England" . . . .

Jackson's Tailor's Bill.

Nashville, April 23, 1828.

Gen Andrew Jacksn Detor to William Cummins to making 1 coat and two par of pantiloons $5.50
to finding triming pading 62½
thred and twist 87½ butens 37½ silk 12½

Mr Earls work

to making 1 coat and 1 par of pantiloons $4.50
to finding pading 62½ thred and twist 75 butens 25 silk 12½

A. J. Hutchings work
to making 1 coat and 1 pare of pantiloons $3.25 to finding pading 37½
thred and twist 62½ butens 25

to making 1 pare of pantiloons for your son A. Jackson $1
to finding thred twist and butents 37½
the buv acount is $19.62½

June 28th 1828, recd, Twenty dollars in full of the within account leaving one dollar due on old account, which when paid is in full of all acpts to this date

Wiliam Cummins

[*Indorsement in Jackson's handwriting:*] Mr Cummins Taylor recpt in full 28th June 1828—one dollar due on old acpt.

To Colonel James A. Hamilton.[1]

Hermitage, April 29, 1828.

. . . . In answer to your inquiries on the subject of my connection with Masonry, I have to observe that I presided several years as Royal Arch Mason in the grand Lodge of Tennessee, but have not attended the sessions for two years or thereabouts. I have not attended the Chapter for many years, say fifteen or twenty.

It will be a stain on our history to have it said that any administration with the view of sustaining its power should take advantage of the mysterious fate of Morgan. Such an unhallowed use of power can scarcely be credited here. But I will not comment on the subject, nor advert to the disclosures which have been recently published. . . . .

[1] Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. James Alexander Hamilton, third son of Alexander Hamilton, was a warm supporter of Jackson.

VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN TO JACKSON.[1]

WASHINGTON, April 30, 1828.

Dear Sir. I received a short time since a letter from Mjr. Lee at Nashville, of which I enclose a copy with a copy of my answer. The correspondence requires no explination, farther than to remark, that the Majr. in his letter to Mr Monroe, to which he refers in his to myself, requests him to inform him what construction the executive gave to the orders, under which your operations in the Semenole campaign were carried on, and that his request to me refers to information on the same subject. With you, I cannot have the slightest objection to correspond on the subject, if addition[al] information be desirable

I learn from Judge White, that you wish me to indicate the conveyance, by which I may desire the return of Mr Monroe's letter to me of the 9th Sepr. 1818. I know of no other, which will probably offer, but the mail, and you will be pleased to return it by that conveyance, under cover to my address, and inclosed to the Post Master General, to be forwarded to me in case, I should have left the city before its arrival.

I am at a loss to conjecture how the letter was taken out of my possession. It was doubtless the work of an enemy for the foulest purpose, but whether the motive was to serve those in power by sowing discord among their opponents, or to put you off your guard against old enemies by pretending to guard you against friends, whether it was enmity to you [or] to Mr Monroe, or myself, I know not, as I am ignorant of the channel through which it reached you. The mystery ought to be unveiled, and for that purpose Judge White has my permission to make known to you, in what manner, I had the first intimation, that the letter was out of my possession. If it be material to the unravelling of the plot, I doubt not, tho the communication was strictly confidential, but what my informant would assent to the disclosure of his name. He is a gentleman of the highest honor and is among your most steadfast friends. In order to have all possible light on this mysterious subject, I would be gratified to know the channel through which the letter passed to you, if it can be made known by you without impropriety.

With great respect, I am etc.

Copy of a letter [of Calhoun] *to Mjr. Lee*

D'r Sir, I have received your letter of the 30th March enclosing one to Mr. Monroe, which, as you requested, I sealed and forwarded to him. As much as I commend your solicitude to be correct in the Narrative, which you are preparing for the press, I cannot with any sense of propriety, standing as I do before the American people in an important political relation towards Genl. Jackson, enter into a discussion of the construction of the order[s] under which the Semenole operations were carried on by him.

[1] See also Calhoun to Monroe, Mar. 7, 1828, in *Correspondence of John C. Calhoun,* (Am. Hist. Assoc., *Ann. Rept.,* 1899, vol. II.), p. 260; *id.* to *id.,* April, 1828, and May 4, 1828, *ibid.,* pp. 262, 264.

As you refer to the publick documents only for the construction, which the executive gave to the orders, I infer, that on this subject, you have not had access to the General's private papers; but, if I be in an error, and if the construction, which the administration gave the orders be not stated, with sufficient distinctness, in the then President's correspondence with him, I will cheerfully give as one of the members of that administration, my own views fully in relation to them, if it be desired by General Jackson; but it is only with him, and at his desire, that under existing circumstances, I would feel myself justified in corresponding on this, or any other subject connected with his publick conduct. As this correspondence relates to Genl. Jackson, I deem it my duty to furnish him with a copy of your letter to me and a copy of this answer.

With great respect I am etc.

To Rev. Hardy M. Cryer.[1]

Hermitage, May 3, 1828.

D'r Sir, I received your letter of the 21st ultimo, by Dunwodie, and was happy to hear that your health was improving, may you continue to enjoy that blessing.

I sincerely regret your pecuniary embarassments, and I would to God, I had the means to relieve you. I have not. my own, for the first time since I got clear of my securityship, twelve years ago, are more than I can meet, bad crops and low prices of produce, have left me indebted, and without funds. indeed for the last few years, although I practice oeconomy, still I have no controll of my expences, but my Dr Sir do not lose heart, you have friends and if they have not money, they have credit and property and will aid you in the time of need, as much as they can.

I send two mares with their young coalts to Sir William, you will find the Cotton mare very indifferent, and even discouraging to put her again to a fine horse, but hope she will do better from Sir William, than she has from Stockholder. I send a dollar for the groom. I have been making inquiry for a purchaser for your negro wench and children, but can hear of no purchaser in this neighborhood. indeed there is no one here who has any money, all are hard pressed, and I have no doubt but money will be more difficult to [be] raised this, than it has been for many years. I have not been able to collect one dollar, out of all the debts owing me and to meet some pressing engagements have been obliged to go into bank. . . . .

To Rev. Hardy M. Cryer.[1]

Hermitage, May 11, 1828.

I have the unpleasant intelligence to communicate, that this morning was found dead, the mare brought down yesterday by your son. Having company when she arrived, I only saw her at a distance, and Charles when he put her away did not discover her being unwell—I suppose she must have died with the *botts.* "He that giveth hath a right to take

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.
[1] *Ibid.*

away", and at those things I never repine—I have lost in the last 18 months, at least $3000 worth of horses, and my favorite gray mare, has been twice ill with the grubs, since she came from the horse.

I hope I shall have the pleasure to see you soon, at the Hermitage, therefore shall not now reply to your former letter, barely observing, that the honest and upright man, as long as humanity, virtue, and charity exists in society, must always find friends in the day of need—when this ceases to be, then indeed, has the social compact failed to be what divinity intended by the wisdom of its in[s]titution.

My health is better—I have had a severe attack, but hope in a few days to regain my usual strength, when pressing business will compel me to Alabama for a few days—before I get out, I would be glad to see you.

. . . .

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, May 12, 1828.

. . . . I sincerely thank you for your letter of the 2d of May. it contains information that may be useful, altho I have got Nath'l Williams in an awkward situation. I was furnished by a gentleman in Va. with an extract of his letter to his friend detailing my agency with Burr; this I made the basis of my letter to him; a comparison of his answer to me, with his letter to his friend, blasts him forever. I have written for a copy of his letter, whether I will obtain it or not, is yet very doubtful, the Judge has become alarmed, and wrote to his friend that his letter was *intirely confidential,* and to destroy it. It is perhaps, the first *confidential slander* ever introduced before a large convention. On this Burr business, my friends at Washington and Richmond, are prepared to meet it, whenever the attack is made. My letter[s] to Claiborne Jefferson Campbell and Genl Smith,[2] with the certificate of Aulston obtained by Judge White, places me on safe ground from the secrete attacks of these vile miscreants, the Williams.

The patronage of the government for the last three years has been wielded to corrupt every thing that comes within its influence, and was capable of being corrupted, and it would seem, that virtue and truth, has fled from its embrace. The administrators of the Govt has stained our national character, and it rests with the people to work it out, by a full expression of their disapprobation. The present is a contest between the virtue of the people, and the influence of patronage, should patronage prevail, over virtue, then indeed " the safe precedent ", will be established, that the President, appoints his successor in the person of the sec of state. Then the people may prepare themselves to become " hewers of wood and drawers of water ", to those in power, who with the Treasury at command, will wield by its corrupting influence a majority to support it. The present is an important struggle, for the perpetuity of our republican government, and I hope the virtue of the people may prevail, and all may be well. From the signs of the times, it appears, that the influence of the administration is on the wane, and the cause of the people will prevail.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] The letters of Nov. 12, 1806, to Claiborne, Jefferson, and Smith, here referred to, may be found in vol. I., pp. 152-156.

I have had a severe attack, am recovering and in a few more days I hope I will regain my former strength when I intend to visit you, and have the accounts of Hutchings estate brought up and closed. I have been obliged to labour too hard—My friends were determined to meet the various slanders that were issued against me—the various calls for information, I had to meet, and altho, I had adopted the firm resolution not to notice them myself for the present, still when Mrs J. character was so basely attacked, it was more than my mind could bear to hear it, and not redress it, with that punishment it deserved. I hope providence will spare me to that day, when I can freely act, when a retributive justice will await the actors in this vile procedure. This granted, I will set my house in order and leave this world in peace. . . . .

JOHN BRANCH TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, May 23, 1828.

My Dear Sir, In a few days Congress will adjourn after a protracted Session of near six months. You may well imagine that many of us who have families are all anxiety to be off. I cannot however depart without saying to you that the prospects are as cheering nay more so than when we first assembled. The new tariff has however depressed the spirits of our southern friends no little, and will I fear produce a sensation in that portion of our union, which if followd up by new exactions on the part of the Governm't must terminate in results deeply to be deplored by every friend to the harmony and union of these States. For my own part it shall be my purpose rather to allay than to foment them.

Both parties have striven to operate on the public mind by legislative enactments. Our friends I am frank to say have fought their opponents with their own weapons and are therefore not exempt from their full share of those undue influences. If the alternative was presented to me of either perpetuating this corrupt dynasty or suffering my votes in Congress to be influenced by considerations connected with the pending Presidential election I certainly could not hesitate which of the two to choose. Of two evils I could choose the least; for I verily believe that if by any means Adams and Clay succeed, that the subversion of the liberties of this people would inevitably ensue. Every thing therefore dear to freemen is at stake.

But Sir I am not one of those who think that the *politicians* in Congress or out of Congress can vary the result. If elected which I trust in God you will be You will owe your election to the people, Yes Sir to the unbiased, unbought suffrages of the independent, grateful yeomenry of this Country. You will come into the Executive chair untrammeled, free to pursue the dictates of your own judgment. Many of the *would be* leaders are but humble followers of the people and while they profess to lead, are themselves led. It is really amusing to look on at the game that is playing by those in power, every stratagem every trick and device is resorted to to perpetuate their ill gotten power, when detected in one they fly to another, and as the game is drawing to a close they often present a ludicrous appearance. . . . .

MAJOR JAMES HAMILTON, JR., TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, May 25, 1828.

My Dear Sir. I do myself the honor of enclosing you a speech, in which however much you may differ from me in some mere matters of doctrine as to the political economy of the question, you will I am sure do justice to the honesty and sincerety of my feelings. The truth is that this infamous Administration has pressed this most iniquitous Tariff against the South with I believe the express hope of driving us into Rebellion by which they thought they would obtain the votes of Penylvia, Ohio and Newyork, but I am sure the good sense and Patriotism of So. C. will induce it to take no strong measures until your election is put beyond a doubt. I regret that your tariff friends yielded to the popular delusion. They have taken a step which they will find it difficult to maintain and have to retrace. . . . .

TO VICE-PRESIDENT CALHOUN.[1]

HERMITAGE, May 25, 1828.

Dear Sir, Your letter of the 30th April 1828, with Majr Lee's of the 30th to you, and your reply, has been recd.

These letters seemed only to require the remark that Majr Lee has never seen Mr Monroe's private correspondence with me, and that he is, therefore, left to place such a construction upon the public documents as he may conceive they justly deserve. Indeed that correspondence can be of little use in the interpretation of the orders by which I was governed, as on this subject it manifests nothing but an opinion entertained by the executive after they had been executed. Majr Lee has, however, shewn me a letter from Mr Monroe to him, in which he refers to this correspondence, and from which it may be inferred that he is desirous it should be made public. If this be the fact I can assure him that I have no objection to it.

I can have no wish at this day to obtain an explanation of the orders under which I acted whilst charged with the campaign against the seminole Indians in Florida. I viewed them, when recd. as plain and explicit; and called for by the situation of the country. I executed them faithfully, and was happy in reply to my reports to the Department of War to receive your approbation for it. If doubts as to their import had occurred, I should have asked for explanation before I undertook their execution, but none did occur, nor did I suppose that any could be entertained by others, until I recd. the letter of the 19th July 1818 from Mr Monroe,[2] to which you have referred, and upon which I shall make a few remarks as Mr Monroe has also referred to it in his communication to the Majr.

To this letter I replied in August[3] detailing at some length the views which I entertained of your orders, and referring to my communications from Florida where it is said that the measures I had adopted were in

[1] Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.
[2] See vol. II., p. 382.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 389.

pursuance of *your instructions, under a full conviction that they alone were calculated to give peace and security to our frontier.* Mr Monroes answer [4] contains this remark " that the best course to be pursued seems to me to be, for you (meaning me) to write a letter to the Dept of War in which I would state, that having reason to think that a difference of opinion existed between you and the executive relative to the extent of your powers, you thought it due to yourself to state your views of them and on which you acted. This will be answered so as to explain ours in a very friendly manner by Mr Calhoun etc. etc." This letter was recd. on the 13th November, and in my answer to it of the 15th [5] I referred him to my dispatches from Ft Gadsden and particularly requested his attention to the closing paragraph where I expressly state that all my measures were in conformity to your instructions, and that of course if the ground be then taken that I had transcended my powers, that document would shew that I believed I had not. The fact is I never had the least ground to believe that any difference of opinion between the goverment and myself existed on the subject of my powers: so far from this, to the communications which I made shewing the construction which I placed upon them, there was not merely no difference of opinion indicated in the replies of the executive, but (as far as I received replies) an entire approval of the measures which I adopted. There can be no question that those measures are sustained by the principles of international law by which of course they were governed the moment I entered the foreign territory, and that the orders entrusting to my discretion *" the speedy termination of the War, with exemplary punishment for crimes so unprovoked, and security to our bleeding frontier",* anticipated this step, I had a right to believe, not only from an obvious construction of them, but from your approbation of my conduct. As Mr Monroe, however, seemed anxious to have on record some views of his own on the subject, my letter of the 15th Novbr. was concluded with the observation that " if the Secy. of War should address me a letter upon this subject I would answer it fully and promptly ". This letter never was received; and I have of course rested satisfied with the belief that I had executed my orders to the letter and spirit, and had obtained the approbation of my country.

After the free and confidential correspondence with Mr Monroe, as in part stated, I must confess that the knowledge of the letter of the 9th Septr. 1818 supposed to have been written to you, taken in connection with Mr Southards wine drinking speech and other rumors of the day, truly astonished me. I am not yet free from surprise, and upon some other occasion may ask you for an explanation, But I certainly can wish none in relation to orders which I think every military man will say were faithfully executed.

Agreeable to your request I enclose the letter alluded to of Mr Monroe which I suppose to have been directed to you. *I send it precisely as I recd. it:* Tho' I had before recd. a copy from a high and responsible source who could have had no agency in obtaining it, with the promise that the origi-

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 398.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 398, note.

nal should be sent to me, *I thought it a forgery:* but in the mean time the original came as enclosed, and was handed me by a Gentleman who as far as I know or have been informed never was employed in the War Dept, and if he is honest could have had no unfriendly views to you. When the copy was first sent, it was intimated that it was with your privity as from the signs of the times it might be necessary for self defence. It may be possible that the Gentleman who informed you of its having been sent me, can explain how it came into my hands.

I have before stated that Majr Lee has shewn me yours and Mr Monroe's letters to him, and appears to have a desire to enter into a correspondence with you both on the subject of those orders. Should it meet your wishes I can have no objection: or if Mr Monroe requests it every private and confidential letter that ever passed between us shall be cheerfully laid before the nation. As Mr Monroe has referred the Majr to this correspondence if convenient, I will thank you to communicate to him my feelings on the subject; but without his request I shall not expose this correspondence to Majr. Lee, or any one else

I tender you my best salutation and am with great respect etc., yr friend

Major-General Thomas Pinckney to Jackson.

Charleston, May 26, 1828.

Dear Sir, I am very sorry that it is not in my power to comply with the request contained in your favor of the 22d of last month by forwarding to you a copy of your dispatch to me of the 28th of March 1814. At the close of the last war an order was issued by the Secretary of War, directing that all the military correspondence and documents relating thereto, should be transferd to the department at the seat of Government: in conformity whereto all your official letters to me must have been sent to Washington, together with all the contents of the Adjutant Generals and inspectors Offices of the District in which I commanded. But, although much debilitated by sickness and old age, I hasten to answer your letter which (though with the Nashville post mark of the 1st May) has but recently reached me, in order to assure you of my conviction that your letter, as published in Niles' Register, must be an accurate copy of what you wrote on the battle ground [1] the morning after the Action: although it must appear presumptuous for a man in his seventy eighth year to prefer the result of his recollection to that of one 12 or 15 years younger. But I will explain to you the grounds of this preference, from whence you can draw your own inference. Your doubts appear to be founded in part on the circumstance of the 16 Indians killed on the morning on which you wrote; of which you have no recollection: but I not only perfectly recollect the fact having been made known to me either by your dispatch or by the relation of Officers who supported you in that decisive victory, but I well remember that it was the subject of much conversation as a conspicuous instance of the savage principle of neither receiving nor giving quarter. From the verbal accounts these 16

[1] See vol. I., p. 488. For the more formal report mentioned above, the editor has instead printed, *ibid.*, p. 489, Jackson's report to Governor Blount.

Indians were reported to have posted themselves in a thicket within the inclosure, from whence they early in the morning fired upon our people; and although repeatedly urged in their own language, to surrender, with a promise of quarter and good treatment, they persisted in their resistance, until it became necessary to destroy them; as they could not be left, or permitted to escape to continue their depredations on our frontier. And you will observe that the above is alluded to in my letter to Governor Early as the cause of the extensive slaughter of that tremendous day. Another reason is that I perfectly remember the sentiments contained in my letter to the Governor of Georgia and although I have not my letter book at hand, I believe that letter as reported in the Register to be correct. I have also a perfect recollection of the "hasty sketch of the situation in which the enemy were incamped and of the manner in which you approached them" as stated in that dispatch. It may be observed also that as the letters were published in the Register on the 23d of April of the same year no motive could at that time have existed for altering the original document. To which I may add that my Secretary was remarkable for the fidelity and accuracy of his transactions: and that one of my aids, I had with me in the Creek nation, but now in this City, perfectly remembers the transaction of the Indians killed on the 28th of March, as related by the Officers of your Army whom we joined at Fort Jackson.

But I presume another ground exists for your doubts on this subject which your delicacy may have prevented you from objecting to me: otherwise you might very well have enquired how I could have been so inattentive to all military usage and etiquette as to forward a copy of your dispatch to the Governor of Georgia, which ought not to have been communicated but through the department of war. This is accounted for as follows: When in conformity to the orders of the President I assumed the general direction of the Creek war, I found the only troops at my disposal, for this purpose, consisted of the Militia of the adjacent States. An intense interest in the events of the war was naturally excited in those States, particularly among the relatives and friends of those actively engaged in the contest; and thinking that, in our circumstances, the public service would not suffer by deviating, in favor of these feelings, from the usuall routine, I solicited and obtained from the War department permission to publish at once on the spot, the official communications I might receive of the events occurring in the different detachments of the Army under my direction. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, June, 1828.

D'r Major, I kindly thank you for your solicitude about my health. My throat is better, and my general health good. When a convenient opportunity offers, and your health will permit, come up, and Mrs. J. and myself, will endeavour to aid in the restoration of your own health.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Transcript. Original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

I send enclosed a letter of Col. Anderson as a specimen [of] the friendly feelings he always held, and expressed for me, up to the time of his [com]ing forth with Dr. Mays supposed letters, [or] Andersons forging of them. you will use it [if] you think proper.

Should it become necessary to expose A. McCurrys statement of Woodwards acknowledgement of the statement read to him, W., being substantially correct; and the statements of Col. Hamilton, Lauderdale, Wyman, and Kingsley, will be the best mode of bringing it before the public. I have conversed with McCurry and he will draw off the statement read to Mr. Woodward, and freely give the statement. Mr. Earl will hand you an extract from Genl. Coles letter on the Shelby business. I think it would be well to give Earls statement in reply to Thos. Shelby about the portrait, a place in the Republican at Nashville, or send it on with the other statements.

Genl. Gains promised me a statement of the uniform declarations of Anderson respecting me.[2] I wish you to name it to him, and get it from him.

In haste yr. friend

To General W. R. Swift.[1]

Hermitage, June 2, 1828.

Dear Sir, I had the honor some time since to receive your letter of the 8th April last advising me of your having shipped on board the De Witt Clinton a barrel of Scuppernong wine as a present from Genl Lewis D Wilson of Tarborough, [N. C.] to me. This barrel has arrived safely, and was yesterday broached at the Hermitage. It was pronounced by several of my friends, with whom I concurred, to be excellent wine. It is certainly a favorable specimen of the adaptation of the Tarborough land to the growth of the vine, and worthy the attention of the country. I pray you to assure the Genl that I accept it with double pleasure as a token of his respect, and the production of his own soil.

I feel thankful for the information which you have afforded me on the subject of the politics of your great state, They are interesting to us all, and no doubt will not disappoint the advocates of republican principles. The excitement which has grown out of the Morgan affair had its origin no doubt in some misapprehension of fact, and will yield to a fair and temperate examination. I am sorry that there is the least ground for the suspicion that the friends of the administration have sought to make it a party test. Should it be true, it must be an eternal stain on their memory whatever may be its immediate effect on their reelection.

As relates, my dear Sir, to my own elevation it is unnecessary for me now to speak. Should the republicans of your state and the majority of my fellow citizens, call me to administer the Govt. I shall do my utmost to discharge the arduous duties of the office, and should hope by the favor of Providence to be instrumental in the correction of many of the present abuses. . . . .

[2] Printed in Heiskell, *Jackson,* II. 457.

[1] Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson. General Swift wrote from New York.

To James H. Witherspoon and Others.[1]

Hermitage, June 2, 1828.

Gentlemen, I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 12th ult. inviting me to celebrate with the citizens of my native district the approaching anniversary of our national independence.

For this pleasing testimonial of the esteem of the citizens of Lancaster, I pray you Gentlemen, to offer to them the assurance of my heartfelt thanks. If it were in my power nothing could be more grateful to my feelings than to comply with their wish; but the distance to be travelled, and the various requisitions upon my time at home, compel me to say that this pleasure must be posponed to some other period.

Be pleased, Gentlemen, to accept for yourselves individually, and convay to those you represent my gratitude for your tender recollection of me as citizen of Lancaster. This obligation is hightened by the consciousness on my part, that absence and time have not weakened the ardour of that sentiment which consecrates the memory of the place which gave me birth

I have the honor to be Gentlemen
your very obdt. servt

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, June 20, 1828.

D'r Genl, When I last wrote you, I expected to have been with you ere this, but the administration is making their last, dying desperate struggle and you will see from the newspapers that all their corrupt tools are, and have been at work—you will see in the reporter,[2] the long rumored letter of Doctor May procured by Wm P. Anderson and Col. Williams. if wrote by May, it displays a depravity more than common in the basest of the human race, and displays another viper I have cherished in my bosom. It will be promptly noticed, and the memory of May handed down to everlasting dishonor; and I trust I will be able fully to expose Williams, and Anderson in this thing.

I am told by my son that James Jackson has shewn a disposition to be friendly with you. If so, should an opportunity offer, to introduce a conversation with him on this subject, he was then friendly with me, and intimate with May, and heard him often extole my conduct on that occasion, as honorable and fair in the highest degree. If, on conversing with him, he speaks freely on the subject and recollects the Doctors declarations, you can say to him, that justice and magnanimity would say to him to give a statement in writing of the Doctors uniform expressions on this subject. If he does, send it to me, *but do not ask him for it.*

How hard it is to keep the cowhide from some of these villians. I have made many sacrifices for the good of my country—but the present, being

[1] The committee of Lancaster District, S. C., consisted of James H. Witherspoon, chairman, John Nisbet, John Stewart, Nathaniel Barker, Jackey Perry, Sam. R. Gibson, Bartlett Jones, and H. Massey, sr.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] The *Kentucky Reporter,* published at Lexington, Ky. Dr. F. May was one of Jackson's neighbors. William P. Anderson and Col. John Williams were also Tennesseans.

placed in a situation that I cannot act, and punish those slanderers, not only of me, but Mrs. J. is a sacrifice too great to be well endured—yet a little I must bear with it. to be told through the prints by such a villain as Andrew Erwin that I told him in 1811 that I was in the negro trade is really too much, he knows my hands are bound, he does this to vex me, and being detected in a lie, shifts his ground, and gives his own operations for a proof. If my directions are complied with, he will get a reply which he deserves. I fear our editors want a little more energy—still I hope this fellow Erwin will be fully met. The other case I am sure will be.

I have Judge Overtons statement of the uniform statement of Doctor May, his situation is a delicate one, and I will not use it if I can help it—Therefore have brought to your view James Jackson—he being unfriendly with me, would have a good effect, and at once stop Patrick H. Darby and such other corrupt tools in Kentucky. But from experience I know the corruption of the times, and act with great caution with James Jackson on this subject.

I will be to see you as soon as I can, in the mean time please close up the accounts with little Hutchings estate as you find justice to him requires. I have not had time to read the acts of congress, I think there is a law passed, with regard to relinquished land—I know you attend to these laws, say to me in answer, if there is, and in what time the entry is to be made, that I may look round and be prepared with the funds to meet it—For, from the pressure upon my friend McLemore I would not now ask him for what he owes—and Doctor Hogg, is in the same situation.

I have a promising crop of cotton and corn, a good rain is wanted now, if it should be seasonable, I will raise as much as year before last—with our love to Polly and the children and kind wishes for yourself,

I am your friend

General Thomas Cadwalader to Jackson.[1]

Philadelphia, June 21, 1828.

Dear General, I was yesterday favored with your letter of the 2d Inst.

In my talks with Mr: Nichol, and my other friends in your quarter, I spoke highly in praise of the Country about that neighbourhood, as the place where I would wish to select a residence, if I were to leave Philadelphia. I like your soil climate and people; and the spot which you are so good as to recommend to me would have a peculiar advantage in my eyes, in adjoining the Hermitage. After living, however, man and boy, more than forty years in this flat city of ours, my boys several of them in business about me, with a large body of relations, and some friends, I have no idea of changing my domicil, strong as is the attraction you

[1] Gen. Thomas Cadwalader was an agent of the Bank of the U. S. and served it in important matters. He visited Nashville early in 1827. It was at that time that the Nashville branch was established. There is little doubt that his function was to conciliate Jackson, whose election by this time was pretty well assured. He was a man of fine personal qualities and high social position and he won an influence over Jackson, who was susceptible to the approaches of such a man. But it is not likely that the influence persisted after Jackson became President. In fact, Cadwalader soon drops out of the correspondence, for what reason does not appear. On Jackson's attitude toward the bank before his inauguration, see R. C. H. Catterall, *The Second Bank of the United States*, pp. 182-185.

offer me—in fact, tho' country retirement has long been one of my favorite day-dreams, I should not be sure of sleeping soundly, apart from the rattle of carts and carriages, the cries of watchmen, and the other *lulling* noises of a crowded population.

Before entering into your honorable trammels of the 4th of March, I hope we shall have the pleasure of seeing you with Mrs. Jackson in Philadelphia. Mrs. Cadwalader desires me to say that no endeavours will be spared to supply to Mrs. J. the places of those warm friends whom she will leave behind her, and, with my kindest remembrances to that excellent Lady,

I remain always most respectfully and truly

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, June 28, 1828.

D'r Major, I am unadvised whether Mr. E. H. Foster has furnished you with the statement promised. If he has, please send me a copy of the one stating the conduct of the President and Cashier of the Nashville Bank, Dr. McNairy and Tannyhill, exposing my Bank Book to Andrew Erwin and Co. *This I want.* I wish you to send me about a dozzen of the Nashville Republicans.[2]

Will it be in your power to accompany me to Carthage.[3] I leave home on the evening of the first of July, and will tarry that night at Col. Campbells.

If you have time write me, and give me the current news of Nashville.

I am respectfully Yr. friend.

To Major James Hamilton, jr.

Hermitage, June 29, 1828.

My dear sir, I have had the pleasure to receive your kind letter of the 25th ult. with its inclosures, for which I thank you. I have read your speech with much attention, and permit me to assure you, if we differ in some matters of doctrine as to political economy, I am sure it is an honest difference of opinion, and I will always do Justice to your sincerity.

I regretted to see the subject of a Tariff discussed under the strong feelings of political excitement that prevaded the whole nation, and congress. To regulate a Judicious tariff is a subject of great dificulty at all times, and ought to be discussed, with great calmness and due deliberation, with an eye to the prosperity of the whole Union, and not of any particular part viewing the whole as one great family, and extending impartial Justice to every branch with feelings of mutual concession, extending to all equal benefits, and each bearing a Just portion of the burdens the Tariff may impose. Whether the late act will operate equally upon every section of the union, can only be tested by experience.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Transcript. Original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

[2] The *Republican* was the Jackson organ in Nashville. His opponents published their attacks in the *Banner and Whig.*

[3] At this point Lewis has interpolated the following sentence: "To a public dinner to be given on the 4th July to which he had been invited."

There is nothing that I shudder at more than the idea of a seperation of the Union. Should such an event ever happen, which I fervently pray god to avert, from that date, I view our liberty gone. It is the durability of the confederation upon which the general goverment is built, that must prolong our liberty, the moment it seperates, it is gone. The State governments hold in check the federal, and must ever hold it in check, and the virtue of the people supported by the sovereign States, must prevent consolidation, and will put down that corruption engendered by executive patronage, wielded, as it has been lately, by executive organs, to perpetuate their own power; The result of the present struggle between the virtue of the people and executive patronage will test the stability of our goverment, and I for one do not despair of the republic; I have great confidence in the virtue of a great majority of the people, and I cannot fear the result. The republic is safe, its main pillars virtue, religion and morality will be fostered by a majority of the people, the designing demagogues who have attempted to retain power by the most corrupt means will be driven by the indignant frowns of the people into obscurity, and if ever thereafter remembered, will be, as a Silla or caribdis.

I sincerely regret the determination you have taken to withdraw from public life;[1] you cannot be spared from the councils of the nation; your services are still necessary to aid in bringing back the administration to the virtuous precepts of a Washington and Jefferson, in renewing the land marks of the constitution, between the states and general goverment, and to aid in the necessary amendments of the constitution.

I sincerely thank you for the slip cut out of the Telegraph—your father[2] in his reply has displayed the true Roman, he loves his friend, but he loves truth more. I was truly gratified in receiving it, and was much astonished that Col Willett should have been the author of such a production—present me affectionately to your father, say to him his reply has added to his fame, it is approved by all, whilst all honest patriots must disapprove Col Willetts conduct, his publication must forever tarnish his fame. I hope you have recd the reply made to Col Willetts publication in the Nashville republican; it nails his falshood to the counter, it was sent you by Major H. Lee.

My health is good. Mrs. J. makes to you a tender of her affectionate regard, and desires me to say to you that she will comply with your instructions as far as she has the power, and unites with me in kind salutations to you and your amiable family

Sincerely yr friend

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, July 10, 1828.

D'r Major, I never before late last evening saw A. Erwins piece in the Banner of the 8th, however despicable I viewed him to be, I did not believe he was so regardless of truth, as I see from his statement there,

[1] Hamilton retired from Congress Mar. 3, 1829.

[2] James Hamilton, sr., was a Revolutionary soldier, an aide-de-camp to General Washington. He was an influential man in South Carolina.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

he must be. That he would deny the statement, tears, and supplication of Mrs. Erwin, on the subject of the suit, and her declarations, that she had been informed of the propositions of compromise, but being unable to meet it, they and all their Tenants would be ruined, he being present the whole time, convinces me, that he is the basest of the base. It was Mrs. Erwins tears that drew from me the reply "that I never could sleep sound upon my pillow, and reflect that for ten thousand dollars so many were in distress, therefore as my first object was to secure my tenants that Mr. Erwin had been trying to harrass and dispossess, that so far as I was interested I would relinquish, being one half the twenty thousand dollars, which was seized on by Mr. Erwin, and requested I would thus write upon the memorandom of compromise, which was to remain in the hands of Judge McNairy but had been put into the hands of Erwin, as he said, to shew his tenants. Judge McNairy has the paper in his possession, and I have no doubt recollects, my stating the case to him, and I have no doubt, that Erwin also has made a similar statement to him. Please ask him, if Erwin did not so state to him, as I had, the manner and cause of the compromise. I have no doubt but the Judge recollects it. The Judge has the paper containing the terms of compromise, and my note on margin made at the stone fort, *that I would relinquish my interest $10,000,* if he would settle ballance with James Jackson. I wish you to see Judge McNairy, and converse with him on this subject before the paper of tomorrow comes out.[2]

I send inclosed a statement of Major A. J. Donelson, that can be used as you may think best. The publication ought to conclude with severity by observing, having shewn that Erwin is a base liar, and unworthy of the least credit, no more shall the columns of the Republican be poluted by noticing any thing he may say, he stands charged on the records of the nation by the Atto. Genl., U. States with corrupt perjury, and the documents here appended shews, he lies with the same fearless boldness, as an honest man speaks the truth, having exposed his baseness no farther notice will be taken of him in our colums by us, leaving him and his coadjutor Dr. Armstrong to the contempt of an honest public who has consigned them to infamy.

In haste your friend.

Vice-President Calhoun to Jackson.[1]

Pendleton, July 10, 1828.

Dear Sir, I have received your letter of the 25th May inclosing the letter of Mr Monroe to me of the 9th Sept. 1818. The delay incident to the passage of a letter from Nashville to Washington and thence to this place will explain the long interval between the date of your letter and this my acknowledgement of it.

The more I reflect on the subject, the more am I convinced, that the letter of the 9th Sept. was intended by those, who took it out of my pos-

[2] This statement seems to refer to the settlement with the heirs of David Allison (see Jackson to James Jackson, Aug. 25, 1819, vol. II., p. 427).

[1] See also Calhoun to Monroe, in *Correspondence of J. C. Calhoun* (Am. Hist. Assoc., *Ann. Rept.*, 1899, vol. II.), p. 266.

session, as the instrument of a dark and dangerous intrigue, alike hostile to you and myself. The first object certainly was to bring you and Mr Monroe into conflict; but I feel not less confident, that its ultimate was to bring you and myself into the same state, and that for the special benefit of those at the bottom of the scheme. I cannot doubt, but a part of the plan was to follow it up with secret and slanderous representation of my conduct. Knowing that my whole course had been open and strongly marked, the contrivers of this wicked scheme clearly saw the necessity of keeping my name at first out of view, and to attempt in the first instance to direct your suspicion against Mr Monroe. With this object, the letter was doubtless mutilated by tearing off the cover, so as to leave it uncertain, to whom it was addressed; and to the same motive must be traced the unfounded intimation, that the letter was communicated to you with my connivance, and with the intention of guarding you against treachery imputed to Mr Monroe; a course of conduct, which if true, would prove me to be equally cowardly and base. There need no other proof of the dark design, at the bottom of this affair, than the fact, that while these insidious intimations were made to you, the whole affair was studiously concealed from me. I was even ignorant, that the letter was out of my possession; and by mere accident, I obtained the clue, which has given me the little that I know about it. I was thus kept in the dark, while the plot rested on a supposition highly injurious to my character. It presupposes, that while Mr Monroe, under the garb of friendship, had formed an artful plan to entrap you into a correspondence, with the view of shifting the responsibility from himself by sacrificing you, that, I was to be the instrument in so base a transaction. Lost indeed would I have been to every sentiment of honor and virtue could such a proposition be made to me, without instant denunciation of its author. The mail that brought the letter would have returned with my resignation, and an eternal barrier would have been placed between us.

Far otherwise was my construction of the object of the letter. I never doubted, that it originated in motives at once friendly and patriotick; and that its object was to place your conduct, as well as that of the Goverment on the high grounds, on which it ought to stand, by each side presenting fully and distinctly on the records of the goverment its views in regard to the orders, under which you acted. Aney discussion of them now, I agree with you, would be unnecessary. They are matters of history, and must be left to the historian, as they stand. In fact, I never did suppose, that the justification of yourself or the goverment depended on a critical construction of them. It is sufficient for both, that they were honestly issued and honestly executed, without involving the question, whether they were executed strictly in accordance with the intention that they were issued. Honest and patriotick motives are all, that can be required, and I never doubted but that they existed on both sides. I will write to Mr Monroe on the subject to which you refer, and should I receive an answer will forward it immediately.

You will see by the papers, that the Tariff of the last session excites much feeling in this, and the other Southern atlantick States. The impression, as far as I have observed, is nearly universal, that the system

acts with great severity against the staple states, and that it is the real cause of their impoverishment. Under such impressions, it is not surprizing, that there should be some excess of feeling, but it would be wrong to infer, that it indicates a want of attachment to the Union: The long cherished attachment to our institutions is not so easily weakened, but as strong as it is, an impression of long continued wrongs would not fail to shake it. The beleif that those now in power will be displaced shortly; and that under an administration formed under your auspices, a better order of things will commence, in which, an equal distribution of the burden and benefit of goverment, economy, the payment of the publick debt, and finally the removal of oppressive duties, will be primary objects of policy is what mainly consoles this quarter of the Union under existing embarrassment. That your administration may be the means of restoring harmony to this distracted country and of averting the alarming crisis before us is my sincere prayer.

With sincere regard your friend

Ralph E. W. Earl to Jackson.[1]

Nashville, July 17, 1828.

D'r Sir, No doubt you have seen this man of war's *bold* epistle addressed to you in the Whig and Banner of Tuesday last.[2] How *brave* how *pitiful,* that this *pretended fighting* character should attack one who is tied hand and foot *poor contemptable retch,* who does he think is a going to wedge war against, a *Poltroon* and *Coward.* No! had he not have known the situation in which you was placed before the Public, and the impolitic measure it would be for your friends to make a fuss at this critical moment, he would as soon thought of runing himself into the fire of a furnace, as to have come out on you in the manner he has done. *Thank God* the day of *retribution* is close at hand when *such scoundrels* as *Boyd Mc.Nairy* will meet with their proper doom. I beg you will take the *cowardly production* from whence it came and treat it accordingly, *with contempt.* Hall will manage him.

May God prelong your life and that of Mrs. Jackson's for many years to come is the sincere prayers of not only myself, but *millions of the American People.*

Mrs. Rachel Jackson to Mrs. Elizabeth Watson.[1]

Hermitage, July 18, [1828].

My dear friend: It is a Long time since you wrote me a Line But having so favourable an oppertunity by Major Smith I cold not Deny my self

[1] In the Jackson MSS. is a letter from Earl's sister, Mary A. Higbie, of Troy, N. Y., dated Jan. 23, 1828, telling Earl of the recent death of his mother.

[2] Hostile letter by Dr. Boyd McNairy, president of the Nashville Bank.

[1] Collection of Mr. Henry F. De Puy, Easton, Md. The date is written "182", but the context shows that it was written during the campaign of 1828. The editor is impelled to call attention to the fact that this letter contradicts a story in his *Life of Jackson* (II. 406) which indicates that Mrs. Jackson did not know of the use of her name in the campaign until after the election. This letter proves that statement, made on what seemed good authority, to have been erroneous.

that pleasure: for rest asured my Dear friend you are as Dear to me as a Sister. I am denyd maney pleasures and comforts in this Life and that is one and Sister Hays and her famoly your Famaly with Hers would have been my joy in this world but alas you ar all far from me, well the apostle says I C[an do all] things in Christ who strengtheneth me.[2] I can say my soule can bear testimony to the truth of that Gospel for who has been so cruelly tryed as I have my mind by trials hav been severe. the enemys of the Genls have dipt their arrows in wormwood and gall and sped them at me Almighty God was there ever aney thing to equal it My old acquentances wer as much hurt as if it was themselves or Daughters. to think that thirty years had passed in happy social friendship with society, knowing or thinking no ill to no one—as my judg will know—how maney prayers have I oferd up for their repentance—but wo unto them of offences Come theay have Disquieted one that theay had no rite to do theay have offended God and man—in as much as you offend one of the Least of my little ones you offend me Now I leave them to them selves I feare them not I fear Him that can kill the Body and Cast the soule into Hellfire. o Eturnity awful is the name.

this has been a subject my dear friend that I fear has pained your Sympathizing friendly disposition toward your friends. let not your Heart be troubled. I am on the rock of ages—in the world I have tribulation. jesus says in me you shall have peace, my peace I gave unto you not as the world gives etc. etc. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, July 28, 1828.

D'r Major, I have been reflecting on the subject you name, relative to the Burr business, and have come to the following conclusion. That a plain statement of the facts in reply to Judge Williams under the Editorial head might be proper adding thereto, Judge Stewarts, Judge O. and Major Dyers statement to them what kind of a man he is; that he is prone to lieing, and evil in his ways; this being done, it may then be proper for me, to take a general view, of all the slanders that have been propagated against me. I do think it would be improper for any notice to be taken of this Burr slander by the Committee, as such; it would be giving too much importance to this slander. I have thought it might be well to notice Col. Martin. I have the documents to nail him to the counter with his two coadjutors Erwin and McNairy, as a base calumniator. Before it goes to the press you shall see it.

In haste yr. friend

Please send my papers pr. boy

Affidavit of Thomas Stephenson in re Jackson's Mother.

July 30, 1828.

I Thomas Stephenson now residing in the county of Maury and State of Tennessee do hereby certify that I was born and raised in what is now

[2] Philippians, iv. 13.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS. Transcript. Original in the J. Pierpont Morgan Library.

called Lancaster District in the State of South Carolina, that I was acquainted with General Andrew Jackson when he was a very small boy, and was very well acquainted with his mother Mrs. Elizabeth Jackson, and without any hesitation can say that the mother of the General, sustained as fair a character for virtue and piety, as any lady that I ever knew. I believe she was a member of the Presbyterian church, and I have frequently heard the old people speak in terms of high commendation of her piety and worth. she was a widow when I first knew her, of not much property, and it was several years before the revolutionary war that I knew her first. she had three sisters one of whom married George Mcamy, and two of them Brothers of the name of Leslie, John and Samuel, whose characters were all good, especially the women. they all lived to be old before they died. I think Mrs. Jackson has been dead upwards of forty years. I cannot believe that any person from South Carolina would state any thing the least disrespectful to the family and mother of Genral Jackson, unless they were totally abandoned in character and principle. Given under my hand this 30th day of July 1828.

Certificate of Samuel Mayes.

Columbia, July 31, 1828.

Being informed that a report prejudicial to the character of Mrs. Jackson, the mother of General Andrew Jackson, is secretly circulated in some parts of the United States to injure his election to the presidency; and being requested by a friend of General Jackson to state any circumstances within my knowledge which would tend to throw light on the subject of that report, I state as follows; That in 1785-6, as well as I recollect, General Jackson and myself were school fellows in York County, South Carolina, which was about twenty five miles from the residence of Mrs. Jackson. At the same time there were at school several young men from her immediate neighbourhood, who were intimately acquainted with young Jackson, being boys bread up in the society of each other. Neither at that time, before, or since have I ever heard, until I heard of the present rumour, any thing whatever in any-wise prejudicial to the fair character and good standing of that lady. General Jacksons standing whilst at school was unexceptionable. My opinion is, that if the character of Mrs. Jackson had not been fair and good that I would have heard some thing about it; especially if it had been of the character stated in the report, of which, I have lately heard for the first time. Given under my hand,

Statement of Nathaniel Stephenson.

Williamson Co. [Tenn.], August 1, 1828.

The Undersigned being requested to state what he knows of the character of the parentage of Genl Jackson, particularly that of his mother, states that he was born and raised in the neighbourhood in which the mother of Genl Jackson lived for many years and died, that when Mrs. Jackson died he was a boy, and can recollect that she was a woman in

moderate circumstances as to property, and of a standing in point of char[a]cter as good as any other person in that neighbourhood. He would further state that he lived in the same neighbourhood untill he was upwards of thirty years old, that he heard the character of Genl. Jackson's father and mother frequently spoken of by the older persons in the neighbourhood, and always heard them spoken of in terms of approbation; He expressly says that while ever he lived in that neighbourhood he heard nothing prejudicial to the character of either Genl. Jackson's father or mother. He further states that he was acquainted with the sisters of Mrs. Jackson, and that they all married respectable, clever men, the grand children of some of whom are now living in this county, and are all of respectable characters.

Given Under my hand in Williamson county this 1st Aug. 1828.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, August 4, 1828.

My D'r Genl I have but a moment to inform you that on Saturday the negro boy, Nelson, from A. J. Hutchings place Alabama, came to my house, and is now here. He says the overseer took his gun to shoot him, and he come away—From the great fatality amongst my horses, I am at present so situated, that I have neither horses nor any person who I can intrust the boy with to send him out, you will please to give this information to the overseer, and he must come after him—I intend going out as soon as I can, but until all the ramifications of the base combination of detractors, and hired panders of H. Clay and the coalition unmask themselves, I cannot leave home. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, August 5, 1828.

D'r Major, Yours of yesterday was recd., read, and disposed of as requested. The case of the negro boy is as follows. Rawlings and Bradford had purchased a large quantity of goods from Jackson and Hutchings in 1823 and 1824.[2] They has failed in their payments and in the year 1826, in closing the account, and being unable, as Dr. Rawlings said, to do it in cash, he proposed to give in part a negro boy. The negro boy was recd. and the account with Rawlings and Bradford closed.[3]

This negro boy was kept at the Clover Bottom at our store. Col. Anderson, as I was informed by him, Coffee, and Hutchings, for I was not present, had made a race with Capt. Ross for a considerable amount, when they were about to put up the stakes [? *mutilated*] which was to be in cash or negroes as I understood, Anderson was deficient in his stake. Capt. John Caffery having sent his negro boy to the store for some articles,

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[1] *Ibid.*
[2] So written. The years should be, no doubt, 1803 and 1804, and the next one 1806.
[3] An article in the Nashville *Banner and Whig* of Aug. 1, 1828, had brought up this incident in support of the charge that Jackson was a negro trader. That he took slaves in settlement of accounts and sold them for money is undoubtedly true. But he was never a negro trader in the ordinary meaning of the term.

Anderson took and staked up the boy on the race. Anderson lost it. Cafferys boy not returning home as expected, the Capt. went after him, found his boy and ordered him home. Capt. Ross urged Anderson to pay up the value of the boy or produce another, and Anderson applied for the boy bought of Dr. Rawlings and he was loaned to him, he was to return the boy or pay a stipulated price for him. Some time afterward, the sore on the boys leg broke out and Capt. Ross returned the boy to Anderson and he sold him, as I understood, to Deadrick and Pettyway, and Mr. Pettyway took him down the river, and perhaps sold him, but his leg growing worse Pettyway was obliged to take him back, brought him up and delivered him to Anderson, who took him to Doctor Ward instead of tendering him to Dr. Rawlings, where the boy died. You have a knowledge of the ballance, Anderson was largely indebted to me individually, and the night before I descended the river with my Volunteers in Janry. 1813, we came to a settlement, when Anderson insisted that Jackson and Hutchings should permit him to bring suit in their name against Rawlings on the warranty of this boy, which I agreed he might do, if he would give in writing that he would exonerate Jackson and Hutchings from all costs. Anderson did so in your presence. The suit being alone for his benefit I cannot lay my hand on this paper, but you must recollect perfectly the circumstances. Anderson brought suit, and as I was advised, was lost on the ground that he ought to have tendered the boy to Rawlings and not delivered him to Ward, who swore that his death was not caused by the sore leg, but from desease engen[der]ed in the lower country. Anderson from his written obligations was to pay all costs and I had some difficulty with him about the costs and had wrote a bill in chancery praying an injunction. he pleaded poverty but acknowledged the debt when demanded [*mutilated, several words missing*] same money the amount not recollected, to pay me [*word mutilated*] Jake Pettyway statement in writing. . . . .

To Colonel Robert Weakly.[1]

Hermitage, August 5, 1828.

Sir, Retired as I have been upon my farm, attending to my domestic concerns, interfering with none, and mixing not in the politics of the day, or the affairs of others I was astonished to see in the Banner and Whigg of the 1st instant your name embodied with a vile and wicked association of detracters long since formed to endeavour to injure my character abroad, the shafts of these base calumniators falling harmless at my feet, it is not my intention to inquire whether in thus lending the weight of your name to this unholy work, you intended an injury to me. I leave you to explain as your name has been used by Erwin to injure me abroad, I wish you to be more explicit in your statements. I wish you to state how long you have lived near me, and whether since your first acquaintance you ever knew me to buy a negro with a view of selling him again for profit, or ever knew me engaged in any speculations in negroes to the lower country or to any other place.

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

In your note appended to Erwins publication you say, "in the year 1811 or 12 you understood that Mr. Horrace Green took a number of negroes to Natchez for sale, that those negroes were the property of the late Joseph Coleman of Nashville, Genl. Jackson and the said Horrace Green." Now, I call upon you to state from whom, and at what time you recd. this information, as in your note you positively say you have no knowledge of this fact yourself. That the statement that I had any property in said negroes, or stood in relation to those contracts, for the cotton tobacco and negroes but that of security for Capt. Joseph Coleman, I do assert is untrue, or that I had any property in them to the 20th of Novbr., 1811, is also untrue. on that day I had to pay the first instalment of the debt I stood bound for Capt. Coleman as security, and finding I would have to pay the whole debt, took from him a transfer of the property and undertook the responsibility of the whole debt for cotton tobacco and negroes, and forwith proceeded to the lower country, at a most dangerous period, Tecumsa being then with the southern tribes, to receive the property out of the possession of Green, who, it was said, was squandering it, by card playing. on the 12 of Decbr. 1811 reached Natchez when for the first time I saw the negroes, and on the 13th recd. from Green the whole negroes unsold and immediately set out with them on my return to Nashville where I arrived in Janry. 1812. Such were the facts, as always related by me, and makes it necessary that you should state from whom, and when, you recd. the information that I had any interest in those negroes before the 20th of Novr. 1811.

You further state in your note appended to Erwins publication that I informed you that I had gone to the lower country without a passport, and the [*mutilated*] had to pass the agency, (I suppose you mean upon my return, I had no negroes with me as I went down but my boy) I armed my negroes etc. etc. Why you did not give the reasons I assigned for so arming the negroes, I cannot conjecture, and I have to ask you in reply, to state explicitly whether my reasons were as follows. Did I not inform you that the sub agent Smith (Densmore not being there) had collected about 400 armed Indians with about sixty white men, to stop or destroy me, if I attempted to pass the agency without exhibitting a passport, did I not tell you that being a peaceable citizen travelling a road obtained from the Indians by treaty, for the free and unmolested use of every honest citizen, that the agent had, or could have no authority, to require of any citizen a passport for travelling that road, that the demand was an act of usurpation, and I could not yield my legal rights to the demands of any self created despot, be him, in the character of an Indian agent, or any other. That the free and unmolested right to travel that road was a vested right in every citizen, and the President of the United States could not divest them of this right, or no other branch of our Government, the treaty being the supreme law of our land, and I was determined to exercise this right, and resist and put down, at the risque of my life, this petty usurper, and particularly, as at this perilous period, he had armed the Indians to support him in these acts of tyranny upon our peaceable citizens. These were the reasons I gave you, for arming my negroes; and I ask you to state, did not my conduct in this meet with your, and the ap-

probation of all our good citizens, and did you not join in denouncing these acts of tyranny committed by the agent, to the great oppression of our citizens travelling that road, and applaud me in resisting his lawless acts and having him removed. I wish you to be explicit in your answer to this part of my inquiry. I wish you to add whether the Choctaw agent was not the only Indian agent that assumed the power of calling on the citizen for a passport, and if he had none, to stop his servant untill he sent and obtained one, and was it not the general belief that the agent by this means had a large house built, and a plantation opened for which he charged the Government a large sum of mony and that many families were detained in the wilderness by the agent, and by such detention suffered many privations, vexations and great expence.

You have been pleased to bring into the view of your letter a negro sold by you to Genl. Brahan and by him to Capt. Coleman. I call upon you to state whether I ever had any right or interest in said negro in my life, and whether you do not know of your own knowledge that this negro was brought up by Major Hutchings with his and mine from his farm in the lower country, and delivered either to you, or Capt. Coleman on our arrival at Nashville and that I never had any interest in said negro, John Onip[?], as you call him. I wish you to be explicit on this head, as Erwin has used this, to shew that this was one of the negroes I had traded in. Set forth what became of this negro. As your note appears to have been written at the request of some one, will you have the goodness to name who, as it has been intimated to me, that it was not at the request of Erwin, but another.

I am sir, yr. mo. ob. Servt.

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, August 13, 1828.

D'r Major, I find Dr. McNairy has come out at full length on the Burr business, and has published two letters of mine, one with, and one without date. The one in September 1806 was the time Burr came to this country and a dinner was given to him, the other if wrote by me, must have been written shortly after Col. Burr sent to me the mony for the purpose of procuring some Boats and provision. Capt. Donelson has written you, or Major Graham to see these letters, and inform me of the date of the one, and to whom these letters were written, and inform me by return of the boy.

I have seen Colo. Anderson letter to the Reporter, in which he states that there are but three men now living who were present on the ground when Dicki[n]son and myself met. The Col. has stated a wilful lie in this, "he say Elisha Green was on the ground", this he has been informed by Genl. Overton and myself many times that Green came upon the ground and was run off by Genl. Overton. The proper answer to Andersons statement will be the publication of Corbon Lees statement to whom he has referred, or *as much of it* as shews the depravity of Anderson, and his coadjutor, with a few comments on the sentiments contained

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

in them compared with the first statement of May, and his statement, that a snap was to be a fire, adding a few comments on the *high character* of Col. Williams, and how his name has been drawn into this business. It is strange indeed if Col. Anderson furnished Col. Williams with copies of these letters. How did it happen that Col. Williams got his nephew Anthony May to copy and certify that they were true copies from the originals, in his fathers hand writing.

The Col. has confessed his depravity. He has acknowledged that he has been detailing these secret slanders over Kentucky for years. It is well known he is a Master Mason, and a Mason who would violate his solemn obligation by thus secretly slandering a brother, would be guilty of perjury, or any other crime.[2]

[2] Col. William P. Anderson was a member of Jackson's staff before the War of 1812, and the two men were intimate. The cause of the break between them does not appear in any document that has come under the editor's observation, except that it may be supposed from Jackson's words that it was in connection with the settlement of an estate. In view of Jackson's violent criticism of the colonel, it is but fair to put before the reader the following extract from a letter by Colonel Anderson, addressed to Jackson and published in the Nashville *Banner and Whig* Oct. 3, 1828 (quoted by Heiskell, II. 455):

"In the Nashville Republican you have attacked my character. This is your usual mode of warfare, when charges are preferred against you by those who do not think that you ought to be President of the United States. They must be laid prostrate. In this way you divert public attention to their case, that they may lose sight of your own. My only crime is, that I have been instrumental in the publication of Dr. May's letters. So far as they relate to the duel between yourself and Dickinson, showing that you killed Dickinson unfairly, is to me source of deep regret, I believe it to be true, that you did kill Dickinson unfairly, and that you yourself are conscious of it. The charge has not been met and refuted to my satisfaction. I was well acquainted with all the parties concerned in this duel, and do know that Dr. May was incapable of falsehood or prevarication. You impliedly admit this fact when you resist the proof of your guilt by alleging these letters to be forgeries, though I do not believe that you have the remotest idea they are so. The letters are deposited in Nashville, open for the inspection of everybody.

"It will ever be a source of bitter regret to me that these letters were published, on account of others. I mean the family of the late Col. Robert Hays. It was not my wish to have disturbed the ashes of Col. Hays. He was, in my opinion, a kind, good hearted man, brave, open, and generous to a fault. His widow and children are among the most respectable families in the State. No man ever heard me charge Col. Hays with perjury or say anything else derogatory to his character. Some of the charges, General, which you have published in the Republican of the 3d ult., and previously, as being preferred against me by the late Capt. James H. Campbell, are altogether untrue, some are partly true, but none of them, when properly understood, will detract from my character. Lieutenant Littleton Johnston, now resides in Tuscumbia, Alabama. He is a respectable merchant and can give every information necessary upon this subject. I have not even addressed him as yet, but his statement can doubtless be relied on.

"At a time more propitious than the present for dispassionate and impartial reflection, I will publish a refutation of these charges and all others brought against me in the Republican of the 3d *inst*.

"1st. Your besetting sins are, ambition, and the love of money. To acquire the latter you will act miserly and oppress your best friends; and when in pursuit of either, you are not what you profess to be.

"2d. You are naturally and constitutionally irritable, overbearing and tyrannical.

"3d. You are incapable of expending any charity toward those who happen to differ with you in opinion.

"4th. You cannot investigate dispassionately any interesting or important subject, and if you could, your knowledge and abilities are not equal to the task.

"5th. When you become the enemy of any man, you will put him down if you can, no matter by what means, fair or foul, honorable or dishonorable; and if it be consistent with your views of popularity and interest, you will turn about and support the very man you have before attempted to destroy and pull down. These examples will suffice for the present; the Hon. Wm. H. Crawford, Gen. John Adair, and Col. Thos. H. Benton.

"6th. You are miserably deficient in principle, and have seldom or never had power without abusing it."

I enclose you a paper containing a statement on oath of Genl. John Coffee and myself when garnisheed, at the suit of Blenrhasset in the Natchez for the information of the Committee, please shew it to them.

I am anxiously awaiting the communication of the Jackson Comittee, for the Lord sake if they are coming let it be spedily, as I cannot mo[ve?] until they decline acting, and if they do not, I must come out over my own signature. Let me hear from you by return of the boy.

Yr. friend.

(When you read burn this.)

To Felix Grundy.[1]

Hermitage, August 15, 1828.

D'r Sir: Yours from Franklin of the 14th instant has been recd. The letter without date which you have seen published by Dr McNairy is one of Date, when seen, of Novbr. 1803, *unless altered by the Doctor.* None ever was written by me, such as the one published that in truth can be attached to Burr or his Boats. But on the 12th of Novbr. 1803, I recd. an order from the War Department of date 31rst of Octbr. requesting me to have in readiness 22 Boats by 20th of Decbr. 1500 militia provisions etc. etc. for the defence of Louisiana. on that occassion, I wrote such letters and sent expresses in every direction over west Tennessee; This is one of the letters with its date suppressed villanously to attach this transaction with Burr.

Application was made by Col W. Williams, the day after the publication was made, to see these letters, but the Doctor refused, saying that they could not be seen unless their authenticity was denied. Capt. A. J. Donelson went to Nashville yesterday to ask a sight of them, and to positively declare that the one without date was a possitive forgery when applied to Burr but a genuine letter if it had reference to the Public Boats ordered to be built in the fall of 1803. *"Truth is mighty and will prevail," against wickedness, forgery and fraud.* I think the *thief* is caught at last.

Providence has been kind to me, I had once like to have lost all my old papers, and at another time, Call[?] and Mrs. J. had prepared to burn them, as I fortunately got home, and preserved them.

You have seen Col Anderson publication in the Lexington Reporter—' he says " apply to Corban Lee obtain his deposition, he is an honest man, that there is but three of the parties living who were upon the ground, Green, Lee and myself ". Now the Col *knows* Green was not on the ground, the full statement by Corban Lee reached me through a friend the other day, his statement mentions who were upon the ground, and contradicts Mays statement positively, says everything was conducted on my part fairly honorably, and refers to his former statement to Capt Redly, in due time the Col will be laid along side of his coworkers, branded with infamy and disgrace. Before the *little* Doctor gets out of the *scrape,* he will wish he had let the Tennessee farmer alone on his farm and not have disturbed him.

I neither attempt to dot my i's nor x my t's, in haste yours,

[1] Collection of Judge J. M. Dickinson, Chicago.

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, August 15, 1828.

My D'r Sir, I have just returned from Capt. Donelsons, he is not at home, and I send George down with a letter to you, with two inclosed that I found on a search yesterday in my old papers and think they will be serviceable to explain Burrs expressed views, and his authority under the Govrt.

Upon mature reflection it strikes me that the letters published by McNairy, if written by me, must have been to James Jackson,[2] and the one without date must have been written at the time Burr forwarded the mony with his letter to have Boats built and a supply of pork and meal laid in. At that time James Jackson was hard pressed and had like to have broke, being friendly with him, and yielding him all the pecuniary aid I could at all times, it is just such a hasty scrall as I would write to a friend who I thought could be benefitted by such a contract by bartering his goods for those articles, and thereby relieve himself from his embarrassment. This at the time was believed to be a fair mercantile transaction, no secret in the business and from the letter I inclose you from Burr believed to be in furtherence of the views of Government and as such ought to be viewed by the committee [3] in their comments upon the transaction and which will be supported by Genl. Coffees affidavit in the Blanahasset sent you the other day. These Boats were built and the letter written when there were not the least suspicion around Burr and when from his letter he was supposed to be in the confidence of the Government. But the moment that suspicion arose that his views were hostile to the Government, and he had been acting deceptiously with his friends, what was my conduct, and that of all his friends here Genl. Robertson, Overton etc. etc. etc. Our countenance was withdrawn, and when I recd. the first intelligence from Mr. Hopkins of his intention against our Government, I wrote to Claibourne, Jefferson, Campbell and Smith. Here is ample means to meet this secret attempt to assasinate my character, and from a man that owes every thing to me. This letter from Burr was shewn to every person that desired it. If I am right in my conjectures of it being written to J. Jackson, what *a villain he is,* but I am at his defence, he knows the moment I recd. the information that Burr was engaged in a plan not sanctioned by the Government I at once would have nothing to do with him. If the letters are not to James Jackson I have no idea to whom else, unless Mr. John Shute who was in that day a Boat builder.

If my friend Eaton is with you I will ride down tomorrow to see him, advise me.

Yr. friend

P. S. I had been employed by the Govnt. in 1804 Boats for them, and when I recd. Col. Burrs letter and mony I did believe, from his letter I

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

[2] When called on to tell to whom these letters of Jackson were addressed, Dr. McNairy replied that the letters could be inspected but that the covers or the names of the persons addressed would not be revealed unless the genuineness of the handwriting was questioned; see A. J. Donelson to Dr. Boyd McNairy, Aug. 16, 1828, and Dr. Boyd McNairy to A. J. Donelson, Aug. 19, 1828, in the Donelson Papers, Library of Congress.

[3] The Jackson committee in Nashville.

inclose you, that the Government had instructed him to apply to me to have them built. I inclose you a roster of the Boats built for the United States and sold by their directions in Febry. 1804 and to whom sold. I have just laid my hand on this paper and open this letter to inclose it.

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, August 16, 1828.

D'r Major, The inclosed copy of a letter of Mr. Francis Woodward formerly of the United States army will give a true character of Col. Anderson and shew what credit is due to his statement of Dr. Mays *letters being genuine*; it will not do to take his evidence in the case, he is too deeply interested, and he who, would have a man to commit *forgery* to exonerate himself from a *Just debt* would commit forgery *for vengeance sake*. My opinion is therefore strengthened that Anderson has forged these letters. Can it be that May would be so base as to endeavour to destroy unjustly the character of Col. Hays and his family with it, with whom he had always been on friendly terms and the most intimate habits of friendship with the Col. Hays and family during his life and apparently with myself. These letters appear to be written for the use of Genl. Adair in his dispute with me, but was never used, nor did I ever hear of them until I recd. a letter from Knoxville, said to be written by the suggestion of Judge White in 1827. If I had heard of them before brought before the nation as President, Anderson would not have been in this world or I would have been in my grave.

I wish you to shew Woodwards letter to Judge Overton, if he wants a copy, let him have one. The letter is addressed to Col. Harmon Hays and in the possession of Mr. Saml. Hays.

Will the Committee take this subject into view? Or will it be managed by Hall? Inform me.

The statement of all present including May have certified to the fairness of the whole of this business on my part, Lee shews Green was not on the ground as Anderson has stated. Anderson knew when he was making the statement it was false, for I have heard Genl. Overton and May both tell Anderson how Genl. Overton run Green off the ground. Green and several other *Bullies* came up with Dicki[n]son, and at once they were dismissed. It was this same Green that Brought the intelligence to Nashville, that Dicki[n]sons pistol had went off by accident, and the ball struck the earth half way between him and me, and thus it was believed, and so would Green have sworn, altho not present, had it not have been for the wound on my breast; when Green reached Nashville the Federal court was sitting, Green stepped upon the bench gave the intelligence to the Judge and altho in the middle of a cause instantly adjourned, and Dr. Boyd and him were the first signers of the application to put the paper in mourning.

The Col. has in his address introduced the letter of May to prove that I secretted Hays property and that Hays committed perjury by taking the oath of insolvency. a baser lie than this never was told and I have

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

the documents to prove it. I bought in the property with my own mony subject to a mortgage and the debt due Cafferry[?] for the land bot. of him, and the negroes I bought with my own mony which I have never received one cent, part of which I borrowed from the store say $750.

Let me hear from you. I hope Eaton has arrived in good health, I would be glad to see him.

I forgot yesterday to propose a bottle that Berry was elected.[2] I propose it now, will you take me.

Yours sincerely

P. S. I hope the documents sent you yesterday was satisfactory. I expect McNairy may have altered the date, if it bears any other date but Novr. 1803 it is a forgery. Why does the rascal withold it from view; he must have altered the date and the chemical operation has not been well performed, he fears detection, or it bears its proper date Novr. 1803.

To Brigadier-General Richard K. Call.[1]

Hermitage, August 16, 1828.

My dear Call, On last evening I recd. yours by Major Clements, and am happy to hear that your Mary and the sweet little ones are in good health. I am happy the address of the central committee at the city of Washington has reached you; taking this into view with Kendals fifth letter to Clay, and it is conclusive of the Bargain.

The whole object of the coalition is to calumniate me, cart loads of coffin hand-bills, forgeries, and pamphlets of the most base calumnies are circulated by the franking privelege of Members of Congress, and Mr. Clay, even, Mrs. J. is not spared, and my pious Mother, nearly fifty years in the tomb, and who, from her cradle to her death, had not a speck upon her character, has been dragged forth by Hammond and held to public scorn as a prostitute who intermarried with a Negro, and my eldest brother sold as a slave in Carolina. This Hammond does not publish in his vile press, but keeps the statement purporting to be sworn to, *a forgery,* and spreads it secretly. I am branded with every crime, and Doctor Mc.Nary, Col. Erwin, Anderson and Williams are associated for this purpose. I have for some days known that they were the issuers of old slanders that appeared abroad, but it is only lately that they have been unearthed, and was not my hands tied, and my mouth closed, I would soon put an end to their slanders. This they know, but suppose when the elections over all things will die away—*Not So,* I look forward to the first of Decb. next with much anxiety. The day of retribution must come. I am charged with Burr's Conspiracy and every other crime. Was Anderson and Mc.Nary as clear of purjury as Master Masons, as I was of the Burr Conspiracy, it would be a pleasant thing for their conscience.

I believe you were at the chicasaw treaty.[2] If so, I wish your attention to a publication of Thomas Shelby son of the Governor Shelby and

[2] William T. Barry, a Jackson man, was a candidate for election as governor of Kentucky, but was defeated. See p. 156, *ante.*

[1] Va. Hist. Soc., Manuscripts and Autographs, pkg. 151.

[2] Of Oct. 19, 1818; see vol. II., pp. 387, 399, 443.

Mr. Todd [3] soninlaw to this Gov. These men detail a conversation of their father, and Thomas Shelby speaks of things to which he was a witness. Surely when you see it you will be of opinion that Gov. Shelby could never have stated such things, if he did, he has stated a *positive and wilful falshood*. These statements were made on the eve of the Kentucky elections at the instance of Clay who is there, and for political effect. every virtuous and patriotic act of my life is charged upon me as a crime, and if the whole weight of Executive patronage, with the contingent funds wielded in the most corrupt manner by so many pandors does not prostrate me, then I have right to exclaim "truth is mighty and has prevailed".

I have enclosed a newspaper to Col. Butler with some strictures on Thomas Shelby['s] falshoods supported by the facts subscribed to as true, by Governor Shelby, on the Senate Journals; and you will have seen Major Lewis letter published in the Nashville Republican on this subject. I wish you and Butler to look at it, and send me such a statement as the truth will warrant. My philosophy is almost worn out, but all my enemies expect is, to urge me to some rash action, this the[y] cannot do until the election is over, if my hands are not tied by the event there will be a final settlement. . . . .

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, August 19, 1828.

D'r Major, Some notice ought to be taken of McNairys publication in this days Republican, to convey to the public that it will meet with a full reply. The coalition have "bearded the lion in his den", and the public will expect him to act promptly.

I have said to you, and now reiterate, that the letter published and without date by Dr. McNairy must refer to the public Boats built in fall 1803, and when applied to Burrs Boats is a forgery. My letter speaks of a draft on N. Orleans or bank bills. Arrangements were made with Deaderik to furnish the mony here, and take the draft on Govt. as cash was needed here, Boat yards to be established workmen to be hired, and provisions to be furnished for them, therefore agreed to advance $3000. Now it is impossible that it could have related to Burrs Boats, or why say "drafts upon New Orleans", when Burr had sent the Ky. bank bills and they were lodged with Coffee and Hutchings in the store who was to conduct the business as a mercantile transaction for profit. I never wrote or spoke to any one on the subject of engaging them to build Boats for Burr in my life, again, it appears by the published letter that I was confined to the sum of $3000, therefore it could not relate to Burrs Boats and provisions because, Burr had deposited a larger sum than that, and a sufficient sum to cover the Boats and provisions ordered to be furnished, therefore drafts on Orleans were or could not have been necessary, which makes me positive that it could not relate to Burrs Boats if I was not well convinced from other reasons that I took no agency in the building of Burrs Boats whatever.

[3] Charles S. Todd of Kentucky.
[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.

The great misfortune has been that the calumnies has always had two or three weeks the start of their refutation, and if the Committee are not ready to come out (if they do intend) the greater necessity that some notice should be taken of it in to days Republican. If the Committee have declined, then some notice should be taken of it until I can come out myself, which I will be compelled to do, altho from the stand I have taken, there will be great delicacy, and it is a very doubtful question, whether I ought until after the election is over. Should then the Committee have declined, let the order of the Sec. of War be published and let it be accompanied, with the refusal of McNairy to shew the letter only in a mutilated state, or to permit it to be known to whom written, and then pronounce it a forgery when it is made to relate to any other subject than the Boats built in the fall of 1803. This will give time for me to make an address to the public, but the Committee under all circumstances ought to say something on the subject first.

There is only now a few weeks before the election will be over, and this is why the Burr business is seized on, every other thing having failed. I would like to hear from you shortly. I would have come down but you said you would send for me if you wanted me.

Your friend

John H. Eaton to Jackson.

Fairfield, Tenn., August 21, 1828.

. . . . I am aware, that no man in this Country, living or dead has been abused to the extent you have; but I rejoice, that your firmness has borne you up, to leave all things in the hands of your frends, apart from any exercised feeling of your own. As for those allegations so repeatedly made, which are to be classed under the head of *private slanders*, they but fall still born from the press, and are unworthy to produce to you the slightest feeling: indeed I think it would be well, to adopt Jno Randolph plan, who says *he never will accomodate his enemies so far, as to honor them with any perusal of their abuse of him*. As to general matters, which affect your public history, such as the Burr affair, those are different, because to read such as them, is to enable your frends the better to understand and to meet them. All the other private whispers and slanders, should like Othello's physic *be thrown to the dogs*

Respecting the Burr affair, altho it is doing, and will do no harm, yet the Nashville Committee, should take it up, and meet it. Maj. Lewis speaks of your doing it. For my own part, just now, I should prefer the Committee to do it, with just the facts and documents presented, and no more of argument than may be necessary to their explanation. If any thing shall proceed from your pen, it might be better to follow after the report of the Committee; it might thus serve a better purpose, and something of delicacy as it regards your own feelings, be thereby the better preserved. It would seem well before the nation for you, to stand forth, with accompanied affidavits and certificates to prove yourself guiltless of the charge. This if you take it up, would of necessity have to be the case; but by the Committee going ahead, and submitting all the proofs

and facts, directly after, if thought advisable, your remarks might then be made general, and merely in reference to the published facts, without particularising, as in the first place would be necessary.

As it regards effect, believe me, nothing now to be said of you, (you and your frends keeping cool and aloof) can be productive of the least injury. Public opinion is too well confirmed. The Press has overturned its own power, through, repeated falshood and slander. The people at large, read the news papers now, scarcely any, and each party with no confidence, in what the other asserts. There will be no changes, at least amongst your frends; abuse of you, tends but the stronger to confirm them; and besides all practice and experience shows, that men do not change from a stronger to a weaker side. The people, your frends should, make this plain common sense answer, to the abuses of you, "if these things be true why is it, that Jackson stands so well at home. Those slanders do no injury to you I assure you. My kind regard to mrs Jackson. yrs truly

Statement by Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Nashville, August 28, 1828.

By request of the Nashville Committee, I do hereby state, that Col. Burr, when in Tennessee in 1805 and 6, represented his views to be the settlement of lands to the south, on the Washita river. He spoke of the probability of a rupture between the United States and Spain, in which event, the impression was, that he (Col. Burr) would have command of an expedition against Mexico, under and by the authority of the United States. Sometime after he had been in Tennessee in 1805, and left this impression, letters were received from him, as my impressions now are, by Generals Jackson and Robertson, requesting them to make out and forward to him a list of such enterprising young men, as it was believed would serve the country well in the impending anticipated contest with Spain. Generals Robertson and Jackson, with sundry others of the old respectable citizens, did, for that purpose meet in Nashville, and made out such list and as I supposed sent it to him.

Col. Burr's then standing in the western country (having lately filled the second office in the government) forbade the idea that his contemplated measures were apart from the knowledge and approbation of the government. On his arrival here, and for some time after, marked attentions were by all extended to him; and no suspicions were entertained, that his plans and views were at all different, from what they were represented by himself.

With a view to the building of some boats, and procuring some provisions, there had been remitted to General Jackson the sum of three thousand and five dollars, which was placed in my hands, with a desire expressed that I would attend to the request made by Col. Burr. This agency I accepted and performed, and made arrangements for purchasing some provisions, and the building by different persons of five flat boats, and the purchace of one keel boat. Subsequently, a further sum of five hundred dollars, was put into my hands.

[1] *U. S. Telegraph, Extra,* Oct. 11, 1828.

Part of the funds, to wit, seven hundred dollars, as appears by reference to the memorandums of expenditure, was paid over to Col. William P. Anderson; wherefore, and for what account, this advance to Col. Anderson was made, I have not now a sufficient recollection to speak with certainty. Suspicions having subsequently arisen, relative to the real objects and views of Col. Burr, my agency in his affairs ceased, except to discharge the contracts that had previously been entered into. The balance of the remaining funds in my hands was paid over to Col. Burr on his arrival in Tennessee on the last visit he made here, in the month of December 1806. I was at that time engaged in mercantile business, and these services were performed by me for Col. Burr, as they would have been rendered to any respectable man, for I, nor any one else that came to my knowledge, believed that he had objects to serve, other than were represented by himself.

The particulars here detailed, are founded on papers now in my possession, written at the time, and in my own handwriting. In the month of December, 1806, Col. Burr returned to Tennessee, where he was met cooly by those who before had acted differently towards him. He perceived it, and remarked it to me; my reply to him in substance was, that suspicions rested against him, and until they were removed, nothing different was to be expected.

At Clover Bottom, nine miles from Nashville, where I then did business, and which was the nearest point on the river to where his boats were, there was a tavern, and to this place Col. Burr came and remained about a week, until he had gotten everything in readiness for his departure down the river. On his first arrival in Tennessee, on his last visit in December, General Jackson was absent from home; having returned within a few days afterwards, the General came in company with General Overton, to the Clover Bottom, where Col. Burr resided. An interview took place between them and Col. Burr, at which they informed him of the suspicions and distrust, that were entertained against him. Burr repelled them, and expressed deep regret that there should be any such, and remarked that he could, and would be able to satisfy every dispassionate mind, that his views and objects were friendly to the Government, and such as he had represented them to be. In a few days after, he left the country.

A son of Col. Hays, about seventeen years of age, as has been represented, nephew to Mrs Jackson, went along. His father had become reduced in circumstances; had been personally known to Col. Burr, during the Revolution, and his son a young man of promise. it had been proposed to the old gentleman, that he should take him and aid him in his education, which was consented to by his father. General Jackson gave him letters to Governor Claiborne, and instructed young Mr Hays, as I understood at the time, that should he discover Col. Burr's views to be at all inimical to the United States, or adverse to the designs of Government, to leave him and place himself under the protection of Governor Claiborne.

Between General Jackson and myself, there has always existed confidence and friendship; and there was nothing ever perceived in him by

me, that could induce the belief that there was any man in the country who would go further, or make greater sacrifices, to defend and maintain the integrity of the Union; on all occasions his conduct and declarations have stamped upon my mind this conviction.

To Richard M. Johnson.[1]

Hermitage, September, 1828.

My Dear sir, I have received your kind letter of the 22d ult. and hasten to reply to it.

The result of your elections has been as favourable to the cause of the people as could have been expected, when the active and conspicuous part Mr Barry had taken in your relief and new Court system is taken into view. Breathets election [2] was a surer test of the wish of the people on the great national question which was agitated, and the number in your legislature opposed to the administration, shews that the majority of the people are dicidedly against it.

Had you my Dr. sir reflected that I am not a candidate for the Presidency by my own volition, but by the selection of the people, you would not for a moment entertain the idea, that it would be proper for me now to adopt the electioneering course pursued by our travelling cabinet. I have long since announced my principles to the nation and in pursuance of them have been silent amidst the violent torrents of the vilest calumny ever heaped upon man, leaving to the virtue of the people my Justification. Being thus brought out by the people, it is for them without any agency of mine to sustain me, for I will not *abandon principle* to secure to myself the highest Boon.

When we see a travelling cabinet ranging over the continent, wielding its patronage for the purpose of corrupting the elective franchise and thereby inflicting a wound on our national character not easily to be washed out, it behoves me at least, to shew by my acts that the professions I have made were based upon principle, and that I will not depart from them My enemies would delight to see me *now* entering upon an electioneering tour, it would realise the saying ascribed to Mr Adams, " that he would turn democrat and urge them into such extravagance that the whole people would become disgusted with our goverment, and cry out for a change ". The people having taken me up must determine the canvass themselves, without any agency of mine. If they succeed, then it can with truth be said, that virtue has triumphed over the corrupting influence of executive patronage and designing Demagogues. *The people must themselves Triumph*—a great principle is at stake, and if they do, then it can be said all power flows from them, and when their agents violate their declared will, they will be hurld from their confidence. Then will our Republican form of goverment endure forever, but if the dictation of designing demagogues be acknowledged, freedom and independence are gone. I do not despair of the republic.

I salute thee affectionately, and tender to you my best wishes, yrs

[1] A letter from Jackson to Col. William L. Newton, Sept. 8, 1828, is very similar to this letter in thought and form of expression. Perhaps this letter was written about the same time.

[2] John Breathitt, elected lieutenant governor of Kentucky, though Barry was defeated.

Statement by Edward Ward.[1]

Nashville, September 2, 1828.

At the request of the Chairman of the Nashville Committee, I make the following statement. That General Thomas Overton, deceased, informed within a few days after the occurence, that so soon as the rumor reached this country, that Col. Aaron Burr had treasonable designs against our goverment, he, General Overton, and General A. Jackson waited on Col. Burr, who was then I think at Clover Bottom, and informed him of the rumor, and required of him to state to them what were his views and designs. This answer was made, as he said, on the honor of a gentleman; "That he had no views inimical to the Government, none but what were known to the Government and viewed with complaisance". And as well as my memory serves me, shewed them a commission in blank, with Mr Jefferson's signature to it.

Robert Y. Hayne to Jackson.

Confidential

Charleston, S. C., September 3, 1828.

My Dear Sir. Knowing the numerous demands made on your time and attention, I have avoided writing to you of late for fear that I might give you the additional trouble of answering my letters. I beg however that you will not put yourself to the inconvenience of doing so *now*, as my only object in writing at this time is to keep you well advised of the actual state of things in this quarter of the union. Though you must have seen too much of the misrepresentations and falsehoods of the administration presses to put any reliance on their statements, concerning the alledged "treasonable designs of the Southern States", yet it may be proper to put you in possession of the real state of public feeling here on the great questions which now agitate the public mind. You know full well that prior to the year 1824, the Southern States were unanimous in opposition to a Tariff framed with a view to the advancement of manufactures; you must yourself recollect the Memorials and Protests which were submitted to Congress during that year against the further prosecution of a system which we believed to be fraught with great injustice if not with ruin to the Cotton growing States; and I am sure you cannot have forgotten the strenuous exertions made by myself and others to stem the torrent which *we believed*, was hurrying the Country to inevitable destruction. Though it was my misfortune on that occasion to find myself opposed to the course, which you felt it to be, your duty to pursue, yet I assure you that this difference of opinion has not shaken in the smallest degree the confidence and attachment I have always cherished towards you; and that in these sentiments the people of South Carolina cordially unite. We have believed that while you are favorable to the protection of all the great interests of the Country, you are not disposed to advance any one of them at the expence of the rest, and, that though you are desirous of securing the manufacture in the country of all the articles deemed essential to national defence, yet you would not be willing to

[1] *U. S. Telegraph, Extra*, Oct. 11, 1828. On Edward Ward, see p. 117, note.

adopt the prohibitory policy, nor to push the system of protection beyond the point of creating a fair competition between foreign and domestic goods; but above all we feel assured that you would never consent to make this a mere party question, by connecting it with the Presidential election, thus introducing into the Country a system of mercenary politics, and buying up the people with their own money; as the present administration have done and are still doing. Although therefore the people of South Carolina have most deeply regretted that your views, do not accord with their own on the constitutionality and expediency of the protecting policy yet they have all times felt the most unshaken confidence in your patriotism, justice, and moderation, and have yielded, and will continue to yield you, the most cordial support for the first office in the gift of the people. As it was the policy of the Admn. to buy up the whole class of the manufactures by agreeing to make their claims (without any regard to their justice) an administration question, it became no less the interest than the duty of the Southern States, to oppose to the uttermost so nefarious a scheme, by which votes were to be bought up for Mr. Adams by money to be drawn indirectly from the pockets of the Southern people. The real question was not, what protection, did the manufactures actually need, but how much was necessary to secure their votes for Mr. Adams, and this, was, if possible, to be effected without imposing any burthens on New England. Against a scheme so iniquitous the whole South was found to be opposed almost as one man, and I am happy to add that most of your friends in the other States (though favorable to the Tariff system,) united with the South in the attempt to resist the consummation of this plot of Mr. Clay's. I am sorry to be compelled to add however that some of your friends by acting with less firmness than the crisis demanded, enabled the administration to gain a triumph, when the victory was entirely in our own hands. A persevering refusal to make any of the modifications to the Bill which were designed for the exclusive benefit of the East, at the expence of the West and the South (and without effecting which it is certain the New England Members would have generally voted against the Bill,) deprived us of the advantage of exposing to the world the hollow pretensions of those who under the pretext of supporting American Industry, were merely driving a bargain for their own personal advantage. The Bill in the shape in which it became a Law must operate most injuriously on the Southern States, and has certainly excited a deep and pervading feeling of dissatisfaction in this quarter of the union. I doubt not that 19/20ths of the people of this State, and of Georgia and a large majority of the people of all the Southern States, entertain a settled conviction that a perseverence in this system, on the principles acted on for the last five years, constantly encreasing the duties on every article up to prohibition, involves the eventual destruction of this quarter of the Country, and must sooner or later destroy the union itself. That South Carolina, cannot manufacture for market, is certain; that a home market for one third part of our Cotton cannot be created for half a century to come is equally clear; and that it must be the inevitable effect of a system of constantly increasing duties to destroy the foreign market seems to admit of no doubt. Entertaining this opinion, and hav-

ing urged them, with great zeal and earnestness, though without effect, during the last session of Congress, it was certainly not to have been expected that the people of the South would sit down quietly under the operation of a law universally believed by them, to be unconstitutional in its spirit and intent, and known to have had its origin, in the same spirit of "management and intrigue", by which Messrs. Adams and Clay came into power. Indeed Mr Clay in his Pittsburgh speech acknowledged that there was actually a bargain between Mr. Adams and himself on this subject. The public meetings which have taken place, in South Carolina, have been the spontaneous expression of the popular indignation against a system of which they believe they have been made the victims. It is not true that there is any desire on the part of any portion of our citizens to dissolve the union; nor has the Tariff excitement any thing to do with the Presidential election. There does indeed exist a very general impression that the present Administration have endeavoured to use the Tariff as a Hobby on which to ride into power; that Mr. Adams (who is known to have been opposed to the system in 1824) has changed his views from personal considerations, and that the south can have no hope of ever obtaining justice from those who act on such principles. The partizans of the Administration amongst us, (who are numerous enough in our Cities and Towns to make a great noise, though they hardly exist out of them)—taking their tone from the Washington Journal and Intelligencer, are endeavouring to advance the election of Mr. Adams, by representing the Tariff excitement here, "as a political movement of the Jackson party, having for its object a seperation of the States". The Editors of the Intelligencer with their characteristic cunning and want of principle, have got up a story which they know to be false of consultations among the Jackson members of Congress during the last session concerning a dissolution of the Union, and to give color to the fabrication have been circulating pretended conversations and declarations of several distinguished leaders of our party. How far success may attend these infamous efforts of the vile panders of the men in power, I cannot say; but I can positively declare, that as far as I know or believe there does not exist a shadow of foundation for any one of the stories industriously circulated on the subject. There is no party here who desire a dissolution of the union. The people are generally *greatly excited* on the subject of the Tariff, but this has nothing whatever to do with the Presidential election. You are supported by the great body of the people not on account of your opinions on the Tariff, (which are known to be opposed to their own,) but because they have entire confidence in your wisdom, and integrity; and it is believed that the men now in power have obtained, and are endeavouring to retain their places by "bargain management and intrigue", and in direct violation of the will of the people. Should Mr Adams be re-elected and should his administration continue to act on the policy of wholly disregarding the feelings and interests of the Southern States; should they push the manufacturing system, to the point of annihilating our foreign commerce, and above all, should they meddle with our Slave institutions, I would not be answerable for the consequences. I think our Legislature will probably take strong ground

on these subjects, but I have no apprehension of their going, at this time beyond a formal manifesto setting forth the injuries of the South, and giving a solemn warning against the consequences of a *continued disregard* of our rights and interests. Should you be elected, as there is every reason to believe, we shall look to you as a PACIFICATOR. The difficulties which the present administration have created, will be met by you on coming into office, and yours will be the glory worthy of a civic wreath, (and sufficient of itself to carry down your name with blessings to posterity) of *peaceably removing them*. Possessing as you do the confidence and attachment of the Southern people, and feeling as we know you will, a sincere desire, to do justice to all parties, we fondly indulge the hope that the various portions of the union will once more be bound together in the bonds of friendship and affection. If it shall be in my power to contribute in any way to this desirable result I shall consider it, the happiest incident of my life. I will confess that though I feel as strongly as any man the injustice of which the South has been made the victim, and have no doubt of the unconstitutional character of the late Tariff Bill, yet I have regretted some of the proceedings which have taken place in our State; not so much on account of *their tone* (for though greater moderation would certainly have been desirable, yet we know that men acting under an honest excitement never weigh their words;) but chiefly, because, I could have desired that nothing had been done, that could be *used against us* in the great Presidential contest. Could *I* have regulated these matters, not a single meeting should have been held until October But it was in vain to attempt to repress the excitement which pervades the State on the subject of the Tariff; an excitement, " not got up by our leading men ", (as has been falsely charged,) but by which they themselves have been hurried away.

Such my dear Sir, is *the true state of things* in this part of the country. Tennessee is not safer in the Presidential contest than South Carolina, and I have no doubt that Georgia, Virginia, Alabama, and Mississippi are equally immoveable. Let not our good friends in Tennessee, lend a ready ear, or give any countenance to the Administrations slanders which are daily poured out upon our devoted heads. In this respect we are only sharing your own fate; the fate indeed of all, who have dared to stand up for the rights and liberties of the people and the *Constitution in its purity*. I shall trouble you no further at this time, I particularly desire that you will not suppose that it is my object to draw an answer from you on any of the topics, on which I have touched. On the contrary I beg that this Letter may remain among your private papers, *unanswered,* as my only object in writing it, has been *to give you information* which I suppose may be acceptable, and perhaps useful.

I have to request that Mrs. H. and myself may be particularly remembered to Mrs. J. My little boys (who still retain a lively recollection of your kindness) join with their mother in sending their kind regards to you. My Brother and his family are well, though in consequence of the prevalence of the yellow fever, he has been compelled, (for the safety of his daughter who is a stranger)[1] to take refuge on Sullivan's Island.

[1] In regions where yellow fever prevailed, the notion was long current that natives were immune.

Believe me to be, with the highest respect and esteem yours very sincerely.

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Fort Moultrie, Sullivan's Island, September 20, 1828.

. . . . There is unfortunately a good deal of excitement in our State, and at the South generally, on the subject of the late Tariff. It is my most earnest wish, that for the present, you would neither write or express any positive opinion upon this subject, for any opinion or expression, much less letter of yours would be seized upon to produce a schism among your friends. So soon as the proper period arrives, so soon as the true sentiments of Carolina are known, on this subject, I will place in your possession, all the *Data,* necessary to enable you, to understand every thing; and then, ere long, I trust, you will in your *Official Capacity,* be called upon to place your opinions and views, before the people of our beloved and common Country. In the mean time, I can only say you stand, and maintain yourself among us like the *"Rock of Ages". South-Carolina, one and all is for Jackson* and *the Union.* So anxious do I feel on the subject of the Tariff, that if my family were in Charleston, (where the *Strangers Fever* at *present is.* and on account of our *Daughter,* who is perfect *Stranger,* we have been induced to repair to this place, were it not for this circumstance,) I should be tempted to ride to see you at the Hermitage, for a few days; giving myself time enough to be present at Columbia our seat of Government, during the meeting of our Legislature, which will take place about the 20th of Novr. The great Question, with us, *Is, What is to be done? and I would fairly, directly, and Confidentially put that Question to you.* Sound judgment, and great delicacy would be required, in the management of such an Affair. The object, of such a scheme, wd. be public good. I would present myself at Columbia early in the Session—it would be known, that I was just from under the Roof of Genl. Jackson, *and without even mentioning his name, your opinions and views through me, wd. be known, and would necessarily produce a powerful effect.* Genl. Pinckney, who is my next Door neighbour thinks it wd. have a good effect, could this plan be executed. The Genl. takes a deep interest in your election. . . . .

Hugh L. White to Jackson.

"At Home", October 4, 1828.

My Dear Sir, On monday last I reached home, after a four weeks absence to the Harrodsburg Springs, in company with my son, who I thought too weak to be alone. He, it is feared, has but a slender chance to reestablish his health.

I have abstained writing you often since my return from Washington[1] for many reasons, but chiefly, because I confidently expected until lately to see, and spend some time with, you during the summer or fall. That expectation is now abandoned. The approaching Courts in Knox-

[1] White was senator, until 1833.

ville will occupy the interval between this and setting out for the City. My news from all quarters teaches me to look with much confidence to a successful result in the pending election. Yet the enemy are so untiring in their efforts, so full of invention and so destitute of every thing like moral restraint that if your friends relax there is no telling what changes may take place.

In Kentucky I saw many friends, they say they fought the battle of the *23rd Dec.* in August, and will do their duty on the *8th of January,* which is to be in Nov. They count with much certainty on a decided Victory. Tis said Judge McNairy has taken the water and passed off in the Gulph Stream. I hope it is not so: but if it should be we must do without him. 'Tis a pity he had not taken his appropriate place at first. His importance has been increased by putting him on Our Committee. Every thing is kept pretty snug here. In this county we have at least *five* to *one* and in the District I think *ten to one* at least.

Pardon the suggestions which follow, they are intended as mere hints for your own mind to operate upon. Ought you not at your leisure moments to be reducing to writing your thoughts upon the Cardinal points of your Administration supposing you elected? Fix in your mind those who would form your Cabinet. If elected immediately make known to them what would be your policy and know whether they could give it their cordial support. I am of opinion you could expect no benefit from any man whose judgt. would not approve your policy. Some plan of this sort digested in due time, *by yourself, and kept to yourself,* would enable you to select a suitable cabinet of proper materials, and would put it in your power in due season to spread your political views before the nation, in such manner as to have the best effect, and without having put you in haste on any subject.

Should you be elected I feel deep solicitude that the government should in all respects be administered upon principles which the present and future ages will approve, and upon such principles as will secure the blessings of Civil liberty to the Sovreign people themselves. This solicitude is felt on account of the public, and on account of *you individually.* As to myself, individually it is of but little importance to me what is to happen. Out of twelve children I have now but Six left, and the eldest of them, at this time, seriously threatened. I can therefore say safely "all is vanity and vexation of spirit". Still I am not soured with the world nor am I disposed to play the part of a monk, we were put here for activity and usefulness and while here I am not disposed to avoid the discharge of duty in any respect.

In the Senate, if I approve your policy I would give it my humble support. If otherwise I would yield the berth to some other. To be your political opponent, in a public station, I would not, and to support that which I did not approve, you know, I could not. If elected when will you be in Washington? Ought you not to be there pretty early?

Present me in such terms as will be most acceptable to Mrs. Jackson, and believe that I am with great sincerity Your friend

To Major William B. Lewis.[1]

Hermitage, October 15, 1828.

D'r Major, Inclosed I send you the statement of a conversation had between Major Thos. McCorry and Col Anderson on the Burr business. This you will find is full and compleat, and may be well to give it to the public with a few comments, to shew that it was impossible for the Col. or Dr. McNairy to believe that the undated letter published, in connection with the note notifying the Col. that Burr was at my house, could have had any relation to the Boats for Burr, the conversation with Anderson by Mr. McCorry having taken place in 1816 or 1817 could not have been forgotten by Col. A. In this publication, the morals of Mr. Hunt might be commented on, as exposed in his last paper, wherein he says, *it is not material whether the undated letter referred to the Boats built in 1803 for the United States, or in 1806 for Burr,* Now I would suppose the difference is great, as the difference between truth and falshood; when applied to the date of 1803 it is truth, when applied to 1806 it is falshood and forgery. Now [if] forgery is no crime, or if falshood and slander is no crime then Mr. Hunts morals are right, but [if] to give false witness against ones neighbour is wrong, then the exhibition of this undated letter to prove me a conspirator with Burr when it related to a legal order certainly is criminal and Dr. McNairy having this knowledge, which is fully evidenced by his concealing to whom it was addressed, manifests a depravity of heart, and a baseness that ought to disqualify him from all social intercourse with the virtuous and moral part of Society and surely all honorable men will shun a man capable of wilfully bearing false evidence against his fellow men. . . . .

General Thomas Cadwalader to Jackson.

Philadelphia, October 15, 1828.

Dear General, Our Election has closed most triumphantly—the *right* tickets have succeeded throughout—for Congress, Assembly, and City Councils. Sergeant is beaten by 557 votes—the City and County together give majorities of between five and six thousand. The vote for Electors on the 31st will be even more decisive, from the dispiriting effect of this overwhelming victory.

We have no accounts yet from Jersey, this being the 2d and last day of their election. That ground is *debateable*, and we can well spare its votes—if we get them, it will be, to me, an agreeable surprize. Having had a particular agency in selecting the first list of Directors of the Office of the B. U. S.[1] in your quarter, I feel very anxious to know how far public opinion approves of the Administration.

Complaints have been made to me that " the men are unpopular "—that " the Prest.[2] is selfish, without the least influence, except that which his Official station gives him "—that " he has a numerous train of Relatives engaged in Commercial pursuits, and the Bank is made an instru-

[1] N. Y. Pub. Lib., Ford MSS.
[1] Bank of the United States.
[2] The president of the Nashville branch, Josiah Nichol.

ment for the promotion of their private interests, without regard to the effects upon the Community, or the Bank itself "—etc: and that, "with the exception of Geo. W. Campbell, there is not an individual in the Direction who has the least influence beyond his own shop upon the public square—they consist for the most part of men who would not dare to express an independant opinion, if they were capable of entertaining one". "Our friend Major L. is removed, in order to make way for a man recently accused and convicted (in public opinion) of fraud for a series of years, by the use [of] false weights at his Cotton Gin", etc: etc:— "this change however is made by the suggestion of the Prest: and Cashr. for the purpose of procuring *business men!* this excuse for getting rid of an independant man is too flimsy to gain credit any where but in Phila."

Should you favor me with any communications on a subject in which I feel interested personally, as well as in my character of Director of the Parent Bank, I need hardly say that I should receive them as strictly confidential, and they would be considered as additional obligations to those under which your former kindnesses have laid me.

Mrs. Cadwalader unites in Compts. to Mrs. Jackson. I remain dear General with the most sincere respect and regard

To Brigadier-General Richard K. Call.

Hermitage, October 18, 1828.

. . . . Col Combs has lately visited Nashville as the *pimp* of Clay, and the Shelbys. This is an honorable station for a Col and member of the Legislature of Kentucky to fill. The Col may be a good *pimp,* but I do not believe he would make a good diplomatist—before he is done with his mission, I expect he will find himself in the same disgrace, with his colleagues Col Andrew Erwin, Dr McNairy, Wm. P. Anderson and Tanyhill, who are only thought of here to be despised.

I regret Col Butler had not sent on his statement direct to me, that it might have been embodied with yours, Eatons, Winchesters, Smiths, and others, which when seen, hands down Thos Shelby and Todd with infamy and disgrace to posterity—and if they establish the sayings on the old Govr. which they have ascribed to him, his memory is damb forever.

. . . .

To James Elwell.[1]

Hermitage, October 19, 1828.

D'r Sir, Yesterday, at church, I received your letter of the 18th instant. Whilst I regret the unpleasant situation in which you are placed, candor compels me to say to you, that it is intirely out of my power to relieve it by complying with your request. I am now, and have been for some time, without money—having no income but that arising from the labour employed on my farm. the shortness of the last years crop, and the low price of cotton left me indebted: and the ravages of the worm upon my present crop, I fear, will render me unable to close my necessary accounts at the end of this year.

[1] Copy. Handwriting of A. J. Donelson.

I never desired wealth on any other account than that of relieving the distresses of worthy men; and I assure you that the want of it for this purpose was never more sensibly felt than now. But I cannot alter the course of things, and must submit to the mortification of informing you that it is out of my power to comply with your request.

With great respect

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, October 29, 1828.

D'r Genl: From a perusal of Col Combs pamphlet who has lately become the pimp for Genl Shelby and Co, and the coalition newspapers, you will see it held forth that James Jackson has knowledge of facts relating to the *Colberts reserve* that would fix upon me the charge of corruption of the deepest dye, for *selfish agrandizement,* and he only wants my permission to disclose it. I had told Col Combs that I gave him full permission to call upon Mr. James Jackson, and every other person else, to divulge the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth upon this or any other subject; that I had no secrets. Still the coalition hold out the Idea that Mr. James Jackson will not disclose his knowledge of the corruption, about *the reserve* until I *unseal his lips.* To put an end to these unjust imputations, I wish you to call upon Mr. James Jackson and ask him to state in writing whether in this transaction, or any other, of a public nature in my life, he knew me guilty of any dishonorable or dishonest act, or whether upon all and every occasion in my public character, I have not forgotten self to promote the public weal; and whether he ever knew me attempt to promote my own private interest at the public expence—and be good enough to ask him to state whether he did not support the resolutions in the Legislature of Alabama in 1823 or 1824, recommending me as a fit and proper character to fill the Presidential chair.

I wish you to read and shew this letter to Mr. James Jackson. I did hope that he would have voluntarily come forth and vindicated himself from being a participator in this corrupt transaction as charged by Erwin, Benton, Combs and Co., having not done so, I claim from him a reply in writing as above requested, and a copy of the letters alluded to.

I am in great haste yr friend

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

(Private)

Hermitage, October 29, 1828.

Dear Genl: From a certificate appended to Col Coombs pamphlet, lately published, detaching parts that he obtained whilst acting in the honorable station of pimp to Genl Shelby, it appears that Mr. James Jackson, has held out the idea that he could not unseal his lips without a written application to him for this purpose. It has been stated by

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc. The letter following this is the draft from which this letter was written. It is of interest to compare the two.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.

A. Erwin and Benton that you were concerned. This you know is not the fact. Make James speak on *this*. This was insidious and unmasks the rascality of James, as he intended to hold out the Idea, that he knew more than he would divulge, and that injurious to me. for this purpose I wish you to call upon James with the enclosed, shew it, or read it to him;

You may rest assured I will never write James, on this subject. But I request you to apply to him, and if he refuses on reading the letter to him to comply with my request, send me a written statement of the interview having someone present on whose respectability the world will rely, who will Join in the statement with you. James has said to Mr. Ephraim A. Foster, that altho he would travel to Boston or to South America to prevent my election, that he has never knew of me a dishonest or dishonorable act. I want his statement in a tangable shape, on paper. I have in his letters in the war office, a sure defence against falsehood, if it should be attempted. I pray you to attend to this as early as possible, and write me upon the receipt of this. With best wishes adieu

P. S. Please send me a copy of the Alabama resolutions proposing me a candidate for the President. James Jackson was if not the mover, the warm supporter of these resolutions, hence could not have thought me corrupt. If necessary, in your conversation, you can hint this to James. I do not want to entrap, but his statement to Combs is of such a rascally character, that I will expose him, if it becomes necessary. A. J.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, November 11, 1828.

D'r Genl, I have this moment recd yours of the 2d instant, under cover to Major Eaton. I find it was written before Capt A. J. Donelson reached you. you will please to observe that I had no information of any application being made to James Jackson by the Shelbys but that through Laslie Combs, until Shelbys book come out with those letters appended to it, with the statement of Combs lackies, Tannyhill and Douglass also appended to it.[2] The innuendoes contained in this, are of such a nature, that require an explanation from James, and if he has authorized it, immediate punishment. you will please to remark that the call upon James, is not for political effect, or to be used at present in that way, but to bring forth from him, whilst I am living, the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, and if he attempts to lie, that I may use all the means I have, in correcting him, and to obtain from him copies of *all letters* that he has of mine, on the subject of the chickasaw treaty and Colberts reservation etc. etc. It appears to be the opinion of Eaton that my letter in reply to the Editors of the Nashville Republican which you will have seen, is a sufficient call on James Jackson to come forth. I inclose his note to me and untill Capt A. J. Donelson returns, and you hear from me, you can pospone the call.

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc.

[2] *Kentucky Reporter Extra. Chickasaw Treaty. An Attempt to obtain the Testimony of James Jackson Esq. to prove the Connexion of Gen. Andrew Jackson with a Company of Land Speculators, while acting as United States Commissioner. . . .* by James Shelby (pph., October, 1828).

I must at a proper time, have James answer to the questions propounded in my note to Andrew J. Donelson and you. my own feelings and character, is dearer to me than any other earthly thing, and if James has used innuendoes set forth by T and D he is one of the most base cowardly assasins of character, that ever lived. From our once friendship, if he had possessed the least magnanimity and honor, he would like all others have, come out voluntarily and given the truth, which at once would have put to rest all the slang of the combination of Erwin, McNairy, Anderson, Benton, Tannyhill and Co; but he has on the close of the election by an innuendo, endeavoured to give me a thrust under the 5th rib, supposing he would be safe, as all things would be forgotten at the close of the election—but more of this hereafter.

I regret to hear of your suffering, but by extracting the tooth, is the only permanent remedy. Major Lee has reached Nashville last night and brings the intelligence that Jacksons majority in Ohio in 24 counties heard from in cincinnati on the 5th inst was 9724, being 5800 over Campbell in the same counties in the election for Governor. In Kentucky in Wyckliffs, Moors, Lecompts, and Mr Hattons Districts Jacksons majority 5750. It appears Ky and Ohio are safe notwithstanding all the vile slander.

With our best respects to you, your lady and family, Your friend,

Colonel Arthur P. Hayne to Jackson.

Charleston, November 15, 1828.

. . . . Our venerable and distinguished Townsman Majr. Genl. Thos. Pinckney is no more. He breathed his last on Sunday the 2nd instt. His last moments, were those of a Christian and Philosoper, calm and self collected. For the last 40 years Genl. Pinckney had past his Summers at Moultrie-Ville, Sullivan's Island, the most pleasant Summer climate in the World. The Genl. being an Uncle of Mrs. Hayne, and during the Summer, our next Door neighbour, I saw him every day during his last illness. I assisted in taking him on a *Litter*, from his House on the Island, to the Boat which was to convey him to Charleston. He was so reduced, that he had not the strength of an infant remaining—he could only turn in his Bed, but could not sit up. The distance from his House to the Boat which was to receive and convey him to Charleston was near half a mile.

Before and after we left his house, the following *peculiarly interesting* Conversation, took place between the Genl. and myself. Let me here remark, in order to be clearly understood, that for the past year, Genl. Pinckney's health had been gradually declining—but now it was entirely wasted and gone—yet by the blessing of God, his *mind* remained in every respect unimpaired—he could articulate distinctly—indeed it was only a few hours before his Death, that his voice failed him. When I entered his room on the morning, he was to be conveyed to Charleston, he was lying on his Litter. I bid him good morning, and inquired after his health. I then *intentionally* drew back a few paces from him, for you know *his Constitutional politeness,* and I was fearful he would commence conversation, and I thought it might exhaust him, at a moment, when he was about to encounter so much fatigue. However, I was but a little while in

the room, when the Genl. called me to him. He lay covered with his Military Cloak, the one he had worn during the late war. "Coll. said he, I believe you knew Capt. Armistead, who died at Fort Moultrie during the late War. These buttons, pointing to the Cloak, remind me of poor Armistead—he presented them to me, at the commencement of the late War, and begged as a token of his esteem for me, that I would wear them. Armistead, said he, was a good fellow." I replied to the Genl. that I had known him very well, that in my first tour of duty, after having joined the Army in 1808, Armistead and myself served together in the harbour of Charleston—that he was a much older man than myself—we were Captains at the same time—and that he had all the warmth of feeling and character of a true hearted Virginian. The Genl. then took hold of my hand, as we were about to lift up the *Litter*; and which circumstance helped very much to *steady* his *Nerves,* and he continued to hold my hand till we reached the Boat.

"Coll. Hayne, said Genl. Pinckney to me, *I go to Charleston,* because I know, I can hold out, but a little longer, and it is my wish to give as little trouble to my friends after my death as possible—for said he, I know Sir, when an old Soldier dies, one who fought in the war of the Revolution, the rising generation feel it to be their duty to pay some respect to his memory—they will have it so—it may be all right—and we must yield—and you know in Charleston I shall be near at hand. This makes me desirous of proceeding to the City." I assured the Genl. (as one of the rising generation, and that I would take upon myself, to speak for all of them) he ought not for a moment to suppose that any thing we could perform for the *"fathers' of our Revolution",* would be looked upon by us, in the light of trouble—but on the contrary we felt the debt of gratitude, so justly their due, to be so great, that we knew we never could do enough for them. Now, finding that Genl. Pinckney, could converse, notwithstanding his body was, *as it were dead,* with all that good sense and wisdom, for which he was so eminently distinguished during his whole life, I now felt it my duty to say something that might cheer his spirits—and thus for [the] moment assuage his sufferings. Before I proceed to state the Conversation which follows, let me first inform you that between Genl. Thos. Pinckney and the ex-President Monroe, their had existed a personal intimacy and long friendship which commenced during the Revolution, and was *renewed* in Paris during the french Revolution, and was continued to the day of the Genl's death. Now, the fact which I am about to relate, I never became possessed of, till three weeks ago, and I am persuaded the circumstance is new to yourself—it is this: Towards the close of your brilliant Campaigns in the Creek Nation, Genl. Pinckney in the strongest terms, (availing himself of his intimacy with Mr. Monroe) recommended to the Government, that you should forthwith be brought into the Regular Army. He told the Government, that in justice to your distinguished talents, and great usefulness, in justice to his own feelings—and *above all in justice to the Government and Nation,* you ought at once to be brought into the Regular Service. I embraced, *the then solemn occasion,* to say to Genl. P.—that it must afford him peculiar pleasure, after so eventful a life as you had exhibited to the

World, to know that he had recommended your Name so warmly and *disinterestedly* to the Govt. for the very appointment, which shortly after was given you. I at once perceived, that I had touched upon a Cord, to which his every feeling responded. He became at once animated, and I believe for the last time during his life. He thus addressed me: "Coll. Hayne, said the Genl. I had never intended during my life, to lisp the fact you have just uttered; to my brother *Charles,* now dead, I alone mentioned the circumstance; and he some how let it drop—but now Sir, you have introduced the matter, I can only say it is true, my letters on the subject are in my letter book, and known to my military Staff. In doing, what I did, I only acted from a sense of duty—it was due to Genl. Jackson, and the Country. And Sir, said he, when Genl. Lafayette was in Charleston, some of my friends had heard the fact, and having been selected to welcome the, "Nation's Guest", they were desirous and had introduced into their Addresses, the *Circumstance,* but so soon as I had understood what they were about to do I told them I could not consent to it, and requested they would alter that part of their Address".

Genl. Pinckney again said "he had recommended Genl. Jackson, and that it now afforded him pleasure—for besides the great services he had already rendered the Country, I still look up to Genl. Jackson, as a man, who, in the hands, of a kind and superintending providence, *will be the happy instrument of still doing much more good.* Coll. said he, *I shall never again see Genl. Jackson in this World, but you will I hope, and when you do recollect to remember me kindly and respectfully to him.* Say to him I always respected his talents, and great usefulness, and from the commencement of the present struggle for President, I have looked upon *his success, as being completely identified, with the honor and prosperity of the Country".*

Genl. P—then went on and said, "Coll. Hayne ours is a great and blessed Country—who can tell what will be its future Destiny, and happy am I to say, and I say it with peculiar pleasure and delight—*that our Children*—that the present and rising generation are in every respect worthy of the blessings growing out of our Revolution". Genl. P—then spoke in a beautiful manner of the future prospects [of] our beloved Country—that the Soldiers of the War of the Revolution, had lived for some purpose, and had been abundantly rewarded for all the toils and hardships, which they had encountered—and he thus continued to discourse with the greatest intelligence on subjects connected, with his Countrie's glory and prosperity, until he reached the boat, which for the *last time* was to convey him to Charleston. On the present occasion he was in physical strength a mere infant—but in *mind* to *the glory of human nature, clear headed and powerful.* Genl. P—was 78 years of age and 11 days, and till the last year of his life enjoyed a large share of good health. I assure you my dear Genl. that the Conversation which *I* have so *feebly* and *hastily* narated, was every thing that, Christianity and philosophy could have exhibited. Indeed so perfect a Union of philosophy and Christianity, I never before witnessed. . . . .

To General Thomas Cadwalader.[1]

Hermitage, November 16, 1828.

My D'r sir, Your friendly letter of the 15th ultimo has been received, and I should have done myself the pleasure of acknowledging its receipt before this, but for the desire of getting some information upon the subject of the Bank about which you express some solicitude

I assure you my D'r sir, that I feel myself under many obligations for the disinterested and liberal support of my friends in every section of the union, and to none am I under higher and more lasting obligations than to my Pennsylvania friends. That state is as firm in the cause of Republicanism and liberal principles as are her native mountains—she has shewn herself, by her virtue and love of liberty, worthy of the predominating influence she possesses, and from her local situation always must possess in the Union.

With regard to the Bank located in Nashville,[2] I can say but little, altho I have made some enquiry concerning it, since the receipt of your letter. Never having been, in any manner, connected with Banks, and having very little to do with the one here, I feel myself unable to give you any satisfaction about it. The Directors so far as I know, are reputed honest; but some of them, it is true, are but little known out of Nashville. Whether the President has an undue influence over the Board or not, I am unable to say; but as some of the members are young men and partly raised by him, it is quite probable that they have much confidence in his Judgment and may be influenced by his opinions. I am told the greatest objection to the present Board is, that a large proportion of the members are Europeans, and some of them residents of this place but a very few years. If it is any part of the policy of the mother Bank to conciliate the states and make their Branches acceptable to the people, then I think a portion of their board at least, should have been composed of men better known, and possessing more extensive influence than the most of those in the directory of the Bank at Nashville do. I do not wish to speak as to the *competency* of the present Board in *Judiciously* and *safely* managing the concerns of the Bank—for of this I am not sufficiently informed to allow myself to speak: nor am I able to say whether its management has given *General* satisfaction; but I have understood complaints have been made—whether well or ill founded I know not.

Mrs Jackson requests that her kind salutations may be presented to Mrs Cadwalader to whom you will be pleased to add mine.

With sincere respect and regard I am dear sir Your most obt servant

Felix Grundy to Jackson.

Nashville, November 20, 1828.

Dear Sir, Beleiving as I do, that it is the duty of your friends to communicate to you all facts and circumstances which will enable you to

[1] This copy begins in the handwriting of Jackson but is completed in that of another person.

[2] The Nashville branch of the United States Bank. Cadwalader was a director of the parent bank.

Judge of the state of parties correctly I proceed to inform you that, on this day I received a letter (not confidential) from Mr Wm H Crawford in which he says, "The state of Georgia cannot consistently with its feelings or character vote for Mr Calhoon or Mr Rush as Vicepresident etc." a determination to run Nathaniel Macon is then express,d and many things are said in his favor and a wish expressed, that his claims should be laid before our electoral college etc.[1]

This is a strange step, which will fail in its object. I shall answer Mr Crawford, stating that I consider our Electors pledged to vote for Calhoon by their declarations previous to the election. This movement shews, that dissention and discord will exist among those who have supported you and that at an early day, the present dominant party will be greatly divided among themselves, and in such manner, I fear as to give you much disquietude; Should a serious disagreement rise up, nothing will be easier than for the now defeated party to assume such an attitude as will enable them to govern the affairs of the Country upon your retiring from office—not that one of them can be elected, but your successor can be made indebted to them for their support, and of course, they will possess a great degree of influence and control over him.

What would most effectually prevent strife and contention and keep down a rising storm? It would be, in my opinion, a willingness on your part to continue in office a second term, or at least no avowal to the contrary. I had a strong wish to converse with you on the subject last named, but my continued absence from home will probably deprive me of seeing you before you leave this State for Washington. I wish you health and prosperity

yrs respectfully

[1] Oct. 21, 1828, William H. Crawford wrote to Van Buren (Library of Congress, Van Buren MSS.) as follows:

"*My dear Sir* The State of Georgia cannot consistently with its feelings and character Vote for either Mr Calhoun or Mr Rush for vice President. I therefore have thought it right to bring forward a name which I hope is unobjectionable in every point of view. The Name of Nathaniel Macon is I presume above all exception. The nation by a kind of local consent has studiously avoided the discussion of the claims of individuals for the Vice President. I have approved of this course because I thought it improper to divert the attention of the public from the election of the President to a secondary object. The electors of the State of New York are I believe uncommitted by the State as to Vice President at least except as between Calhoun and Rush. If it were otherwise, I should think there would [be] no difficulty when the name of Mr Macon should be presented to them. I presume it will only be necessary to bring the name and claims of Mr Macon under the consideration of the electors to secure the suffrage for Mr Macon. You will I therefore hope my dear sir bring his claims and name distinctly into view or cause it to be done in the most impressive manner. Letters have been addressed to distinguished individuals in the states of the Union except New Hampshire Massachusetts Rhode Island Connecticut and Vermont, To obtain the co-operation of those States, And I confidently hope that success will crown the effort. I think no apprehension need be entertained that Genl Jackson will bring Calhoun into the cabinet if he should not be re-elected Vice President, the very fact that he is rejected by the people will be sufficient to keep him out of the Cabinet. I will myself cause representations to be made to Genl Jackson that will prevent his being taken into the cabinet of Genl Jackson. I will thank you to inform me as early as possible the probable result of the electoral election in New York. I am dear sir your friend and most obt servt"

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, November 24, 1828.

. . . . I intended writing you a long letter by Mr Camper, but I have been so crowded with company and pressed with business that I have had no time. you will have received my letter acquiescing in the advice of my friends to leave James Jackson to the fearful reflections of his own conscience and am satisfied with the course that you and Capt A. J. Donelson has pursued. you may be assured that my feelings have been coroded by the villainous course of those base, corrupt and unprincipled men who I have once hugged to my bosom, and extended every act of friendship and liberality in my power—As a save to my feelings the virtuous portion of the people have well sustained me, the majority in ohio from the official returns just recd is 4100, and that in Ky still greater altho I have not yet recd the official returns. Virginia and Pennsylvania has gone overwhelming majorities, New York as far as heard from gives evidence of 24 votes and perhaps 30. The official return from Cumber[2] in Main I have recd, which gives me that vote, and I may get another. Louisiana and Mississippi have both given me the electoral vote, these results is gratifying to me, and under the weight of executive patronage wielded as it was to corrupt the people, and by propagating its slanders by its panders and corrupt minions, expected to destroy me. in this it has failed, and the suffrages of a virtuous people have pronounced a verdict of condemnation against them and their slanders whilst it has justified my character and course. I am filled with gratitude, still my mind is depressed. I will write you more fully shortly, untill then accept my best wishes for you and your family,

yr friend

James K. Polk to Jackson.

Washington, December 1, 1828.

Dear Sir, On my way here and since my arrival, many inquiries have been made, and I have heard many conjectures as to the time you would probably set out for Washington, and the route you would travel. In one thing *all* your friends with whom I have conversed concur, and that is, that you should be here several weeks before the inauguration. Some of your friends have in conversation, suggested the propriety of changing the period of counting the votes, by a modification of the existing law, so as to enable a Committee of Congress to visit your residence and inform you officially of your election in time for you to reach Washington by the 4th of March. The suggestion merely, but no formal proposition has been made. That such a course would be respectful all agree, but many of your discreet and intelligent friends (and I think I may safely say a majority of those whith [*sic*] whom I have conversed on the subject) think that your election being a matter of notoriety known to yourself and conceded by your political adversaries, it would be inexpedient to do

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.
[2] Probably intended for Cumberland County.

so. They think that your election having taken place under peculiar circumstances and the triumph being complete, there should be as little of ceremony and parade as can properly be dispensed with; that you should come on to Washington in anticipation of the result, and that immediately on the counting of the votes be ready to receive the official communication through a committee of Congress. If there was no other objection, it is apprehended that any attempt now to change the existing law might and probably would in the present excited state of parties elicit a discussion (perhaps a protracted one) which might result in no good to the cause which we have so long laboured to sustain. I do not think it probable therefore, that any change will be made in the existing law. The votes will be counted on the second Wednesday in February, and by that time your friends will expect you here, or at all events in convenient distance to receive the official notice of your election. If however contrary to my present impressions a different course should be resolved on, it will be within a very few days, and you shall be immediately advised of it.

I have given you according to my promise when last at the Hermitage, the views of your friends here, as far as I have ascertained them. I will write you again at furthest in a week and can then speak with positive certainty. When you have come to a determination, your friends here would be gratified to know when you will leave home and the route you will travel. . . . .

James K. Polk to Jackson.

Washington, December 5, 1828.

Dear Sir, When I wrote you a few days since, I ventured to express to you the opinion, that your friends here would not deem it expedient, at this time and under existing circumstances, to attempt any modification or change of the existing law, fixing the period for counting the votes for President and Vice President, and that it would be desirable with them, as I then thought, for you to be here some time before you would have to enter on the duties of the high station, to which you have been called by the voice of your country. Upon further consultation that opinion is confirmed, and I can now speak with certainty. To relieve you from any possible difficulty or doubt, you might have on the subject, a letter has been prepared, which has been already signed by many of your friends in Congress, and will be by others, announcing to you (though unofficially) the entire certainty of your election, and suggesting to you, the importance of being here, earlier than you could be, if you remain at your residence to receive the official communication. That letter will be mailed as soon as the signatures are completed, probably on tomorrow or the next day, and you may expect to receive it by the mail immediately succeeding that which will take you this.

It is already rumoured that you will probably visit Philadelphia before the 4th of March. Letters have been received here inquiring if there be any foundation for the rumour. They have been promptly answered, that there is not, as far as any of your friends here know. I know you will attribute it to the proper motive, when I suggest to you to be cautious

how you expose your person on your journey, for such has been the excitement, and such is the deep mortification of some of your political enemies who have so vindictively and bitterly assailed you, that many have become reckless, and almost desperate in their feelings, and I often hear among your friends some concern expressed for your personal safety. . . . .

ROBERT DESHA[1] TO JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 5, 1828.

. . . . Your friends here have asked me frequently what time you will come on to the City, and at the same time state that you ought to be here by the middle of Feby at furthest. You cant be officially notified of your election soon enough to be here in time; and I think you ought to start immediately, and make a stop at some one point in Kentucky, Ohio and Pensylvania, to gratify your friends in those states, for they have certainly fought every inch of the ground for you and have not only had to contend against the aristocracy, of the country but against the patronage of the Govr. as well, as the U. States Banks, which last power has been wielded by the influence of Clay to prostrate you. Mr. Adams and Clay have mistook the people, for they are not as corrupt and cant be purchased as easily as they have supposed. Your friends have had some talk upon the subject of changing the law upon the subject of counting the votes, and making it sooner, but there will be some objections to that course, and I apprehend some of Mr. Adams friends might oppose it, and by that means get the house into a lengthy discussion Upon the whole I think it best to start from home early, and stop within striking distance of the Capitol, say Harrisburgh Pensylvania, or Pittsburgh, and there await for the Committe that will be appointed, and sent after you. . . . .

JOHN H. EATON TO MRS. JACKSON.

WASHINGTON, December 7, 1828.

Mrs. Rachiel Jackson

My dear fr[i]end, for so I feel I may style you, the frends you have here, firm and numerous both male and female, have constantly enquired of me since my arrival to know if you would arrive with the genl. They regret that it can be even considered doubtful what your determination may be. There reasons are very satisfactory, and therefore have I undertaken to speak to you about it.

The past I need not repeat, for you know it well. To prejudice your husband, you well know what envenomed slander has been aimed at both of you. Not you alone, but others too, have felt its keen edge; and altho this is slender atonement to your own aggrieved feelings, it affords this consolation, that the assaults made proceeded exclusively from motives. The storm has now abated—the angry tempest has ceased to howl. A verdict by the American people has been pronounced of that high and grateful character, that for the honor of your husband, you cannot but look back on the past as an idle fading vision carrying in it nothing substantial—nothing that should produce to you one moments feeling, or a

[1] M. C. from Tennessee 1827-1831.

moments pain. No man has ever met such a triumph before: The voice of his Country has placed him at a sightless distance above his little tribe of little assailants; and in this high and gratifying consideration, should both of you repose, pleased and rejoiced. These remarks might have been omitted, only that they are designed merely as a prelude to what I in accord with all your freinds here desire in your behalf

The attentions intended to be meeted out to the general, and to you, are such as will evince to both of you a continuance of the same high and glowing feeling which has produced his unequalled and triumphant vote from the People. The Ladies from distance—from remote parts of the Union will be here—brought essentially and altogether on your account, and to manifest to you their feelings and high regard: they will be present to welcome and to congratulate you. If you shall be absent how great will be the dissapointment. Your persecutors then may chuckle, and say that they have driven you from the field of your husbands honors. By all means then come on; and as you have had to bear with him the reproaches of foes, participate with him in the greetings of his frends

I had thought heretofore, it would be better for you to remain and come on in May. That opinion is changed, since that I have arrived here, and heard the reasonings of your frends. I am especially invited to write to you on this subject, and in the name of those who are your warm and sincere frends to desire that you will be here at all events by the 1st of March, ready and rested for the 4th. Such is my confidence that you will be along with the general, under the suggestions I have made, that I shall no longer speak of it as at all doubtful; but say that you intend to proceed with the genl, and will be certainly here. A failure on your part will create disappointment and prove to your frends exceedingly trying

with sincere regard

John H. Eaton to Jackson.[1]

Washington, December 8, 1828.

D'r Gen, I have written to Mrs Jackson, [and refer] you to her letter for information on [the matters] of which it treats

Mr. Polk and Judge White have written to you I expect. As regards sending a Committee to Nashville our frends were of different opinions and hence no move could be made. They feared some exception might be taken by your enemies if any attempt were made to change the law so as to count the votes in January instead of February. But for that a Committee would have been dispatched

Your best route will be by the Ohio River most pleasant and easy. Most likely you will be compelled to go to Pittsburg; and will also have to delay a day at Louisville and Cincinati. I suggest if it will not be better for you to decline all dinners; an opp[o]rtunity for the people to see and be introduced to you will be enough, and much as you should consent to. All dinners had better be declined.

[1] Erroneously filed in Jackson MSS., vol. 57, for the year 1820. The letter is badly mutilated. It illustrates the extent to which Eaton at this time assumed to make plans for Jackson's actions.

On reaching Pittsburg, your better plan will be to proceed down the turnpike direct to Baltimore [and thence] here, From the 15 to the 20 Feby should [be necessary to travel] to this place; and this necessity can be [employed] by you on the way as ground of [being unable] to accept the civilities of your frends [or turning] out from your direct march. Write me from Wheeling, and state your probable progress and I will endeavour to unite with you some where on your march.

The Pensylvania Legislature may urge you to pass to Harrisburg their seat of Govt, where they are now in Session. I have wrote there to try and prevent any invitation from being given, by stating your feelings entertained for the citizens of that state and the pain a refusal to comply would afford. I hope my suggestions will prove effectual, and that they may forbear to subject you to the necessity of refusing.

Your frends in Phila. say you are also expected there; and if you visit Harrisburg, you will be constrained to do so. They say to me, that while all desire to see you, very many of your most ardent frends think it would be impolitic and hence prefer that you should not. I give you these hints that you may the better judge. N York too wants you there, and Virga and No Ca. are looking for you in their directions. Thus your [future] course of travel is full of perplexity [and your] best judgment must direct you what [to do.] I have replyed to those who have [written to] me about it in this way—Genl Jackson [though] loth to disoblige frends, desires it, as right to come as direct as he can, to the City of Washington. After he is inaugerated, he will be at liberty, and then may gratify his frends [by] a visit thro the States to the North [where] for some years past he has been desireous to go, but from feelings of delicacy in reference to the election, has declined

Yrs truly,

PS. Since concluding my letter I have seen a resolution of the Legislature inviting you to Harrisburg on the 8. You will not be on so early, and therefore may escape; but if on your arrival at Pittsburg you shall be met with a second invitation by the State *Legislative authority* I can not tell how you can avoid accepting if you have time. I am in hopes my letters to that place may save you the necessity of any action on this matter hereafter.

MEMORANDUM IN JACKSON'S HANDWRITING.

[December 9, 1828.]

Mr. R—e—R—va [1]

1rst. a strong constitutional att-genl

2nd. a genuine old fashioned Cabinet to act together and form a counsel consultative

3rd. no Edditors to be appointed

[1] These letters seem to mean, Mr. Ritchie, Richmond, Va., and the memorandum evidently refers to some communication, perhaps only of the views of Thomas Ritchie, the influential editor of the Richmond *Enquirer*. The date is uncertain but that given here is approximately correct.

4th. no Members of Congress, except heads of Departments or Foreign ministers to be appointed

5th. no Foreign mission to be originated without the Senate etc. etc.

6th. The Public debt paid off, the Tariff modified and no power usurped over internal improvements

7th. a high minded enlightened principle in the administration of the Govt. as to appointments and removals. These things will give a brilliant carreer to the administration

[*Indorsement:*] Memorandom of Points to be considered in the administration of the government: to be filed.

To Brigadier-General John Coffee.[1]

Hermitage, December 11, 1828.

My Dear Genl, I have this moment recd your letter of the 8th instant and have no apology to offer for not writing you as I had promised, but a press of business which has crowded on me by addresses of congratulations from committees from various parts, accompanied with invitations to visit them etc. etc. which I am obliged to answer. I receive at least one hundred letters a week, none of which unless from committees, do I answer, indeed it would take ten clerks, and was it not for the aid of Capt A. J. Donelson I could not reply to half of what are necessary to be answered.

My thanks are due to the great ruler of the universe for his kind and protecting care, particularly for his preserving Mrs J. and myself, unhurt,[2] from the wicked slanders of the combined and corrupt minions of a profligate administration, wielding all its patronage to destroy us, and causing those slanders to recoil upon their own heads and fall harmless before us. Indeed we may emphatically say, that providence has snatched us from the snares of the fowler, for we have been shielded from the most bitter and wicked persecution, recorded in history, providence has procured for us a verdict of the people which has condemned these wicked proceedings, and has pronounced to an admiring world that the people are virtuous, and capable of self government, and that the liberty of our beloved country will be perpetual. This is a victory indeed of the virtue of the people over corruption.

I cannot yet say when I will set out, altho it would seem certain that I am elected by a large majority, my vote being 178, to 83 for Mr Adams. still until I hear from the members in congress I cannot determine on my route, or set a day when I shall set out. Major Eaton thinks

[1] Tenn. Hist. Soc., Dyas Coll., Coffee MSS.

[2] Mrs. Jackson died Dec. 22, eleven days after this letter was written. The Nashville newspapers said she took a long walk a week before and was much exhausted. After returning home she was seized with alarming spasms in the chest, which, after remitting and recurring for a few days, became transferred to the heart and, in a moment of apparent convalescence, terminated, without a groan or struggle, her well-spent life. Another story is preserved in Parton's *Jackson* (III. 154-158). A local tradition has it that she was seized after her arm had become chilled by stirring a vat filled with pickle in strong brine. On a letter from Francis Preston to Jackson, dated Dec. 5, 1828, the following endorsement appears in Jackson's handwriting: "Answered in haste 18th Dec., 1828. Whilst writing Mrs. Jackson taken violently ill."

congress will send a committee for me, and has enjoined it on me, to accept of no invitation, and not to stir untill I hear from him after he reaches the city. his letter I expect to receive between the 25th and 30th instant. If left to myself and the Ohio keeps open I shall take a steam Boat. indeed the citizens of Pittsburgh has tendered the steam boat Pennsylvania; offered to send her to Nashville, receive me there as the Guest of her citizens, and a committee to wait upon and accompany me thither. I feel such a debt of gratitude to that friendly and patriotic state, that it would have been most gratifying to me, to have accepted the offer.

I intend setting out in sufficient time to reach the city on or before the middle of February, to do this certainly, I must leave home between the first and 15th of January. when I think of leaving home, the responsibility and labour, I would it was otherwise, but providence thanks to the people has willed it, and I obey; trusting in all things to his guidance and protection.

I have much to say to you, and was fearfull I would not have had the pleasure of seeing you, but as you have promised me this pleasure, I shall avail myself of a personal communication, hoping you, your Lady, and daughter, may have it in your power to be with us on the 23d at the dinner in Nashville, to which you are invited.

That portion of the 16th section that adjoins Hutchings tract are valuable to his estate and ought to be bought. I have no hesitation in saying it ought to be bought in at ten dollars pr acre, and indeed I would go as far as ten dollars and a half, but get it as low as you can. I observe the sale is on the twentieth of this month, you can give instructions to Capt Donelson or Mr Easton, or any confidential agent, to buy it in, leaving authority in writing. I here authorise you or any agent you may appoint, to sign my name to any instrument, as guardian of A. J. Hutchings, necessary to secure the payment, for the purchase of those two quarters adjoining Hutchings west boundary, authorising the bidder to go as far as ten dollars and a half pr acre and my dr Genl, appoint an agent, and be with us on the 23d—at Nashville.

Mrs J and myself will expect to see you, Polly your daughter, and sweet little ones before we go from home, to all whom present us affectionately and believe me sincerely yr friend,

Robert Y. Hayne to Jackson.

Washington, December 18, 1828.

My Dear Sir. I trust that my delay to congratulate you, on your late great, and glorious victory, has not been imputed to any indifference on my part, in relation to that event. I hope that my feelings towards you, are too well known, to make it necessary for me to say, that no man in America can rejoice more sincerely in your happy triumph; a triumph of principle over intrigue, of truth over falsehood; in one word, of *the people* over corruption. But being sensible, that the calls on your time and attention must now have become *oppressive,* I had determined to refrain from offering my congratulations 'till I should have the pleasure of meeting you in Washington. It has occurred to Mrs. Hayne however, that her

services might possibly be of use to Mrs. Jackson, before her arrival here. I enclose a note on that subject. Should Mrs. J. or yourself have any commands, it will give us pleasure to attend to them—if not, I beg that you will not put yourselves to the trouble to answer our letters. I have lately heard from my Brother, who is in *high spirits,* at having had the gratification of giving his vote as *an Elector,* to his old friend and commander.

Believe me to be, with the highest respect and esteem very truly yours,

MEMORANDUM.[1]

[December 23, 1828.]

Sensible that I owe what public consideration I possess to the confidence reposed in me by my fellow citizens of these United States—feeling a concious inability to discharge this debt of gratitude, I have made it an undeviating rule of my conduct not to decline any situation that it was the pleasure of the people to call me to fill. I had retired from the bustle of public life to my farm, there to repair an enfeebled constitution, worn out in the service of my country. The people of their own mere will brought my name before the nation for the office of President of these U. States. They have sustained me against all the torrents of slander that corruption and wickedness could invent, circulated thro subsidised presses and every other way supported by the patronage of the government; and by a large majority of the virtuous yeomanry of the U. States have elected me to fill the presidential chair. Such call, under such circumstances, I cannot hesitate to obey, I accept the office given me by the free and unbiased suffrage, of a virtuous people, with feelings of the highest gratitude.

Allow me to assure you I feel the responsibility of the duties I am called on to perform and I appreciate as I ought the honor the people have conferred on me, and that I will enter upon the duties of the office to which I am called, with that zeal the confidence in me has inspired, supplicating the throne of grace, to guide me in the duties of my office, that my administration may redound to the harmony, prosperity, and happiness of these United States.

Permit me to assure you of the sensibility I feel of the kind manner you have been pleased to make known to me the result of the peoples will in the election of their chief Magistrate.

[1] This paper is in a collection of Jackson papers in the possession of Miss Pauline Wilcox, of Washington, D. C., a granddaughter of Maj. A. J. Donelson, Jackson's private secretary. It seems to have been intended for use in addressing any committee of Congress that might come to Nashville to notify Jackson of his election. For this reason the date has been assumed to be Dec. 23, 1828.

APPENDIX.

The Coffin Handbill.[1]

October 18, 1828.

We lay this far-famed handbill before our readers to-day. We have two reasons for doing so. Many of them have never yet seen it—this is one reason. The other is, that the Jacksonites call it an infamous bill, and pronounce all its statements false. It is neither infamous nor false. If there be any infamy connected with it, that infamy should attach to General Jackson—for, however black—however appalling this bill may appear, it presents but an inadequate representation of the still blacker and still more appalling acts of this violent and vindictive man. He caused a dead body to be furnished for every coffin therein represented—He caused them to be thus furnished, as we religiously believe, in violation of the laws of the country and the usages of civilized society. If, therefore, we repeat it, there be any infamy in the matter, it rests upon the head of the man, the faithful narrative of whose deeds blacken the page upon which they are impressed.

We defy the most fiery—the most enthusiastic—the most devoted follower and friend of the blood stained Hero—we defy the whole host of his friends, to disprove one single solitary material charge in this bill. They cannot—it is impossible. They might as well attempt to move the Allegany from its base or to direct and control the violence of the storm and the tempest—they might as well attempt to convert black into white, and wrong into right. No man will dare to say that the six militia men were not shot to death by order of General Jackson. That they were thus shot has been established by official papers drawn from the war office and published by order of Congress.—The act was as cruel as uncalled for, and appeals to every man's best affections, and sympathies, for the meting out of retributive justice at the ensuing election, against the man who had no pity for his fellow man—against the proud conquerer who consigned his countrymen to death, whilst his countrymen were deifying him.

Not less cruel—not less true—and not less uncalled for, was the shooting of the regular soldiers, near Nashville, by order of General Jackson. A bloody transaction, the only mistake in the detail of which has been

[1] The Coffin Handbill played such a part in the election campaign of 1828 that the text is printed here, without the heavy block coffins that ornamented it. This attack on Jackson originated with John Binns, editor of the *Democratic Press,* Philadelphia, who, early in this campaign, published the handbill as a supplement to his regular "daily, tri-weekly and weekly" issues. By this means it was widely circulated and brought Binns an undesirable notoriety (John Binns, *Recollections,* p. 245). The Coffin Handbill was reprinted by other anti-Jackson editors and with the addition of matter not related to the execution of the six militiamen, which was Binns's original subject. John Taliaferro, of Virginia, issued a "Supplement to the Coffin Handbill", containing additional matter. The copy from which the following text is taken is the form in which it was issued by *Our Country* (Hagerstown, Md.), Oct. 18, 1828.

in underrating the number of the victims—Here is the account of it, given at the time, by the papers of the day, under the immediate eye of the General, and in the neighborhood of the Hermitage:—

From the Democratic Clarion, of Nashville, Tennessee.

"NASHVILLE, Tenn., Feb. 21, 1815.

"On Friday last, EIGHT soldiers were shot near this town for DESERTION. We are among those who have thought it a crime that deserved severe punishment—but to shoot eight men in the bosom of civil society, *where there was scarcely as many soldiers besides, as there were prisoners* to be executed, and where the effect to be produced is calculated to injure the recruiting more than it benefits the service, was in our opinion *a waste of human blood.*"

That John Woods—a youth of 18—the main stay and best hope of an aged and widowed mother—was shot to death by order of General Jackson, under circumstances more aggravated, if possible, than those detailed in the handbill, has been shown—fully and clearly shown—by Gen. Jackson's own friends;—and will not, therefore, certainly be denied by them.

We have the authority of Gen. Jackson's own official documents, upon which to take our stand in relation to the cold-blooded massacre of the sixteen Indians, and the sanguinary execution of the Prophet Francis and his companions. We have the evidence of these bloody tragedies in Gen. Jackson's own language—in language, the tone and temper and brevity of which are calculated to freeze the blood and chill the soul not steeled against another's woe.

Felix Grundy, the bosom friend of Gen. Jackson, and others among his prominent advocates, have admitted that the General did run a cane sword through Samuel Jackson—that he was arranged at the bar of his country for the offence—but pleaded justification of the act. There can therefore be no doubt as to the correctness of this item in the bill.

The worse than savage assault made by Jackson and his bullies upon Col. Benton and his brother, has never been denied to our knowledge, but by Gen. Duff Green and M. M. Noah. It is a historical fact, the correctness of which can be established by hundreds of living witnesses in the neighborhood of Nashville. Surely then this item of the bill cannot be false.

No man living would be more rejoiced than we would, to be satisfied that the charges contained in this bill against Gen. Jackson were not well founded. At least one ground of our objection to him would then be removed. As an inducement for his friends to attempt their removal, we hereby offer

$20 for such evidence as will satisfy the public that the six militia men were not shot by Gen. Jackson's order, after their time had expired, and contrary to law.

$20 for any evidence by which we can convince the public that the eight regulars were not unnecessarily shot, by order of Gen. Jackson, near Nashville.

$20 for any fact calculated to convince the humane and the merciful that the gallant but unfortunate youth, John Woods, was not cruelly and unnecessarily put to death by order of General Jackson.

$20 for the pointing out of any mistake in Gen. Jackson's own account of the massacre of the sixteen Indians, and the murder of the Prophet and his countrymen.

$20 for any evidence that may enable us to convince the public that Gen. Jackson did not run his cane sword through Samuel Jackson.

$20 for any testimony showing that General Jackson and his bullies did not make the attack on Col. Benton and his Brother, an account of which the Colonel gives in his letter. And

$20 for such facts as will satisfy the public that the Jackson party have not been misrepresenting those bills with a view of deceiving the people as to the real character and temper of their Farmer Hero.

If our offer be not taken, the correctness of the charges must be considered as admitted by the Heroe's friends. And if all these charges be true—if all these black and horrid deeds have been done or sanctioned by Gen. Jackson, where the impropriety?—where the infamy?—where the falsehood of the bill? There is neither impropriety—infamy—nor falsehood, in the business. But, on the contrary, there is a virtue in proclaiming the deep–dark–cold–chilling–damning facts, that this bill sets forth against this aspirant for a situation, for which every consideration of prudence, of justice and of patriotism, proclaims him unfit and undeserving. And, "if it should be the last act of our life", and subject us to the penalties of the "second section", if possessed of the means, we would spread this black bill—this true picture of wrong—oppression—and tyranny—through every district—city—town—village and neighborhood, that no living soul in the land, entitled to the right of suffrage, should be ignorant of its contents, when he deposits his vote in the ballot box at the next election.

I. Some Account of some of the Bloody Deeds of General Jackson.

A brief account of the Execution of the Six Militia Men.

As we may soon expect to have the official documents in relation to the Six Militia Men, arrested, tried, and put to death, under the orders of General Andrew Jackson, this may not be an improper time to give to the public some of the particulars of their execution, as we have them from "An Eye Witness", who appeals to Col Russell, for the truth of every word he relates.

Harris was a Baptist preacher, with a large family. He had hired as a substitute for three months. This was the case with most of them. They were ignorant men, but obstinate in what they believed right, and what they had been told by their officers was right.—They were all sure they could not be kept beyond three months, and they gave up their

musquets, and had provisions dealt out to them, from the public stores, before they left the camp.—This confirmed their convictions that they were right and doing what was lawful.

Col. Russel commanded at the execution. The Militia men were brought to the place in a large wagon. The military dispositions being made, Col. Russell rode up to the wagon and ordered the men to descend. Harris was the only one who betrayed feminine weakness. The awfulness of the occasion; his wife and nine children; the parting with his son; and the fear of a quickly approaching ignominious death! quite overcame him, and he sunk in unmanly grief. No feeling of military pride could brace him up.

Col. Russel, doubtless, felt as a man, but he felt also for the pride of the army, and desired to animate the men with fortitude.

" You are about to die, said he, by the sentence of a Court Martial—die like men; *like soldiers*. You have been brave in the field—you have fought well—do no discredit to your country, or dishonour to the army, or yourselves, by any unmanly fears. Meet your fate with courage."

Harris attempted to make some apology for his conduct, but while he spoke, he wept bitterly. The fear of death, the idea that he should never again behold his wife and little ones, and his son weeping near him, had taken such entire possession of his mind that it was impossible he should rally.

Lewis, the gallant Lewis, said in a clear and manly tone, " Colonel, I have served my country well. I love it dearly, and would, if I could, serve it longer and better. I have fought bravely—*you know* I have, and HERE I have a right to say so MYSELF. I would not wish to die in this way "—here his voice faltered, and he passed the back of his right hand over his eyes—" I did not expect it: But, I am now as firm as I have been in battle, and you shall see that I will die as becomes a soldier, you know I am a brave men ". " Yes, Lewis, said the Colonel, you have always behaved like a brave man ". Other sentences were uttered, other declarations were made, and words of comfort spoken, but they were lost on me: my attention, says an Eye Witness, being chiefly directed to Lewis.

Six coffins were ranged as directed, and on each of them knelt one of our condemned American Militia Men—Such a sight was never seen before! I trust to God it never will be seen again! Six soldiers were detailed and drawn up to fire at each man. What an awful duty! Their white caps were drawn over the faces of the unhappy men.—Harris evidently trembled, and I could almost persuade myself that the heart of Lewis was enlarged, and that his bosom rose with manly courage to meet death. The fatal word was given and they all fell.

As we approached the scene of blood and carnage, Lewis gave signs of life; the rest were all dead—he crawled upon his coffin. After the lapse of a few minutes he said—I give his very words: " Colonel "—the Colonel was close to him—" Colonel, I am not killed, but I am sadly cut and mangled ". His body was now examined and it was found that but four balls had wounded him. " Colonel ", said he, " did I behave well ". " Yes, Lewis "—said the Colonel in the kindest tone of voice—" like a man ". " Well sir ", said he, " have I not atoned for this offence? *Shall*

I not live?" The Colonel was much agitated, and gave orders that the Surgeon should, if possible, preserve his life. They did all that skill and humanity could do—it was all of no avail. Poor Lewis expressed a great desire to live—" not ", said he at one time, " that I fear death, but I would repent me of some sins, and I desire to live yet a little longer in the world ". He suffered inconceivable agony, from his wounds, and died on the fourth day.

Many a soldier has wept over his grave. He was a brave man and much beloved. He suffered twenty deaths.—I have seen the big drops chase each other down his forehead with pain and anguish. There was much sensibility and sympathy throughout the camp.—I would not have, unjustly and unnecessarily, signed this death warrant for all the wealth of all the Indies. The soldiers detailed to shoot Lewis had, from strong feelings of sympathy, or mistaken humanity failed to shoot him—but four balls had entered his body.

" An Eye Witness " appeals to Col. Russell, who he thinks now lives in Alabama, for the perfect truth of this sketch. He does not fear but the Colonel will keenly recollect and faithfully depict the horrors of the day on which six Americans were shot to death under his command—but not by his orders.

The order bears date the very day after *General Jackson* returned in triumph to New Orleans, and the day before he joyfully went, under triumphal arches, to the Temple of the living God; where, says the historian, " they *crowned* their adored General with laurels ". The order for the execution of these six unhappy men bears date January 22, 1815. His crown of laurels had not yet withered, when blood, the life's blood of his countrymen, of his fellow soldiers, flowed plentifully by his order. May that order and its consequences, sink deep into the hearts of the American people and steel them against him who had no flesh in his obdurate heart; who did not feel for Man; in the midst of Joy and Revelry, almost in the more immediate presence of his Creator, who issued the fatal order to put his fellow creatures to death, and to make their wives and children, widows and orphans.

MOURNFUL TRAGEDY;

Or, the death of Jacob Webb, David Morrow, John Harris, Henry Lewis, David Hunt, and Edward Lindsey—six militia men, who were condemned to die, the sentence approved by Major General Jackson, and by his order the whole six shot.

O! DID you hear that plaintive cry
Borne on the southern breeze?
Saw you John Harris earnest pray
For mercy, on his knees?

Low to the earth he bent, and pray'd
For pardon from his chief;
But to his earnest prayer for life
JACKSON, alas! was deaf.

" Spare me "—he said—" I mean no wrong,
" My heart was always true:
" First for my county's cause it beat,
" And next, great Chief, for you.

" We thought our time of service out—
" Thought it our right to go:
" We meant to violate no law,
" Nor wish'd to shun the foe.

" Our officers declared that we
" Had but three months to stay;
" We served those three months faithfully,
" Up to the latest day.

" No one suspects intended wrong;
" The judgment only erred:
" In such a case, O noble Chief,
" Let mercy's voice be heard.

" At home an aged mother waits
" To clasp her only son;
" A wife, and little children—this arm
" Alone depend upon.

" Cut me not off from those dear ties;
" So soon from life's young bloom;
" O 'tis a dreadful thing to die,
" And moulder in the tomb!

" Sure mercy is a noble gem
" On every Chieftain's brow;
" More sparkling than a diadem—
" O exercise it now.—"

'Twas all in vain, John Harris' pray'r,
'Tis past the soul's belief!
Hard as the flint was Jackson's heart;
He would not grant relief.

He order'd Harris out to die,
And five poor fellows more!
Young, gallant men, in prime of life,
To welter in their gore!!

Methinks I hear the muffled drum,
And see the column move;
—Lo here they come—how sad their looks:
Farewell to life and love!

See six black coffins rang'd along—
Six graves before them made;
Webb, Lindsey, Harris, Lewis, Hunt,
And Morrow kneeled and prayed.

They kneel'd and pray'd, and tho't of HOME,
And all its dear delights,
The deadly tubes are levell'd now—
The scene my soul affrights!

Sure he will spare! Sure JACKSON yet
Will all reprive but one—
O hark! those shrieks! that cry of death!
The deadly deed is done!

All six militia men were shot;
And O! it seems to me
A dreadful deed—a bloody act
Of needless cruelty.

II. A short time before the execution of the militia-men, seven regular soldiers were shot near Nashville, by a band of regulars scarcely sufficient to guard the prisoners.—They were confined in a house, and taken out and executed one at a time, there being scarcely enough men for the purpose of executing and guarding at the same moment. An eighth soldier was to have been executed at the same time. He was a young man, who had deserted one month before his time had expired. General Jackson doomed him to die with the others. He was saved by a writ of habeas corpus from Judge M'Nairy, who fell under Jackson's displeasure for snatching this one victim from his blood-stained hands. If Jackson's army had been at hand, no doubt M'Nairy would have shared the fate of Judge Hall and Judge Fromentin. Capital punishments in an army, are designed for example as well as for penalty; but in this case it was a transaction of horror to peaceful citizens: no army was there to witness the bloody tragedy. He has ever been a man of "blood and carnage".

III. POOR JOHN WOODS; he was a generous hearted, noble fellow as ever lived, who had volunteered in the service of his country. He was on guard one day at Fort Strother—the officer of the guard had permitted him to go to his tent, and snatch a hasty breakfast; whilst disposing of his scanty meal, seated on the ground beside his skillet, an upstart little officer, who was not Woods' equal at home, ordered him to pick up and carry off some bones that lay scattered about the place—Woods refused, and the little officer attempted to compel him. At this instant, Gen. Jackson, having heard the dispute, came out of his tent, and without knowing any thing of the merits of the case, repeatedly vociferated—"*Shoot the damn'd rascal!—Shoot the damn'd rascal*". For this offence, the unfortunate, the gallant Woods, was tried, condemned and shot. Before his trial, Gen. Jackson used this language to the court-martial. "*By the immortal God! if you find him guilty I will not pardon him!*" And he kept his promise; though he did offer a pardon provided he would enlist in the regular service—Thus perished as noble a fellow as ever lived, for as trifling an offence as ever took the life of man!!!

IV. On the 27th day of March, 1814, General Jackson had found at an Indian village, at the bend of the Tallapousie, about 1000 Indians, with their *squaws* and *children,* "running about among their huts". The following is an account of the sanguinary massacre which took place;—it is Gen. Jackson's own, and therefore must be received as sufficient evidence against himself. He says:—"DETERMINING TO EXTERMINATE them, I detached Gen. Coffee with the mounted men, and nearly the whole of the Indian force, early on the morning of yesterday, to cross the river about

two miles below the encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner as that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river." The result he then details:—"*Five hundred and fifty seven were left dead on the Peninsula, and a great number of them were killed by the horsemen in attempting to cross the river*;* it is believed that no more than ten escaped.* We * continued * to DESTROY *many of them who had concealed themselves under the banks of the river, until we were prevented by the night.* THIS MORNING WE KILLED 16 WHICH HAD BEEN CONCEALED."

We ask you to pause and reflect that the above tragic narration of cold-blooded and merciless cruelty, is taken from an official communication made by General Andrew Jackson.

The General, after sleeping (with what composure, we cannot say) thro' the night ensuing the tragedy we speak of, awoke in the morning surrounded by the corpses of "five hundred and seventy" fellow creatures, to cause, by way of worthy afterpiece, sixteen others to be dragged from their concealments, and put to death in cold blood. We cannot boast of more than common sensibility, but we must think that to witness such an act, would make ours a little cold also. What are the general's words?—these: "this morning we killed sixteen which had been concealed"—and the man who acts and speaks thus; who has half as much blood upon his conscience, as he has upon his hands,—he, forsooth, is to be called the peer and *like* of Washington, the happy warrior,—

"he
Whom every man at arms could wish to be."

But it is time to have done with the unpleasant subject. We will observe in addition to the details already given, that the village was burnt, and several women and children killed. In conclusion, we ask our fellow citizens, whether Genl Jackson though he has contributed largely to the military reputation of our country, has not done enough to disqualify him, in the eyes of the people as virtuous as they are free, for the office he seeks at their hands.

FRANKLIN, TENN., September 10, 1818.

V. A difference which had been for some months brewing between Gen. Jackson and myself, produced on Saturday, the 4th inst. in the town of Nashville, the most outrageous affray ever witnessed in a civilized country. In communicating the affair to my friends and fellow-citizens, I limit myself to the statement of a few leading facts, the truth of which I am ready to establish by judicial proofs.

1. That myself and my brother, Jesse Benton, arriving in Nashville on the morning of the affray, and knowing of General Jackson's threats, went and took lodgings in a different house from the one in which he staid, on purpose to avoid him.

2. That the General and some of his friends came [to] the house where we had put up, and commenced the attack by levelling a pistol at me, when I had no weapon drawn, and advancing upon me at a quick pace, without giving me time to draw one.

3. That seeing this, my brother fired upon General Jackson, when he had got within eight or ten feet of me.

4. That four other pistols were fired in quick succession; one by General Jackson at me; two by me at the General; and one by Col. Coffee at me. In the course of this firing, General Jackson was brought to the ground; but received no hurt.

5. That daggers were then drawn. Col. Coffee and Mr. Alexander Donelson made at me, and gave me five slight wounds. Captain Hammond and Mr. Stokeley Hays engaged my brother, who being still weak from the effect of a severe wound he had lately received in a duel, was not able to resist two men. They got him down; and while Capt. Hammond beat him on the head to make him lie still, Mr. Hays attempted to stab him, and wounded him in both arms, as he lay on his back parrying the thrusts with his naked hands. From this situation a generous hearted citizen of Nashville, Mr. Summer, relieved him. Before he came to the ground, my brother clapped a pistol to the breast of Mr. Hays, to blow him through, but it missed fire.

6. My own and my brother's pistols carried two balls each; for it was our intention, if driven to arms, to have no child's play. The pistols fired at me were so near that the blaze of the muzzle of one of them burnt the sleeve of my coat, and the other aimed at my head at a little more than arms length from it.

7. Capt. Carroll was to have taken part in the affray, but was absent by the permission of General Jackson, as he has proved by the General's certificate, a certificate which reflects I know not whether less honor upon the General or upon the Captain.

8. That this attack was made upon me in the house where the Judge of the District, Mr Searcy, had his lodgings! Nor has the civil authority yet taken cognizance of this horrible outrage.

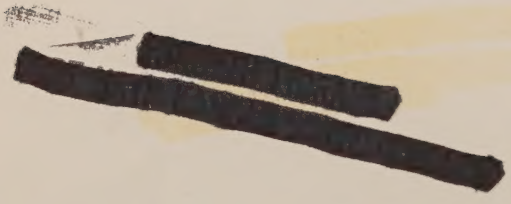
These facts are sufficient to fix the public opinion. For my own part, I think it scandalous that such things should take place at any time; but particularly so at the present moment, when the public service requires the aid of all its citizens.—As for the name of *courage*, God forbid that I should ever attempt to gain it by becoming a bully.—Those who know me, know full well that I would give a thousand times more for the reputation of Croghan in defending his post, than I would for the reputation of all the duellists and gladiators that ever appeared upon the face of the earth.

THOMAS HART BENTON, *Lieut. Col. 39th Infantry.*
And now a member of the Senate of the United States.

VI. Do not be startled, gentle reader at the picture before you. It is all true and every body ought to know it. Gen. Jackson having made an assault upon Samuel Jackson, in the streets of Nashville, and the latter not being disposed to stand still and be beaten, stooped down for a stone to defend himself. While in the act of doing so, Gen. Jackson drew the sword from his cane and run it through Samuel Jackson's body, the sword entering his back and coming out of his breast.—For this offence an indictment was found against Gen. Jackson by a grand jury, upon which he

was subsequently arraigned and tried. But finding means to persuade the petit jury that he committed the act in self-defence, he was acquitted. Gentle reader, it is for you to say, whether this man, who carries a sword cane, and is willing to run it through the body of any one who may presume to stand in his way, is a fit person to be our President.

VII. Gen. Jackson, detailing his progress among the Indians, in the course of which, men, WOMEN and CHILDREN, were indiscriminately "exterminated", their towns burnt and their country laid waste, with the utmost complacency and *sang froid,* says, in his letter dated, "Camp before St. Marks, April 9, 1818"—"Capt. M'Ever having hoisted English colours on board of his boats, Francis *the Prophet,* Hocomochemutcho and *two others,* were *decoyed* on board. *These have been hung today!"* Reader, mark the perfect indifference with which Gen. Jackson shoots, hangs or stabs his fellow beings, with or without trial, and the more than callous, aye, even exulting composure, with which he details his horrid and bloody deeds! If the Indians, according to the customs of their nation, put to death a prisoner, all the feelings of our nature rise into indignation against them. With what feelings then should we contemplate the *decoying* and the cold-blooded murder of prisoners by a civilized man in the face of the laws and customs of his country!



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